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Australasian Federation League
(Auckland Branch).

ONE PEOPLE ONE DESTINY

(Seals of the Seven States).

Report of Public Meeting

Held at the Hall of the Y.M.C.A. on Wednesday Evening, 12th July, 1899,

With Appendixes.

For Free Circulation.

JAS. MCCULLOUGH, GENERAL PRINTER HIGH STREET.

Australasian Federation League.

(Auckland Branch.)

President :

- Mr. C. E. Button.

Vice-Presidents :

- Mr. John Burns (President Chamber of Commerce).
- DR. McArthur, M.A., LL.D.
- THE Hon. E. Mitchelson.
- Dr. J. L. Campbell.
- Monsignor McDonald.

Members of Council:

- Mr. E. W. Burton.
- Mr. E. Bell.
- Mr. A. Dewar.
- Mr. J. J. Craig.
- Mr. A. J. Entrican.
- Mrs. Schnackenberg.
- Mr. Manders.
- Mr. John Aulsebrook.
- Mr. J. Wilson.
- Mr. G. T. Garland.
- Mr. J. Hopkins.
- Mr. R R. Hunt.
- Mr. Steele.
- Mr. W. J. Smith.
- Dr. Wallis.
- Mr. Wingate.

(With power to add to their number.)

Treasurer :

- Mr. Geo. Fraser.

Auditor :

- Mr. J. W. Henderson.

Hon. Secretary :

- Mr. J. Kennedy Brown.
decorative feature

Public Meetings of the League will be held every Monday evening at the Public Hall, Harbour Board Office (by kind permission of the Chairman). MEETINGS ARE FOLLOWED BY DISCUSSION.

Tickets of membership, 1s. each, to be had of the Treasurer or any member of Council.

The funds are being supplemented by donations, and will be devoted exclusively to disseminating information throughout the Colony by means of pamphlets, public meetings, etc., etc.

Australasian Federation

Public Meeting in Auckland.

AT the Y.M.C.A. Rooms, on the 12th July, a meeting of those interested in the federation of the Australasian colonies was held. There was a very good attendance, several ladies being amongst the audience.

MR. J. KENNEDY BROWN, who was received with applause, stated that he had received a memo, from the Mayor, who was to have taken the chair that evening. Mr. Goldie explained that he had to attend an important meeting of the Joint Committee, to consider the loan proposals of the Auckland City Council. Apologies had also been received from Mr. E. W. Alison, and the Revs. Fitzgerald and Milne. Mr. Brown proposed that Mr. John Burns take the chair.

The CHAIRMAN, MR. JOHN BURNS (president of the Chamber of Commerce), thanked those present for the honour conferred upon him. As to the important subject which they had been called together that evening to discuss, he might say that the matter was one of great importance, and deserved careful and earnest consideration at the hands of the people of the colony, and of the Government. Our Parliament was supposed to lead the people, and yet they appeared to simply attend to personal matters—they adopted a laissez faire attitude, while they should be paying very close attention to the great historical event that was taking place in other colonies. As a merchant, he might be excused if he looked at the question from a mercantile point of view. He recognised that it was impossible to satisfy everyone. The whole question might be described as one of profit and loss, so far as its commercial aspect was concerned, and so far as New Zealand was concerned he took it that, if New Zealand decided to join this great federation, the balance would be in favour of this colony. The raw products formed the basis of industry, and as New Zealand was rich in these, he was of opinion that if the Colony joined her industries would flourish. The Chairman referred to the advantages that would accrue to New Zealand if a free market were secured, for if our products were non-taxed, and full and free ingress given to her goods, the industrial and commercial position of New Zealand would improve. None, or very few, of the Colony's industries would suffer. Then they should remember that it would be two years before any uniform scale of duties would be brought into operation. All things considered, he thought the balance was very much in favour of federation. (Applause). For the last 40 or 50 years federation had been in the air. Italy had brought themselves into unity, so had Germany, and then again they could point to the great federation of the United States. The extent of federation had extended to Canada, where they did not wish to be separated. There was no doubt but that unity is strength. They talked a lot about the brotherhood of man, but what better bond of unity could there be to unite a number of colonies than their inclusion in one grand federation? They should not fear one another; they should trust each other. So far as New Zealand was concerned, he was convinced that she would more than hold her own under a federation. He was also convinced that federation must come—(applause)—and it was the duty of New Zealanders to welcome the day and do all that was possible to hasten its arrival. (Applause.) He trusted the resolutions to be proposed would prove acceptable to the audience, and would be carried unanimously.

Mr. C. E. BUTTON moved the first resolution, which was as under:—"That the Federal Constitution of

Australia is a noble monument of human wisdom and statesmanship; that it is just and equitable to the Confederated States, and carefully conserves the rights and liberties of each in all purely State questions; and this meeting expresses its entire approval of the same." He appreciated the honour in being asked to move the first resolution, for though he had not taken part in meetings for some time, he considered this question the most important of all. The federation of the sister colonies that was taking place was an historical event, and it was a movement in which New Zealand should heartily join, for he considered it was but the preliminary step to a great event—the federation of the English-speaking race. (Applause). His mission that evening was to deal principally with the constitutional aspect of the question, and the advantages it possessed in that particular respect. He explained at length the principles on which federation had been accomplished, and referred to the equitable nature of those principles which were embodied in the Bill. Mr. Button then took the various clauses of the Commonwealth Bill seriatim, and explained to those present the prominent features of the measure, which he said had been carefully and efficiently thought out, and was a Bill that safeguarded the interests of all included in the federation. The constitution of the governing body was as near as possible like that of the Government under the Imperial Parliament. There was a Governor-General similar to the same position in India, the salary for which was £10,000 per annum. Yearly sessions of the Federal Parliament were to be held. There were six senators for each Federal State, and their mode of election would be similar in every State—the principle of every voter having one vote being observed. The senators would be appointed for six years, but half of the number would retire at the end of three years, and a fresh election for that number of vacancies would take place, the other half retiring at the end of the six years, so that every three years half the Senate would retire and a fresh election would take place. There would be a President of the Senate, while the number of members of the House of Representatives would be in proportion to that of the number of senators. That, he considered, was a very wise provision. As to the number of members of the House of Representatives, that would be 12 for each State in the Union. They would remain in office for three years, unless previously dissolved; the several States would make laws for determining the electoral divisions in each State, or failing to do so, the State could vote as one constituency; the qualification of members the same as at present in voting for the popular Chamber, but in the choice of members each elector would vote only once. As to the representation on a basis of population, the speaker had worked it out that the representation of the various States in the Commonwealth would be as under :—New South Wales, with a population 1,300,000. would have 25 members in the House of Representatives; Queensland, population 473,000, would have 10 members; Victoria, population, 1,200,000, would have 23 members; Tasmania, 170,000 population, 5 members; South Australia. 360,000 population, 7 members; West Australia, 140,000 population, 5 members; and New Zealand, with 800,000 population, 15 members. He referred to the introduction of uniform Customs duties, which would be established two years after the forming of the Commonwealth, and thought that by the consolidation of existing Colonial debts much better terms could be arranged. It had been said that New Zealand could come in under the Commonwealth at any time, but the speaker said it was in the power of the federated States to impose conditions and terms if New Zealand, after declining to join, changed its mind and wished to come into the federation, and in addition there was the loss of prestige to be considered. If New Zealand was so blind as to stand out, her industries would languish, while the federated colonies would prosper; whereas if the colony decided to join in this great assemblage of nations, and take its part in the same, it would be assisting in the bringing about the federation of the whole of the English-speaking people. (Applause.;

DR. MCARTHUR said—Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen—My friend Mr. Button has so ably and lucidly explained to you the chief features of the Federal Constitution that my duty becomes a light, one. In seconding his resolution I should, however, like to call your attention more closely to one or two of the more salient points upon which he has touched. The Constitution, without being a slavish copy of the British Constitution, yet in its leading features is characteristic of the parent. We have the Governor-General, appointed by and representing the sovereign; we have the Senate, by reason of the longer duration of the term of office of its members taking the place of the hereditary House of Lords; and we have the Representative house, which fulfils all the duties of the house of Commons. Yet so wisely has it been drawn up that at the basis of all is that principle of election wherein one man has but one vote. Another characteristic feature of equality is that in the Senate each original State is to be represented equally, but States that come in afterwards shall only have such members as are allowed to it by the terms of admission. Concerning the powers of the Federal Parliament, I would like to point out that two principles have been insisted upon :—1. The Federal Parliament has no power of legislation except what is expressly given to it. 2. The States retain every power of legislation except what is expressly taken from them. There is no room for misunderstanding; all is clear and above board, and the individuality of each of the States is preserved. Each has all its old power of growth increased and encouraged by the assistance of the other States of the Federation The Federal Parliament will regulate the trade and commerce with other countries and among the several States. Here we have the basis of a mighty commercial union, and if we are not included as an original State in this union, and do not partake of its benefits, we shall,

in future, deeply regret our want of foresight. If we do not join as an original State, can we expect the Federation to treat us on the same terms as the originals? Certainly not. Will the Federation be so prepared to treat us? Certainly not. Let us then be up and doing, asking for admission to this brotherhood of States, this union about to become a powerful factor in the history of the world. The deadlocks between the two Houses in a bicameral system of government have been a source of worry and anxiety to the statesmen of countries under that particular form of constitution. The Federal Constitution has laid down therein a satisfactory solution of such troubles by means of a double dissolution and a joint sitting. If a bill is twice passed by the House of Representatives, and twice rejected by the Senate, both Houses may be dissolved immediately; and if they still disagree a joint sitting is held, at which members will deliberate and vote as one House on the bill as last presented by the House of Representatives. All amendments must be carried by an absolute majority of all the members, and if the bill is carried by an absolute majority it will be treated as if it had passed both Houses. The creation of a High Court of Australia will do away with the necessity of appeals to the Privy Council, and the inevitable delays consequent thereon. There is still reserved a right of appeal to the Privy Council under certain circumstances, but this right is not likely to be exercised frequently. The High Court has also original jurisdiction in some kinds of cases of a federal character, and in its appeal jurisdiction its decision is final. An interstate Commission will carry out the law relating to trade and commerce, but its powers will of course be defined by Parliament, and the powers which Parliament can give it are carefully limited. The members will be appointed for seven years, and during their tenure of office are secured from political influence in the same way as the judges. The Constitutions of the States are to continue as before except as affected by the Constitution; each State will retain the power of amending its own constitution, and the State Parliaments will keep all their present powers except those which are expressly taken away from them by the Constitution. New States may be admitted upon such terms only and with so many members in each House as the Federal Parliament thinks fit. An amendment of the Constitution may be passed by an absolute majority of each House and then submitted to a referendum, and if there be a disagreement between the Houses as to the amendment it may be submitted to referendum. These, Mr Chairman, are the points to which I desired to draw special attention in seconding the resolution of Mr. Button. I hope that the resolution will be carried unanimously;—(applause)—that New Zealand will not stand out sulkily in the cold, but will at once demand admission as an original State;—(cheers)—and that the day may soon dawn when our good Queen with the aid of her Privy Council will declare the birth of a new and mighty nation of which we in New Zealand shall form an important factor. (Applause.)

Mr. AULSEBROOK said—Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen,—It is with considerable pleasure I rise to move the following resolution :—" That, in the opinion of this meeting, the time has arrived when the attention of the people and Parliament of New Zealand should be earnestly directed to this great question; that New Zealand has much to gain politically, commercially, and socially by casting in her lot and becoming one with the Federated States, thus consummating an Australasian Federation; that delay may be fraught with danger to the interests of the colony." Sir,—I move that resolution with great interest, inasmuch as I am an old colonist of forty-one years standing—(applause)—and although not so well known here as in Christchurch, where I resided for thirty years, or in Sydney, where I resided for seven years, I have been in Auckland for four years, and during the whole of that period I have occupied a well-known business position. My experience as a manufacturer applies therefore to Australia as well as to New Zealand, and I can speak, I trust, with sufficient knowledge of the commercial aspects of the great question of Federation. I have observed with pleasure the efforts put forth by some of the foremost statesmen of the sister colonies to consummate that union which was the dearest object in life of that great statesman, the late Sir Henry Parkes. (Applause.) But, sir, the first step towards Federation was not accomplished without incessantly educating the people. Public meetings were continuously held to disseminate instruction, with reference specially to the Federation Bill. You, sir, have heard this bill clearly read and ably explained by a previous speaker. It often happens that a measure of this sort, however clearly grasped by some, is not so easily comprehended by the multitude, not for want of intelligence but for lack of accurate knowledge of a subject so large and important. I do not fear much difficulty with New Zealand, for compared with some people I have lived amongst, they are quick in perceiving the advantages of any great matter of public or social interest. And, sir, we must not be surprised if at first sufficient interest is not shown in this great question of Federation. There will of course be differences of opinion. Some timid people will be afraid that New Zealand will be exploited with the manufactures of Australia. Have we not the raw materials and the skilled labour? (Applause.) I am informed that our exports to Australia, all or nearly all our own products, amounts to one and a-half million per annum. During my seven years travels in Australia I never saw such perfect specimens of locally manufactured articles, such workmanship and finish, as were shown at the late Exhibition here. (Applause.) Not only manufactures of iron, but woollen manufactures. In Sydney all the larger houses display New Zealand rugs, and blankets, and tweeds, and never fail to ticket them New Zealand manufactures. (Cheers.) You will find the same prominence given to hams, bacon, cheese, butter, and

other New Zealand products. Our farming implements are famous all over Australia, not because of their cheapness, but because of their superior quality. (Cheers.) I am satisfied that our exports to the Australian colonies would increase fourfold had we the run of their ports free of duty. Sir, so long as we are inspired by the determination to excel in the quality of our manufactures, we maintain the leading position in the great federation. Our union with Australia will arouse such emulation and friendly trade rivalry, that the practical knowledge and superior skill of our workers will be stimulated, and we shall speedily see such prosperity flowing in upon us as at present we little dream of. "As iron sharpeneth iron, so does the countenance of a man his friend." The resolution which I have the honour of proposing refers to political and social objects. I have been content to dwell so far upon the commercial aspects of the case. The political part of the question has already been ably dealt with, and as to the social aspects I need only say that we need not flatter ourselves we are not as other men are. Union will elevate the whole people socially, and as we advance politically and commercially, so also our union with our English-speaking brotherhood in Australia will be productive of social progress. Sir, I beg to move the second resolution. (Cheers.)

MR. KENNEDY BROWN said:—Mr. Chairman, in the absence of Dr. Wilkins, who was to have seconded the resolution just proposed, you must regard me as a stopgap. The worthy doctor intended to be here, but like all doctors he is liable to be called upon professionally at any moment. He felt both anxiety and responsibility with reference to this meeting. He deplored the universal lack of interest in reference to the great question of Federation, the greatest and most overwhelmingly important question ever brought before the people of this colony. He was surprised and shocked a year or two ago when our late Governor on his way home was interviewed by a Melbourne newspaper reporter, who wanted to know what was being done in New Zealand, with reference to this great question. Why, sir, he told the reporter he had not considered the matter. He could imagine the astonishment of that reporter, his utter amazement, at such an admission. Surely, sir, it is the duty of such highly placed and highly paid officials to consider and advise upon such questions. They come amongst us fresh from the great throbbing heart of the Empire, the representatives of Royalty first of all, but do not they also represent the imperial aspirations of the great statesmen of England and within constitutional limits, they should exercise a highly beneficial and progressive influence upon the smaller statesmen of the colonies. (Cheers.) But, unfortunately, the late Governor had not considered the question. Our present Governor, Lord Ranfurly, was thoroughly up to date, and had spoken upon many questions with no uncertain sound. (Applause.) Then, sir, had the Government or the Parliament of this country considered this question? No. Had the Press considered this question and kept the people abreast of the times? No. He was ashamed and humiliated that a question which for years had stirred the people of the neighbouring colonies, had awakened no interest in this colony. It would appear as if there had been a conspiracy of silence. (Cheers.) How marvellous that whilst our neighbours across the Tasman Sea were absorbed with this, the greatest event of modern times, when the House of Commons had been cheering, we appeared to be profoundly asleep. It will be the business of the Federation League to awaken both the Government and the people of this colony. A year or two ago the Premier went to a conference of Premiers at Tasmania, to endeavour to arrange reciprocal treaties with Australia. I ventured at the time to predict that his mission would be a failure. Sir, there can be no reciprocity except through Federation. (Cheers.) Reciprocity is only possible between countries having a diversity of products that may be beneficially exchanged. What had Australia got to exchange with us? Absolutely nothing except her wines. He did not undervalue the importance of free trade in the pure and wholesome wines of Australia. For many years he had studied the process by which those wines, in the wine-growing districts, had diminished the curse of drunkenness. ("No," and interruption.) He said Yes, emphatically. Australian wine, and plenty of it would do more to cure intemperance than prohibition or any or all the numerous fads. (Cheers and opposition cries.) Mr. Brown sat down after cordially seconding the resolution.

MR. L. J. BAGNALL said he would like to draw attention to what had been done in similar matters in other parts of the world—Canada, for instance. What was done there might well stimulate us to follow in their footsteps. Forty years ago Canada was divided into different States, as we are at present Trade was restricted in such a way that leading statesmen saw it was being injured, and the different States entered into a federation which was practically consummated in 1866, and since that time other States had joined, with the result that the community had made far greater progress than it had ever done before, and was now recognised as one of the nations of the world. (Cheers.) The provisions under the Dominion of Canada were not nearly so liberal or favourable to the different States as the constitution that had been proposed for the Commonwealth of Australia. We would have to consider the question as a business matter. We required markets for our products, and required to be able to get to those markets. If the Commonwealth were formed without New Zealand we would find that great obstacles would be put in the way of our products going into their markets, and reaping the advantages we would, if we were a part of the Commonwealth. If we joined we would be members of a far greater nation than if we stood out insignificantly. (Applause.) There was a parallel case in Newfoundland. She had never joined the Dominion of Canada, and the result was that she was practically a decaying country, and

had to be bolstered up by the Imperial Government. There was no doubt that if she had been a part of the Federation of Canada her position would have been greatly improved. (Cheers.)

The motion was carried unanimously with the following alteration—"New Zealand may have much to gain, &c.," instead of "New Zealand has much to gain, &c."

Mr. E. W. BURTON : I beg to propose "That in the opinion of this meeting the time has arrived when the Parliament of New Zealand should be asked to submit the Commonwealth Bill to the vote of the electors of the colony." The resolution entrusted to me seems to sum up the whole of the series presented to the meeting. The various speakers have shown the desirability of Australasian Federation. To me it has been left to urge the undoubted right of the people of New Zealand individually to determine their destiny by their vote. It has been said that the movement is an attempt or the part of the movers to commit the colony to Federation without consideration. Those who assert such an absurdity must either be very dishonest or very obtuse, inasmuch as all that is sought to be done is to direct public attention to the subject, in the full belief that when men come to consider the matter, as they will have to do before casting their vote upon it, the great majority will be found in favour of New Zealand casting in her lot with the great sister island of Australia. (Applause.) We are told that we should trust our representatives, and that the people are wholly incompetent to vote "Yes" or "No" upon the Commonwealth Bill. The fact is that in a democracy every man considers himself, and probably is, quite equal to the average representative, probably a great deal better. (Laughter.) But when men say that the voters of this colony are incapable on being given time to study the Commonwealth Bill, to vote as intelligently upon it as the average representative, they either convict themselves of ignorance of the current history of Australasia, or are attempting to hoodwink the public. (Cheers) Against those who say that the average elector cannot vote intelligently upon a measure now well known throughout Australasia, whilst illogically affirming that the same elector is intelligent enough to elect members of Parliament to consider the same subject. It may be we'll guard the public by mentioning by way of reminder that the commonwealth Bill has been submitted to the popular vote in New South Wales, Victoria, and South Australia, and since the electors of those colonies have been able to record their "Yes" or "No" intelligently it is a poor compliment to New Zealanders to maintain that they are not equal to the same responsibility. (Cheers.) It is to be borne in mind that in all the colonies the greatest opposition to Federation comes from the mediocre politician. He fears that a Federal Assembly will require the exercise of greater intelligence and patriotism than he possesses. Thank God that the mediocre politician has conscience enough to recognise his own shortcomings. Let us welcome Federation as the means of raising the standard of public life. (Cheers.) As to Sir John Hall's 1200 reasons against federating with Australia, grounded upon the 1200 miles of intervening sea, such reasons have little force in an age which has annihilated distance. I am glad to say that Sir John has become an ardent Imperial Federationist without discovering 16,000 miles of ocean separating us from the Mother Country. So much for the anti-federation logic of little New Zealanders. My extreme pity is for those who hope by means of a reciprocity treaty to enjoy all the benefits of Federation. For years past attempts have been made to secure reciprocity between Canada and the United States, and that reciprocity is as far off as ever. New Zealand tried reciprocity with South Australia. It is just as well to say nothing of that fiasco. I really do not know what became of our reciprocity treaty with Canada. But does any one for a moment consider that when once the Federal Assembly meets that New Zealand will find it an easy task to join if she be unfortunate enough not to be one of the original Federal States? Is any Federal Ministry to seek to wreck itself by offending States like Tasmania and South Australia, through bringing New Zealand into competition with what will then have become the vested interests of those productive colonies? States are equal in the Senate, consequently Tasmania, South Australia, and Queensland colonies, not free from jealousy of New Zealand rivalry in production, can effectually keep her out of the Federation. The anti-Federationists might as well bay for the moon as to hope for reciprocity. I simply plead that the people should have liberty to determine this matter by their own votes, rather than by the proxy of mediocre politicians and reciprocity dreamers. This liberty cannot be too speedily yielded to them. I should regret that any Government professing to be liberal should set itself deliberately to withhold from the people their undoubted right of determining their own destiny by their direct personal vote on so vital an issue. (Cheers.)

Mr. R SALMON seconded the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

MR. EDMUND BELL moved the following resolution :—"That the thanks of this meeting are due to Mr. John Burns for presiding as this meeting; and that the Council of the League shall, without delay, proceed to organise this great movement. Member's tickets shall be one shilling each, the funds to be supplemented for the purposes of the League by voluntary donations." He said—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The question of Federation is of the most vital importance to us, for the Australasian colonies have passed the infantile stage and are now throbbing with a life so vigorous, that a readjustment of their institutions and relations, one towards the other, upon a federal basis, is urgently needed. It is true that some of our fellow-colonists tell us that the inclusion of New Zealand in the proposed Commonwealth is not desirable, and, in fact, would be

prejudicial to our interests. Deficient in sound arguments, they appeal to a narrow provincialism and a suspicion of those who advocate a merging of interests. Similar objections were raised to the federation of the Canadian Provinces in 1867, but experience has proved the croakers to have been wrong, for the Canadian Dominion has steadily progressed, and risen to a higher plane of political life and national sentiment. (Cheers.) Our circumstances are similar to those which existed in the Canadian Provinces prior to Federation, and there is no doubt that like beneficent results would accrue to these colonies as soon as Federation is accomplished. But what does Federation mean? It means the abolition of tariffs, restrictions, prejudices, and low ideals, and instead, the merging of interests, a healthy spirit of emulation, and the division of duties and functions between the colonies, acting conjointly as a Commonwealth and the several States as members of the Commonwealth. To the Federal Government it is proposed to delegate the conduct of external relations, collection of Customs, administration of justice, defence, post and telegraph, and regulation of the currency, etc., while to each State would be relegated the care of local interests, settlement of waste lands, making of roads, bridges, etc., education, and other interests. The Federal Government would retain 25 per cent, of the amount collected from the Customs, and remit the balance to the several States upon an equitable basis. But we are told our taxation would be heavier. Such a statement is, however, merely conjectural, for it is not to be supposed that the Federal Parliament would be less careful of economy in finance than the local Parliaments, whose duties would be partially transferred to the central body. What should we lose? We should lose at once the barriers to trade in the vexatious tariffs, annoying restrictions, and unnatural prejudices, and gain reciprocal conditions with the feeling that we are brethren, fellow-citizens of a Commonwealth, forming no insignificant portion of the British Empire whose power and prestige is more necessary for our prosperity and safety, than even to the citizens dwelling within the shadow of St Paul's. Our exports with the Australian colonies now amounts to the sum of about £1,400,000; with Federation it would no doubt soon increase to double that amount. Again, we are told we cannot compete—what? our farmers with a 26 bushel average not able to compete with a South Australian 6 bushel or a Victorian 11 bushel average. The pastoralist with his heavier fleeces and better, meat not able to compete with Australian mutton! Our mechanics and operatives not able to compete with their friends in Australia! If so, then the sooner they breathe Australian air the better it will be for their manhood and their country. The whole contention is ridiculous when applied to the producers of a country like New Zealand, enjoying as it does such superior climatic and physical conditions. (Applause.) If we decline to join the Commonwealth, should we not be liable to lose many present and prospective advantages? Yes, for when the fateful hour in February arrives, and Federation becomes an accepted fact, if we are not within the charmed circle, then from that time a ring in the shape of a 20 per cent, tariff will be levelled against us by the whole of the Australian States. Thus our trade will be discouraged, and instead of enjoying a uniform and steady development it will be harassed by a yoke, the tension of which will be only relieved in a time of scarcity in Australia. We shall lose capital and prestige, for no individual or company would start anything but an exceptional industry in a limited market such as ours, when by going to Australia free trade would be secured with 4,000,000 of people. Not only so, but industries now existing in New Zealand would no doubt be removed to Australia in order to escape the tariff and enjoy a freer and larger market. The foregoing arguments appeal to our selfishness, but there are others of even greater importance which appeal to our patriotism and chivalrous instincts. We are a part of the Empire (and that a vulnerable part) depending for our safety upon the fleet; accordingly, we should act in harmony with its policy. (Cheers.) That policy is known to be the consolidation of interests in order to secure increased efficiency, not from a merely sentimental or jingoistic spirit, but as a prudent answer to the hostile Powers, who, jealous of her prosperity, only desire a favourable opportunity to compass her dismemberment. The Imperial Government desires the federation of the Australasian colonies, therefore we should not be indifferent to the invitation to add another star to the Federal shield. By so doing our political life would be raised to a higher plane, more statesmanlike qualities would be demanded in our legislators than those at present evinced by fussy and speculative demagogues. Our national ideals would be enlarged and dignity of thought and action encouraged by the important fact that we are not the ward of, but a living active member of the Empire, participating in its policy and glory, and proportionately responsible for its safety and development. (Applause.)

MRS. SCHNACKENBERG, in seconding the resolution, briefly expressed her great pleasure in doing so, as she was in perfect sympathy with the movement. (Applause.)

The motion was carried unanimously.

MR. GRAVES AICKIN moved a vote of thanks to the Chairman, which was seconded by the REV. CANON MCMURRAY.

Appendix

Extract from Leading Article, "New Zealand Herald," 15th July, 1899.

PERHAPS the most important element to be considered is our commercial relations with Australia. On this subject the "New Zealand Trade Review" has just compiled the latest official returns, which are very instructive, and which we propose to condense. Here are the totals for the last three years :—

Eliminating gold and specie, the figures for New South Wales and Victoria are as follow :—

From these it will be seen that our trade with New South Wales is more than with all the other colonies combined, Tasmania being included in the figures. To some extent this may arise from New South Wales being climatically better suited for an exchange of products with New Zealand, but there can be no question that to a great extent it is owing to New South Wales being a free-trade colony, and affording an "open door" for our produce, while the other colonies confront us with a protectionist tariff. And in considering the question it must not be forgotten that Federated Australia will almost certainly restrict our produce by a protectionist tariff. We put together the largest items in our exports :—

It may be remarked that our exports to Australia consist mainly of our own products, not more than 5 per cent, being re-exports. Our imports from Australia, on the other hand, consist to a considerable extent of re-exports of commodities of British or foreign origin. The export trade to Australia seems to be irregular, and is dependent, no doubt, to a very great extent upon the nature of the season there. Thus in potatoes, while in 1896 we sent that article to the amount of £8286, and in 1897 to £18,733, in 1898 we reached the enormous figure of £137,416.

As regards the imports from the Australian colonies we give the principal items :—

The above figures show plainly that a very large proportion of our imports from Australia consist of articles which have been brought there from foreign countries, Melbourne or Sydney being for us merely the handiest market. Although our export trade to Australia shows an increase on the totals, still it is manifestly irregular in regard to any particular item. Of the machinery supplied, to the value of £24,741, nearly £8500 worth was of our own make. We shipped preserved milk to the value of £9600, nearly all our own production.

Federal Constitution.

[By Eclectic.]

FROM THE "NEW ZEALAND HERALD."

THE Federal Constitution, "as finally adopted by the Australasian Federal Convention," contains 127 clauses, exclusive of the schedule, and occupies 23 pages foolscap. All that I can do in the limited space available, therefore, will be simply preliminary, sufficient, probably, for many' of my readers, until the full text of such an important document is available. It will be noticed that the word "Australasian" is employed, which, of course, includes New Zealand and the South Sea Islands. The document opens, as all such documents should do, by "Humbly relying upon the Blessing of Almighty God;" then follows the agreement "to unite in one indissoluble Federal Commonwealth under the Queen." Clause 3 provides that the Queen may, by proclamation, bring the Constitution into existence on or before the 16th March next. Clause 6 has much significance for us It says : "The 'States' shall mean such of the colonies of New South Wales, New Zealand, etc., as are parts of the Commonwealth at its establishment" The door stands wide open for us. It remains for the Parliament and people of New Zealand to agree to enter, and we should then become one of the "Original States," to which irrevocable rights and privileges will belong. The consequences of delay will come under our observation when we get further on. Clause 9 defines the parts of the Constitution.

- —The Parliament.
- —The Executive.
- —The Judicature.
- —Finance and trade.
- —The States.
- —New States.
- —Miscellaneous.
- —Alteration of the Constitution.

But I can only briefly summarize. The Constitution provides for a Governor-General, appointed by the Queen; that his salary shall be £10,000 per annum; that the legislative power shall be vested in a Senate and House of Representatives; that the first Parliament shall meet not later than six months after the proclamation of the Constitution, and thereafter annually; that the Senate shall be composed of six members from each State, and shall hold office for six years, except as to half their number, who shall retire at the end of three years, thus providing in the future for half the Senate coming before their constituents every three years, each elector having one vote.

The House of Representatives will consist of double the number of members provided for the Senate, in all the States of the Union; they will remain in office for three years, unless previously dissolved; the several States

may make laws for determining the electoral divisions in each State, or, failing to do so, the State may vote as one constituency; the qualification of members shall be the same as at present in voting for the popular Chamber, but in the choice of members, each elector shall vote only once Clause 34 provides that the qualification of members shall be as follows :—He must be of the full age of 21 years, and must be an elector entitled to vote at the election of members of the House of Representatives, or a person qualified to become such elector, and must have been for three years a resident of the Commonwealth at the time he is chosen; he must be a subject of the Queen, either natural born, or for at least five years naturalised, under the law of the United Kingdom, or of a colony which has become, or becomes, a State, or of the Commonwealth, or of a State. Passing some formal clauses, we reach Part IV., dealing with both Houses of Parliament. Voters for the popular Chamber are entitled to vote for the Senate; members of one House cannot become members of the other Chamber; other disqualifications are enumerated, which are the usual ones, except as to one sub-section, which wears the aspect of originality, and is very important, viz., any member of either House, who, "directly or indirectly, takes, or agrees to take any fee or honorarium for services rendered to the Commonwealth, or for services rendered in the Parliament to any person or State." The framers of the Constitution give no quarter to bribery or corruption in high places. Any member of Parliament, moreover, who accepts a bribe, and becomes disqualified, may be sued in any court of competent jurisdiction, and shall become liable to pay the sum of £ 100 for every day he sits, to any person who chooses to take proceedings. Members of both branches of the Legislature shall receive an allowance of £400 a year, to be reckoned from the day on which they take their seats.

Part V. defines the powers of Parliament. These occupy 38 sub-sections, and are too lengthy to quote in full. They provide that the Parliament shall have power to make laws for the peace, order, and good government of the Commonwealth; for trade and commerce; taxation, but so as not to discriminate between States; bounties on the production or export of goods, also uniform throughout the States; borrowing money on the security of the Commonwealth, etc. One sub-section provides as follows:—Banking other than State banking; also, State banking, extending beyond the limits of the State concerned, the incorporation of banks, and the issue of paper-money Other sub-section provide State insurance, old age pensions, the relations of the Commonwealth with the islands of the Pacific, the acquisition of property on just terms from any State or person, the control of railways for military purposes, the acquisition of State railways with the consent of any State, the construction and extension of railways with the consent of any State.

The Commonwealth Parliament shall have exclusive power to make laws in respect to the seat of Government, and matters relating to any department of the public service, the control of which is by the Constitution transferred to the Commonwealth. Clause 53 provides that all appropriations of moneys or laws imposing taxation shall originate in the House of Representatives, which the Senate may not amend; the latter may request any amendment, but the final issue rests with the popular Chamber. The powers of both Chambers are co-ordinate respecting other legislation; no money votes can be passed unless the purpose of the appropriation has in the same session been recommended by message of the Governor-General to the House of Representatives Then follows a final and wise solution of a grave problem. Clause 57 provides that if a deadlock occurs, both Houses may be dissolved, and if matters in dispute are not settled in the ordinary way, there will be a joint sitting of both Houses, voting as one Chamber, and a majority will put an end to any deadlock.

We pass some formal clauses, and reach Chapter II., dealing with the Executive Government. There shall not be more than seven Ministers of State; £12,000 per annum is provided for their salaries; the Governor-General becomes chief of the naval and military forces of the Commonwealth, and after the establishment of the Commonwealth the following departments of the public service, in all the States, shall be taken over by the Commonwealth by proclamation, viz., posts, telegraphs, and telephones, naval and military defence, lighthouses, lightships, beacons, buoys, and quarantine. But without proclamation the Customs will be transferred to the Commonwealth on its establishment.

Chapter 3 provides that the judicial power of the Commonwealth shall be vested in the High Court of Australia. This Court will be presided over by a Chief Justice, and not less than two justices, and shall deal with all appeals from the High Court, the Supreme Court of any State, or in any matter in which an appeal lies to the Queen in Council, and the judgments of such High Court shall be final and conclusive. Clause 74 provides for the absolute independence of the Commonwealth in the interpretation of the Constitution. Clause 80 provides for trial by jury, and all offences must be tried in the State in which the crime was committed. Chapter IV deals with finance and trade. The revenue of the Commonwealth shall be paid into the Consolidated Revenue Fund; payment of the expenses of the Commonwealth becomes a first charge upon the revenue. Officers in any Department taken over by the Commonwealth shall be under such conditions as now obtain in the several States; they shall be entitled to retiring allowances, as well as to all existing and accruing rights. All property of any such Departments taken over by the Commonwealth, shall vest in the latter, but in the case of the Customs

for such time as the Governor-General-in-Council may declare to be necessary. The Commonwealth may acquire any property used, but not exclusively used, by this Department, by paying compensation to the State, and shall assume the obligations of the State in respect of the Departments so transferred. Clause 87 provides that for a period of 10 years after the establishment of the Commonwealth, and thereafter until Parliament otherwise provides, not more than one-fourth of the revenue from Customs shall be appropriated by the Commonwealth. The balance shall be returned to the States, or in payment of interest on debts of the States taken over by the Commonwealth. Clause 88 provides that within two years uniform duties of Customs shall be imposed. For two years a debtor and creditor account will be kept as between the several States, and on adjustment the balance (if any) shall be paid monthly to each State. At the end of that period the Federal Parliament shall deal exclusively with duties of Customs and excise. Clause 92 I will quote verbatim, it should be written in gold.

"On the imposition of uniform duties of Customs, trade, commerce, and intercourse among the States, whether by means of internal carriage or ocean navigation, shall be absolutely free."

Clause 94 provides that after five years from the imposition of uniform duties, the Parliament may provide, on such basis as it deems fair, for the monthly payment to the several States of all surplus revenue.

Clause 95 contains an exception in favour of the State of West Australia for five years after the uniform tariff comes into force. That State will have power to levy special duties, which the Federal Parliament will collect, but no duty during the first year shall exceed the duty in force at the time the uniform tariff is imposed, and by a sliding scale will cease at the expiry of the fifth year. During a period of 10 years the Commonwealth Parliament may grant financial assistance to any State.

Other formal clauses follow, and we reach clause 100, which provides for an inter-State Commission, and other clauses define the functions of the Commission, these being generally questions as to trade, and commerce within the Commonwealth.

Clause 104 provides that the Federal Parliament may take the public debts of the several States and may convert, renew, or consolidate, any such debts, or any part thereof.

Chapter V. deals with the States, and contains 15 clauses. Clause 105 and the two following are saving clauses conserving the rights of the several States as at present constituted, clause 106 the rights of Parliament, and clause 107 the maintenance of State laws as now in force, or of altering or repealing any such laws, as the Parliament of the colony had until the Parliament became a State of the Commonwealth.

Clause 108 provides that State laws inconsistent with the laws of the Commonwealth shall be invalid.

Clause 112 vests the liquor traffic in the States.

Other clauses provide that States shall not raise or maintain any naval or military forces without the consent of the Federal Parliament; nor impose any tax on property of any kind belonging to the Commonwealth, nor coin money, nor make other than gold or silver a legal tender; nor establish any religion, nor impose religious observances, nor prohibit the free exercise of any religion, nor impose religious tests, nor shall the Commonwealth tax State property.

Clause 118 provides that the Commonwealth shall protect every State against invasion or domestic violence, and each State must provide for the punishment of persons convicted of offences against the laws of the Commonwealth.

Chapter VI. deals with the new States. The Parliament may admit to the Commonwealth or establish new States, and may make or impose such terms and conditions, including the extent of representation in either House of Parliament as it thinks fit. We said near the commencement of this précis that the door was standing wide open for New Zealand, if her people wish to enter and become one of the original States. Opportunity has come to us. But we must be quick and lively, or the door will be closed upon us, to be reopened only upon such terms and conditions as the Federal Parliament thinks fit.

Chapter VIII. refers to matters of detail, viz., the seat of Government, which will be in New South Wales; gives power to the Governor-General to appoint deputies; and defines the method of effecting alterations of the Constitution.

Australasian Federation

[By Eclectic.]

"I see

*Freedom's established reign; cities and men,
Numerous as sands upon the ocean's shore,*

*And Empires rising where the sun descends !
Nations shall grow, and States not less in fame.
Than Greece and Rome of old."*

In a previous analysis of the Federal Constitution, readers who are accustomed to read between the lines would have no difficulty in comprehending the scope and importance of the measure. It is a large question, however, and I propose in this article to treat it after a more simple and popular fashion. I observe that a public meeting is announced in the columns of the *Herald*, and doubtless good speaking to the several resolutions to be submitted will have an important educational result.

I propose to group the subject matter of the Bill afresh, and, to begin with, we must clearly distinguish between such functions of government as will become "Federal" and such as will remain "State" functions. We shall probably arrive at clearer notions by this simpler process. The Federal Parliament under the Constitution will at once take over, first, the Customs Departments of the several uniting States, immediately the new Constitution comes into force. For a period of two years, the duties of Customs now being levied will continue in force. At the expiry of that period the Commonwealth tariff, uniform in all the States, will come into existence. From the first start, there will be absolute free trade throughout all the States, except as to West Australia, which, for special reasons, will retain her present tariff, so far as it applies to intercolonial productions, diminishing year by year, upon a sliding scale, for five years, when that also comes to an end. So far then, there is no ambiguity with respect to duties of Customs. Then follows the taking over by proclamation of, second,—the postal, telegraph, and telephones; third,—naval and military defences: fourth,—lighthouses, lightships, and quarantine. And that is all.

The Federal Constitution takes power, with the consent of the States, to take over a multitude of other services, the most important of which is the public debts of the several colonies. It is believed by the best financial authorities that a great saving of interest would be the immediate result—a saving much more than sufficient to pay the whole cost of the Federal Government. It is probable, therefore, that soon after the consummation of the union this desirable change will be effected. They take power also, with the consent of the States, to take over the railways, or any part of the railway system, and for strategic purposes the defence authorities will probably recommend the Federal Government, with the consent of any States concerned, to take over such lines as may become of special importance in case of war. A uniform gauge, and perhaps, also, military control in certain eventualities, will probably result. But, so far as New Zealand and West Australia are concerned, there would appear to be small likelihood of their railways, or any portion of them, being required for such purposes.

What, then, will be the effect of such changes as are imperative ? Let us go back to the four services, which will become functions of the Federal Government, and the problem becomes exceedingly clear and simple. Will there be any great wrench ? any dislocation of the business of government ? Most assuredly not ? The income derivable from duties of Customs will be payable to the Commonwealth Treasury, as also the revenues from the Post and Telegraph Department. Two services, it will be seen, are revenue-producing, and two, the Defences and Lighthouses—produce no income whatever. It is provided that not more than one-fourth of the revenue derivable from Customs will be expended in the cost of the Federal Government, the balance—three-fourths of the whole revenue—being returnable in fair proportion to the several States. The postal and telegraph services are revenue producing, but yield no profit, or, at least, ought not to yield any profit, they being carried on, not for profit, but for the convenience of the public. Even as to the fourth part of the Customs revenue, provisionally devoted to the Federal Government., there is a great probability of it being more than recouped to the several States, by way of savings in interest, as Government bonds fall due and are converted. It will be observed, moreover, that the considerable charges for defence and lighthouse services will be saved to the Colonial Exchequers, which will much more than recoup the expense of the Commonwealth Government.

We saw that an inter-State Commission was to be appointed, to regulate all inter-State questions. To this body of men who will be chosen, doubtless, for their administrative capacity, will belong the great work of reorganisation, to bring the four services of the new Government into line. What may be fairly anticipated as the result of their labours ? They will be directed chiefly, no doubt, at the commencement, to the postal and telegraphic services. What room surely for enormous improvements in New Zealand, not as to the efficiency of the staff, confessedly highly satisfactory, but as to inter-State mail services and accommodation for the staff and general public. Visitors from the other colonies remark upon our dingy and melancholy offices, as compared with Australian offices. The Commissioners are empowered to acquire land or buildings, and the convenience of the public, and efficiency of this important Department, at once point to numerous new and suitable structures, large extensions of the services, the introduction probably also of an inter-State penny post, and

greatly reduced telegraph charges. All this may be confidently anticipated, and to crown all, rapid mail and passenger steamers, bringing the States so much nearer to each other, and encouraging, as well as facilitating inter-State trade and commerce. The importance of such reforms, as may be fairly anticipated, can scarcely be over-estimated. There will be nothing visible to indicate that a change of government has taken place, except the newer life, the greater efficiency all round, and the larger operations coming into being with the union.

Coming to defences, both by sea and land, what room also for enormous and much-needed reforms. Instead of a disjointed and fragmentary force, labouring under the greatest difficulties, we may easily enough anticipate the Coming into existence of a Commonwealth force, equal to any emergency, governed and disciplined as one great organisation, and acquiring the maximum of efficiency. All this pre-supposes better equipment, better accommodation, rifle ranges, parade grounds, and much besides. The Governor-General will become Commander-in-Chief of the Forces, and distinguished officers will arise throughout the Commonwealth, who, if an enemy should invade our shores, will be prepared to give a good account of our preparedness for such a defence of our hearths and homes as will inspire us with confidence and courage when the day of trial comes, as come it will. To us this is indeed an important consideration. Our union with Australia will afford us all that security and protection, with-out which we shall be helpless indeed.

Nothing need be said further of the taking over of the lighthouses, lightships, and quarantine stations, except that they will be better administered by the Federal authorities.

So much for the functions of the Federal Parliament. Is there anything alarming in such changes as they involve? Do we lose anything whatever? Do they not remain as much New Zealand services as ever? We part with absolutely nothing. We are gainers every way—in economy, efficiency, the security of the people, should war's alarms be heard, and the roar of hostile cannon for the first time in our history, salute our ears.

In summarising the economic results involved in the absorption by the Federal Government of the services referred to, I am clearly of opinion that this Colony will gain enormously. I do not of course forget that we must, pay our fair share of the Federal expenses. This has been variously estimated, but by none with greater clearness than by Sir Samuel Griffiths, Chief Justice of Queensland, and for many years previously the trusted Treasurer of that colony. His estimate of the expenses of the Commonwealth is £230,000 per annum, to be contributed in equal proportions by the several States by way of deductions from the Customs revenue. Our share, roughly, would be one-seventh, say £33,000. The Consolidated revenue would, however, be relieved of the expenses of the several departments taken over by the Federal Government. The cost of New Zealand defences was in 1897 (the latest figures available), £91,387 19s. 1d., and Lighthouses cost us £31,920 17s. The Post and Telegraph Departments show a large profit, but it is more apparent than real, inasmuch as it includes the considerable revenue derived under the Stamp Duties, which would not be taken over with the Postal and Telegraph Departments. There is a clear saving of £123,308 16s. 1d. on the Defence and lighthouse services taken over, and to this it is only fair to add the probable saving in interest when, as is most certain, the State debts are pooled. Our indebtedness is something under £50,000,000, but assuming that to be the amount, and that the interest is reduced only one per cent., we get the enormous saving of £500,000 per annum. The best financial authorities are agreed that the saving will exceed one per cent. It is absolutely absurd, therefore, to prate, as so many do, about the extra cost of the Federal Government. So far from that there will be an immediate saving of over £123,000, and a prospective saving of half-a-million, which may prove to be nearer a million, in interest payable upon our indebtedness. If loans to public bodies are likewise pooled, as doubtless they will be, another important saving will be effected. If we stand out, it will be most mortifying to New Zealanders, to find themselves in so many ways, having to pay inordinately for their present and prospective loans, as compared with the Colonies under the Commonwealth.

We now reach the second branch of our inquiry, viz., what functions remain to our State Parliament and State Government? It is deplorable to hear some who ought to know better lament the loss of the right to govern ourselves, and work out our own destinies. What an absurd and ridiculous mistake to make. We part with absolutely nothing. Our postal and telegraph services will remain as heretofore, only vastly extended and improved. Our defence forces, both by sea and land, will remain, but under conditions so much more favourable to efficiency, while we secure the invaluable aid of all our neighbours in repelling any hostile attack. It is plain, surely, that even as to those services which can only be come efficient by becoming federal we are enormously the gainers, and we part, so far even as they are concerned, with absolutely nothing whatever. There will be no sweeping changes; the transformation will be visible only by the marvellous improvements which will become possible, when those services are administered, with regard to the convenience and efficiency of the whole, rather than being administered in fragments, preventing their being either efficient or economical.

The Parliament of New Zealand, as at present constituted, will remain; all those Departments which occupy the attention of the hon. members, chiefly, will remain undisturbed. There is a high probability in the opinion of the best judges, that there will be as much money to expend as heretofore on works of public utility. When the

public debts are taken over inordinate borrowing will be restrained. But this even is a distinct gain of great importance Legislation affecting railroads, roads, bridges, the lands of the colony, education, the administration of justice, hospital and charitable aid, industrial legislation, old age pensions, the drink traffic—everything we now deal with, save the exceptions previously referred to. Members of Parliament need have no fear of their occupation being gone, or the honorarium attached to it. So far from that an additional 18 prizes will be bestowed upon New Zealand to the value of £-100 each per annum, and seven more to all the States, the high distinction of becoming Ministers of the Crown, under the great Commonwealth, and the £12,000 distributable among Ministers. What then becomes of the absurd hue and cry of some little Colonials, the counterpart of the little Englishers, that we will be extinguished or overshadowed, that we shall become an emasculated body from which the life has departed ? How absurd it all seems! Is California or San Francisco emasculated by being one of the United States of America ? Would her people be more free, more prosperous, more secure from attack, were they a colony or even an independent nationality ? What becomes of the still more silly plea arising from our remoteness from the seat of Government? California is four times farther removed by land, and still farther by sea, from Washington. The Commonwealth Legislature will have members travelling many thousands of miles by sea and land to discharge their public duty. It will have representatives who will be a month or more going and returning. The New Zealand contingent, under conditions that will speedily arise, will be able to reach the Federal city within three days. The Federal City, the great capital of the future, will be nearly as close to us as Dunedin is to Auckland, and much more speedily reached. How lamentable to have to listen to such nonsense from men ordinarily regarded as intelligent.

I repeat we gain every way. We shall never cease to be New Zealand the beautiful, and I fervently hope, too, New Zealand the prosperous and happy. But after all the outpourings of a narrow and egotistical class, who appear perfectly unable to grasp the fair proportions of the questions we are discussing, we are not a nationality now, nor is it likely that it will ever be in the least desirable that we should achieve our independence. We are but a colony of the Empire, an infinitesimal proportion of the earth's surface, or even of the area comprised within the British dominions. You could plant a dozen New Zealands in the backwoods of the Australian continent, and as you journeyed past such picturesque changes of scenery, they would soon pass out of sight.

Once more I desire to emphasise that the great and important fact which cannot be made too plain or too prominent, is the open door. The widespread infatuation that the Federal Bill provides for our joining at any time on equal terms is an enormous mistake. How foolish, how misleading, how fatal even, the opinions of some who counsel us to wait. Why wait ? Why hesitate ? This is the weakest of all the weak inventions of the enemy—the most insincere and hypocritical of cries. It is dictated by a narrow and foolish policy. Wait till the steed is stolen and then lock the stable? Wait till opportunity, now come to us, and inviting us to enter, passes us by, perhaps for ever? Wait for the turn of the tide ? Now is our time of flood tide. Men animated by the loftiest patriotism are calling us, regretting our hesitation, deploring our delusions, unable to account for such a spell as overwhelms us. But within a few months—so urgent, by our stoicism and neglect has this matter become—and the flowing tide will be all against us. Let us be forewarned; don't let us make any mistake. The issues very soon will rest, not with men, statesmen and patriots, inspired by Imperial sentiments, but with hard-headed men, the representatives of the Australian public, largely a manufacturing and industrial people, who for years have been familiar with the charm of fiscal barriers in protecting their trades and industries. How conspicuous in every tariff are the duties levied almost exclusively upon New Zealand products. Forty shillings upon horses, and 2s. and 2s. 6d. upon sheep are duties levelled at New Zealand; 2d. to 3d. per lb. on butter, 3d. to 4d. per lb. on cheese, 4d and 6d. per bushel on oats, 6d and 8d. per lb. on hops, 4s. 6d per bushel on malt, 20s. to 180s. per ton on oatmeal, 20s. per ton on potatoes, 15s. to 30s. per 1000ft. on timber—these are duties well nigh prohibitive, and they are levelled specially at this colony. And it is to this potential class in the Australian Legislature, the manufacturers and farmers chiefly, who desire to shut us out, such misguided councillors would deliberately relegate the question of our admission to the united States, after the open door has been shut, securely locked, and the key placed, for all time in the hands of these very men ! Was there ever such extravagance of folly ? In all history can we find a parallel for such absolute insanity ? And yet these artificial, unnatural, and irrational barriers notwithstanding, the export of produce and manufactures to the Australian colonies has shown a marvellous increase, when such conditions are taken into account. In 1895 our exports were £978,000, and in 1898 £1,475,157. These figures are highly suggestive. Mark them well, I pray you. How our exports would increase in value had we, as we may easily have, absolute free trade with the Australian colonies ! Our choice, the choice of the people of New Zealand within the next few months, is between this free trade with the Australian colonies, for our trade and commerce, and artificial restrictions; between a revived and flourishing production, and local industries that will surprise and astonish us, and isolation, with its manifold disabilities, a languishing trade, a diminishing population, and all-round depreciation of property. The issues are indeed overwhelming. Never before have the people of New Zealand been confronted with such a grave responsibility.

May wisdom, and prudence, and patriotism inspire us, and the future of our beautiful colony, so richly endowed by Divine Providence, resting upon the broad foundation of the Federal Constitution, and secured against foreign invasion, will become increasingly populous and increasingly happy, our prosperity shall eclipse in the future all the brightest glories of the present.

*"We, too, shall boast
Our Scipio's, Solon's, Cato's—Sage's, Chiefs,
That in the lapse of time yet dormant lie,
Waiting the joyous hour of life and light."*

Australasian Federation.

[By a Federalist.]

THE other day I read a tribute to the memory of Sir Henry Parkes, the Apostle of Australian Federation, now that it is about to become an accomplished fact. I am glad to see that in New South Wales there are politicians who recognise what they owe to him, in becoming an Australasian Commonwealth, and taking a place among the nations of the world, for that is what it really means, under the aegis of the Imperial nursing mother. Among those who have placed a laurel on the dead statesman's brow is Mr. Bruce Smith, who, in his pamphlet, "Honour to Whom Honour is Due," shows what Australia owes to her deceased statesmen, who will be to the Australian Commonwealth what Sir John Macdonald has been to the Canadian Dominion. As far back as 1857, Australian Union has been in the air, first in Victoria, and latterly in New South Wales. Ten years afterwards a report on union was brought up in the Victorian Assembly, and by Sir Henry Parkes at a conference in Victoria. Its proceedings appear in the "Argus" of March 18, 1867, on the assembling in Victoria of the representatives of all the colonies, saving Western Australia, but including even distant New Zealand. The conference had been convened with a view to the formation of some scheme of Federal Union; and it fell to the lot of Sir Henry Parkes to voice the following sentiments, "at a time," says Mr. Bruce Smith, "when most of the men, who are now loudly protesting their ardour for the cause were carrying a school satchel."

For the first time, he said, in the history of these Australian colonies, they have all assembled, including New Zealand—I may say all of them, because they are all represented, with the exception of Western Australia—with the feeling of emulation less worthy than the desire to have the largest share in effecting a commonwealth to promote their common interest. I think the time has arrived when those colonies should be united by some federal connection. I think it must be manifest to all thoughtful men that there are questions projecting themselves upon our attention which cannot be satisfactorily dealt with by any one of the individual Governments.

Had a number of these representatives taken a broad view of things, federation would have come to pass in his day. When I see men discussing the question of Australian Federation in a huckstering spirit, wanting to know how much we can get for our maize, our potatoes, and oats, if we join, I feel ashamed of some of our fellow-colonists, and turn with delight to the utterances of Sir Henry Parkes in addressing the Australian Natives' Association in 1889 :—

"Federation will have to be worked out in a generous spirit of patriotism, without seeking to obtain a number of advantages for any one colony. We, as separate communities, have had to fight our way. What may be said of New South Wales may be said of Victoria, Queensland, South Australia, Tasmania, and may be said our sister, New Zealand, if she will condescend to permit us to call her sister. We cannot become one united people and cherish some provincial object which is inconsistent with that national unity. It was vain for any particular colony, even if it so desired, to attempt to steal a march or sneak an advantage over its neighbours. We are willing to come into a Federal Dominion with the smallest colonies; we seek no advantage for ourselves; we do not wish to make any conditions whatever; we are prepared to trust to the wisdom, to the honour, and to the justice of a Federal Parliament, and to commit all our interests to it. That is our position; and, unless we are willing to trust to a Federal Parliament. I cannot understand how we can hope to federate in any way which will be worthy of name.

Messrs. Kennedy Brown and Aulsebrook strike the right chord in the columns of the "Herald." The former says, referring to our commerce with Australia under free-trade within the Zollverein, and protection against those outside, "How marvellously our wealth would increase and human happiness—the only thing worth thinking about—the real chief end of man—would abound." I am surprised that a man like Mr. Andrew Bell, who has been brought up in a creed that "man does not live by bread alone," should enjoin a single word of caution, and intimate that we can go into the Union when we please and on our terms. There never was a greater

fallacy propounded. Ruskin has finely said. "The strength and power of a country depends absolutely on the quality of the men and women in it." Earl Russell says all the material resources of a State are of little avail if there are not behind all the moral resources. And the poet sings in the same strain :—

What constitutes a State ?

Not cities proud, with spires and turrets crowned,
Not bays and broad armed forts,
But men—high-minded men.

Does anyone believe that if federation had been accomplished in 1857, when it was first mooted in Victoria, or even in 1867, when Sir Henry Parkes gave the idea concrete shape, and brought it within the region of practical politics, that we would to-day see the Germans in New Guinea, the New Hebrides under a dual control, the Solomon Islands under a divided control, and Samoa under a tripartite rule. The pressure of the Australian Commonwealth would have compelled the British Government to consider the representations of the incipient nation, just as Mr. Chamberlain has, through the recent federal verdict, surrendered his original position with regard to the Pacific cable, and made it an Imperial enterprise. Does anyone believe that if Newfoundland had cast in her lot with the Canadian Dominion that "the French Shore question" to-day would be in its present stage, preventing the development of its resources. "Oh," but says someone, "Newfoundland has self-government." Why, a number of its members of Parliament were unseated for corruption so hideous that it has had no parallel in any other British colony; the colony has been reduced to practical bankruptcy, so grievous that it was actually proposed to farm out one of the Government departments to a contractor, just as a Turkish pashalic would be farmed. All Newfoundland did was to prove that she had the right to misgovern herself. Why, there is nothing sweet or wholesome about her, save her own codfish ! Sir Henry Parkes, in moving his resolutions of May, 1890, in the New South Wales Legislative Assembly, dealt with this aspect of the subject, because of the misconception which appeared to exist in regard to it, especially in New Zealand, where his remarks are just as apposite as to New South Wales.

I will dwell for a moment on some objections which I have occasionally heard—objections that we would be giving up the individual power, and authority, and independence of New South Wales. In what way will New South Wales be less self-governed and less independent than she is now ? Under a federal constitution she certainly will be as well-governed; that is, she will have the means of being as well governed. She certainly will be as independent. She certainly will be the better for having all the power which she possesses now, and in addition to that, her full share in the large powers of the federal government, which she has not at all now. So far as her own boundaries extend, she will be the self-governed country she is now. But, beyond this, she will have her share of power over the whole of Australia, and over the whole of the seas of Australia.

There Sir Henry Parkes had considered everything in his plans. He pointed out that in the event of the colonies becoming involved in war through the Mother Country the colonies in their then position simply invited disaster. There was no Federal authority to mass the troops, no uniform railway gauge to admit of swift mobilisation, no efficient military college, no small arms factory, and no quick-firing guns ammunition factory. At the first outbreak of war there would be endless confusion, divided authority, and the unpreparedness—to compare great things with small—of the French in 1870. Speaking of finance, it was shown that experts reckoned the reduced rate of interest at which the Commonwealth could go into the English market, converting old loans and raising new ones, under "the sweet simplicity of the Three Per Cents.," would make a saving of from a million and a-quarter to a million and a-half, the whole cost of the Federal Government being defrayed from the saving of interest alone! Diplomatically, he showed what Australia would gain. That is already seen in the case of Canada. Her Premier was treated almost as an Ambassador at the Jubilee, and held quite a different position to the Premiers and Agents-Generals of the separated Australian colonies. Even the Hon. the Premier of New Zealand felt that.

It is as certain as night follows day that when New Zealand comes to desire to enter the Australian Federation, she will have to do so on that federation's terms, and not on her own. It is simply folly to imagine it can be otherwise, and that a United Australia will take its terms from "the Newfoundland of the Pacific." There will be free-trade within the boundaries of the Federation, and possibly a commercial arrangement with Great Britain, giving her favoured treatment as against foreign nations. Where will New Zealand be then ? "Stewing in her own gravy." By going into the Union she would have 4,000,000 people as her best customers for everything she has to produce. The droughts, and floods, and fires of Australia fight for us, but who will pay the protection duties at such periods—the exporter or the consumer ? Our people will soon find out. Tasmania will simply drive our fruit and our jams out of the Australian markets. Where will be the outlet for our splendid timbers ? Australian members of Parliament and Australian Cabinet Ministers have alike stated that New

Zealand will have to get her goods into the Australian markets at any sacrifice, because distance and the freights render it impossible for her to compete in the American or European markets.

We see what has befallen Queensland because she had not representatives who could rise to the occasion, and take a broad view of things. She could not decide to make up her mind on the question, and now, instead of her statesmen having a share in framing the Constitution, she is going to the poll or referendum upon proposals in which she has had no "art or part." When New Zealand similarly comes in she will be precisely in the same fix. If she had been represented at the Conference she would at least have had an opportunity of attempting to mould the Constitution to suit her special requirements, but that opportunity has been lost. The longer she remains out of the Federation, the harder will be the terms, and the larger the price, because the Federation will remember the selfish and tortuous role New Zealand has pursued. The Otago Times, referring to the Auckland movement for a National Federation League, says :—

"The Commonwealth Bill makes provision for the admission of new States after the federation shall have been brought about, the provision being that the Federal Parliament may admit new States on such terms and conditions, including the extent of representation in either House of Parliament, as it may think fit. The question raised by the National Federation League, as the Auckland federalists have styled the organisation they have formed, is one for earnest as well as deliberate consideration."

Once Australasian Federation was accomplished, then we could look to the higher plane of Imperial Federation, and the political vista which stretched out before the prescient gaze of Sir Henry Parkes, when he said :—

"I do see very clearly that there may come a time, and that time not very remote, when the Australian colonies may be brought more into the position of one great and united people. I do see a time when the South African colonies may be brought together into one great Anglo-African people. And I see that if a grand and powerful congeries of free communities, such as I have grouped, in three parts of the world, become steadily formed, they may enter into an allegiance with the parent State, on something like a broad ground of equality."

That was the goal which Tennyson hoped would be reached :—

Britain's myriad voices call,
Sons be welded one and all
Into one Imperial whole.
One with Britain, heart and soul,
One Life, one Flag, one Fleet, one Throne !

What are our local public men doing? Well, money-grubbing as usual. The mining share and stock list is of more consequence to them than the formation of the national career and life of four and a-half millions of their fellow countrymen. What are they thinking about at Wellington in the Parliament of New Zealand? Well, if our representatives are thinking about anything, it is probably the marine scandal, and whether Mr. John Hutcheson will get back again to the House, or how they themselves will crawl back into their own wretched seats after the dissolution of Parliament—only that, and nothing more ! It is in vain that New Zealand will try to play the game of "heads I win, tails you lose." There was a time when Sir George Grey's scheme of a South Sea Confederation, with New Zealand as the predominant partner, was possible, but that time has passed by. The Little Englanders finished that up, and no vain regrets can recall it.

Special Interviews.

Australasian Federation.

"The Union of the Colonies."

The Advantages of Federation.

Interview with Mr. J. Kennedy Brown.

"NEW ZEALAND HERALD," 28TH JUNE.

THE question of federation appears to be attracting more attention at the present time in New Zealand than

it did when the proposals for the union of the colonies were first laid before the public. The excitement attendant upon the vote just taken in New South Wales, and the victory gained by the supporters of the federation movement, have had the effect of causing renewed interest to be taken in this important question, consequently the impressions of those who have paid close attention to the federation movement should be read with interest. A "Herald" reporter interviewed Mr. Kennedy Brown, who takes great interest in the movement, and gleaned from that gentleman some important details in connection therewith.

Reference was first made to the probable fiscal policy of the Federated States. "Don't you think that intercolonial free-trade would interfere with some of the local industries which the protective tariff has fostered, by introducing Australian competition?"

"That is an important subject, and getting at once to the crux of the whole question so far as New Zealand is concerned. I have been in the intercolonial trade for more than a quarter of a century, representing the largest manufacturing houses part of the time, and can speak from very ample experience. Twenty-five years ago New Zealand's industries were in their infancy, while the industries of the mother colony had become important, and still later, Melbourne came to the front with a bound, cutting out New South Wales and building up enormous local industries, which her energy and enterprise carried over all the colonies. New Zealand came into the field next, and her industries are at this moment, notwithstanding hostile tariffs, the most conspicuous, and far and away the most important. Our timber trade is one of the oldest, and overshadows all the colonies except Queensland. Then comes farm and dairy produce, our surplus production being enormous. Next comes manufactures of wood, of wool, of iron or leather. In all these lines New Zealand is unrivalled. It is Australia that has to reckon with us, if only we join the union and secure the inestimable blessings of intercolonial free-trade. You see our climate and natural resources favour continuous production, as well as human energies. Australia is indeed a grand country, but she is almost destitute, Queensland excepted, of the more useful timbers—her climate for more than half the year a scorching one, her seasons intermittent, droughts and floods and bush fires, paralysing the energies of her people and inflicting enormous losses upon the country. I think we have everything to gain and nothing whatever to dread, from a policy of intercolonial free-trade."

"But taking clothing, shirts, woollens, and other similar manufactures in which enterprising colonists have invested much capital, would they not be likely to be overrun with Australian goods of the same description?"

"Now you have got at the question which I am aware creates considerable trepidation in certain quarters, and nothing can be more natural I am persuaded however, that in all these manufactures we can not only compete with the other colonies, but beat them. No firm in Australia could make such a display of woollens, blankets, rugs, etc., as several New Zealand firms recently exhibited in Auckland, neither in get up quality, or price. We are enormously ahead of Australia in those lines. Although our population is only about three-fifths that of New South Wales, we have seven times as many woollen mills, and produce more than twenty times the quantity of woollens. The fact that the trade in them has become established in Australia, hostile tariffs notwithstanding, demonstrates surely that with free trade this great industry would be greatly increased. Look at our raw materials. We are recklessly sending away that we might manufacture among ourselves. Take kauri gum, for instance. We alone possess this valuable product, and in is sent off in the rough. If we converted it into varnishes, every £100 worth of gum would represent over £1000 worth of varnish, and it is in the latter form we should deal with this commodity."

"And what of the timber industry?"

"Our kauri timber is also an exclusively New Zealand product, and is being ruthlessly sacrificed. Trees of small girth are cut down that ought to remain growing for years. We are doing scarcely anything to replace those being felled, a foolish and impolitic tax expediting the wasteful process. For every tree we cut down a dozen should be planted by force of law. The same argument, moreover, which I have used in dealing with kauri gum, applies equally to kauri timber. Had we free trade with the neighbouring colonies, which our federating would assure us, this valuable natural asset would be largely exported in the manufactured state as woodware, doors, sashes, etc., and the wages and profits of human labour added to the value of the commodity in the rough. The duty on timber is from 1s 6d to 3s per 100ft. Try to imagine the result of free trade in timber with Australia! Both Baltic and Oregon timber, now more than dividing the intercolonial trade, would be nowhere. They would be subject to heavy duties, and their competition would vanish. Besides, if we decide to remain isolated, Queensland, with ample supplies of excellent timber for every purpose, would simply annex the markets of Sydney and Melbourne, and Auckland's great industry would be strangled. Last year we exported over 40,000,000ft "

"Take the products in which the farmers are interested. Do you think they would benefit from federation if New Zealand were to be included?"

"Well, if we send a horse to South Australia, we must pay the Government 40s. If to Tasmania or West Australia 20s. Sheep landing in Victoria pay 2s each, and in West Australia 2s 6d. Our oats are heavily handicapped, being 8d. per bushel in Queensland, and 2s. and 3s. respectively in South Australia and Victoria

per 100lb. But, nevertheless, we sent them £100,000 worth in 1895, and the next year nearly twice that amount. A free port at Sydney explains this extraordinary increase. Their cheese pays 3d. and 4d. per lb. to get into Australia Think of that! And yet we sent them in 1895 nearly £10,000 worth, and in 1898 over £50,000. Had we free trade with these colonies, how enormously this export would expand, and what a boon to the farmers. A good puzzle for the "Graphic" would be to estimate the increase a single year after federation secured us the enormous advantages of free-trade with these colonies. Butter is rated at 2d. and 3d. In 1895 we sent them nearly £9000 worth, and in 1898 £75,728. Oatmeal at 20s., 40s., 80s., and 180s. per ton! How the people paying the latter duty must prize it, and it deserves all the fame it has achieved. In three years our export to Australia more than doubled. Maize pays 6d. and 8d. per bushel. Grass and clover seed goes to Victoria free, marking the desire of the people for improved pastures, but to the other colonies 15 per cent, and 25 per cent. The export was £11,205 in 1895 and £43,152 in 1898. Potatoes are 15s. to Queensland and 20s. to the other colonies—nearly half their value. And we ship enormous quantities. In 1895 our exports were £6871, and in 1898 £137,416. Here is a big jump, the result of an open port. Had we free trade, with all five ports open to our exploitation, how this export would expand ! Land would become increasingly valuable. And not only the produce of the land, but the produce likewise of the sea a highly valuable asset. How marvellously our wealth would increase, and human happiness—the only thing worth thinking about—the real chief end of man—would abound !"

"Another question, Mr Brown. How do you think federation would—I mean our federating—affect our larger commercial houses ?"

"Federation is primarily a manufacturer's and producer's question. It takes all local manufactures and productions to be chiefly within its province; but it is also, I think, of great importance to importing firms. Many locally-produced commodities will take the place of imported articles, and the more the better, but the merchants will share in the general prosperity. If the colony suffers a loss of population commerce must languish and *cetirus paribus*, if as I think the colony prospers by federating the purchasing power of the larger population will greatly benefit the commercial classes. They dreaded and opposed a protective policy, but it has benefited them enormously."

"You have drawn an attractive picture. But should New Zealand not join, what then ?"

"I am almost sorry you have referred to that side of the question. It is like a horrid nightmare; I dread to think of it. In one sense New Zealand and her people could exist in a high state of comfort if she were surrounded with a sea of fire. The country is so productive that we either produce, or could produce, every necessary, and almost every luxury of life. But what a wretched, lotus-eating life that would be! And so likewise, if we remain isolated in this great crisis in our history. Our farmers would lose heart, as they found the federated States waging a war of exclusion by means of a high tariff; settlement would be discouraged; gazing across the Tasman Sea they would envy their more fortunate contemporaries, and many, doubtless, would take their departure from New Zealand. Australia has abundance of good land open for settlement at a tithe of the price here, and the youth and hope of the colony would leave us in multitudes. Manufacturing industries would be dwarfed and stunted Commerce would languish. A period of unrest and depression of unexampled severity would set in, and we should chew the cud of bitter disappointment. Don't let us make any mistake. It appears now or never, never at least on terms equally favourable."

"And what of the political situation ?"

"That is much more simple. To approach the question from the commercial side requires knowledge and experience, superfluous when dealing with the political side of the question. We must clearly distinguish between Federal functions and State functions. The former will be both large and important, but not so much in evidence as local functions. The change of Government will be little perceptible. The saving of interest upon the public debt will pay nearly, if not all, the expenses of the Federal Government. It would be unrivalled as a colonial federation, there can never be such another. Australia is more than twenty-six times the size of the United Kingdom, fifteen times larger than France, half as large again as Russia in Europe, almost equal indeed to the entire Continent of Europe, or the United States of America. You could put twenty Englands and more than a dozen New Zealands into the wilds of Australia, and to employ the language of the "Review of Reviews," "they might be playing the game of hide and seek in Australia" The same journal says you could plot a map of Europe with an area cut out of Continental Nations containing 250,000,000 inhabitants, and still leave three-fourths of Australia uncovered. In my pamphlet I made the following extract from a lecture I delivered some years ago in Christchurch:—"Before taking our leave of the Australian Colonies, let us group some figures afresh, as indicating how ripe we are for federation, a movement in which I earnestly trust the position of New Zealand will not be one of isolation. The total revenue of the Australian colonies amounts to over twenty millions, being four times that of Canada, about double that of Belgium or Italy, three times that of Portugal, more than three times that of Sweden or Norway, and ten times that of modern Greece. Surely there is nothing premature in such a galaxy of young and prosperous colonies uniting for their mutual protection, and

for the purpose of securing among other things the inestimable blessing of free-trade among themselves." More populous and wealthier by far than the States of America, when they poured forth their blood and treasure like water to achieve their independence. How changed the times and the men. The House of Commons cheered New South Wales; they voted large sums, and sent army after army to crush the infant States of America. Think of the slow growth of the British Constitution, the wars, the persecutions, the tyrannies, the nation steeped in blood a thousand times. And yet we hesitate. The Federal Constitution is the noblest monument which wisdom and patriotism and statesmanship has ever reared. It will become the admiration of the world."

"And what of local government? "

"Some important functions will, of course, be Federal, but heads of departments and all the machinery of Government will remain. Our local Government as at present carried on will still remain to us with a Governor and dual Parliament, and all the pomp and ceremony of State. They will still have ample work; almost every question that interests the politician will remain; roads and bridges, land settlement, new railways, the whole round of social questions, and local option, and the old age pensions. Members of Parliament need not fear the loss of their billets, or the honorarium attached to them. I am afraid we will still be far from a millenium; the loaves and fishes must still be scrambled for; petty parochialism will not even yet be abolished. The ins and the outs will still fight bravely on, and the wretched game of beggar-my- neighbour will not cease as yet. But the Federal Parliament will be potential in all matters Federal, and we may fairly hope, will set a lofty and highly beneficial example, that will influence the local Legislatures for good. For all public purposes we should have a larger revenue to expend, and taxation upon the necessaries of life would be reduced very largely."

If we do not join at once, do you think there will be any obstacle to our joining later on? "

"Yes; emphatically. That way madness lies. Now, or perhaps never; it appears to me never—at least on equal terms. The decision rested with the creme de la creme of Australian patriots and statesmen. Now it rests with the people of New Zealand. But it will soon pass from them. Australian leaders have deplored our hanging back, and cannot comprehend it. From the first the ideal Commonwealth was an Australasian Federation, to include eventually the South Sea Islands. The dream of New Zealand ever obtaining the least hold upon the Islands, or the Island trade, except through Federation, must vanish,

"Like the baseless fabric of a vision."

Australasian Federation.

Mr. Aulsebrook Interviewed.

"NEW ZEALAND HERALD," JULY 5TH, 1899.

BECOMING aware of the recent arrival from Australia of Mr. Aulsebrook, who holds pronounced views on the subject of Australasian federation, one of our staff called upon him at his residence. Mr. Aulsebrook received our representative very cordially, and said he felt very warmly upon the subject of federation, and would be only too glad to answer any questions, and fully explain his very decided opinions upon the great question.

"Do you approve of the Federal Constitution as finally adopted?" was the first question.

"Most decidedly," replied Mr. Aulsebrook. "I think it the most admirable Constitution ever possessed by any people."

"Have you considered the question of New Zealand casting in her lot with the Australian colonies?"

"Certainly. We have been discussing it on the way across, and there appears to be a consensus of opinion among all those who travel, and that opinion universally is that New Zealand should join the union at once. For myself, this has been my conviction for years, and I have a business in Australia, as also in New Zealand. I have been astonished and alarmed at the apathy of New Zealand."

"Would it be better, do you think, to wait for some time and see how the new departure works?"

"Most decidedly not. It is so obviously to our advantage to unite with Australia, that I am astonished that anyone should dream of waiting. It would display, in my opinion, a fatal want of penetration and judgment. Besides, we know that the leaders of the movement, the foremost men in Australia, would gladly welcome us now. They consider an Australasian federation a grander conception, and are inspired by lofty and patriotic motives. But the time will come when those leaders will give place to a Federation Parliament, and our great danger lies in such a Parliament shutting us out. The manufacturing and producing interests will be a large factor in such a Parliament; the question of our admission on any terms, or on what terms, will devolve upon them chiefly, and knowing human nature as we do; is it likely they will be willing to open their ports to our manufacturers and producers? That is the great risk we shall run—the risk of either being shut out altogether, or having to submit to conditions that would cripple our manufacturing and producing interests for all time. It

appears strange to me that men of business do not see that at a glance."

"Of course, Mr. Aulsebrook, you consider the Australian colonies will largely benefit by uniting?"

"Benefit! of course they will. There will be an immediate and tremendous revival of all manufacturing and producing industries, and as a consequence commerce in all its branches will be promoted."

"Can you give me any information with reference to the fiscal policy of the Commonwealth?"

"That is a very simple question. It will be one of absolute free trade among themselves, and a protective, I think a highly-protective tariff against the world. You may be very sure that the first Federal Parliament will do all they can to stimulate local industries, so that locally-produced commodities will take the place as much as possible of imported articles, employing their own people, as well as attracting outside people to settle among them. I look forward to great commercial, manufacturing, and producing activity, a high level of all round prosperity, such as will astonish us."

"Would our trade be likely to be injured if New Zealand stood out of the federation?"

"Why, it would ruin the farmers and destroy our trade with the Australian colonies in manufactured goods, which we can produce in such abundance. If we elect to stand out, in a year or two, when the great continent of Australia will be making progress in all directions, we shall be languishing. We have been cultivating the trade with Australia amidst great difficulties, and with, on the whole, great success, in spite of hostile tariffs. I am often astonished to find New Zealand so much in evidence, but all we have done so far is but a drop in the bucket as compared with what we might do had we freetrade with Australia. But we must never forget that the case will be altogether changed after federation. For instance, we send butter, cheese, etc., or farming implements or timber to any single colony now, and we are protected against all the others. That is, to make this important consideration as clear as I can, our exports, say, to West Australia, are admitted on the same footing as if they went from Sydney, Melbourne, or Brisbane. After federation, if we are out of it, all the other colonies will have free ports in West Australia, but we will be confronted with a hostile tariff. Freetrade among themselves will speedily so stimulate all productions and manufactures in Australia that our trade with all these colonies will languish and eventually perish. Let New Zealand make no mistake about this. It has been intercolonial tariffs which so far have helped us. Confederation once completed, and the federal tariff will prove the destruction of our trade with Australia, our population—especially farmers and skilled workmen—will flock to the more prosperous Commonwealth. We shall awake to such stubborn facts too late, and bitterly repent our present attitude on this great question."

Our representative thanked Mr. Aulsebrook for the information so freely given, and Mr. Aulsebrook promised further to supplement it with a statement in writing, as he would further consider the matter, feeling keenly the importance of it.

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Budget Co., Print, Bath Street, Dunedin.

Debating Society's Prize Essay.

Influence of Natural Conditions in New Zealand on the National Character.

The subject selected by the Debating Society for the essay of the season is one that has not been much discussed, and which possesses in a very considerable degree the freshness of novelty. What effect have the natural conditions in New Zealand on the national character? It is at once manifest that we are here confronted with a very comprehensive, as well as a very interesting question. The moulding influences of our national character—the character, that is, of the people of the colony—must always be of interest; the matter touches us closely. But the field opened up by the question, as stated, is very wide, and to exhaust it would require the space of many volumes, and a pen guided by a breadth of experience and investigation to which the writer of this essay can lay no claim. If, however, within the scope of the present effort, the subject cannot be treated with anything approaching exhaustiveness, a few remarks on its more prominent phases may afford some food for reflection.

In view of the teachings of modern biology, it can scarcely be questioned that environment, in the shape of climate, proportion of land area to the population, and generally, the physical characteristics of a country, all

make themselves felt, to some extent, in the temperament of its people. We are told that some animals, such as rabbits, tend to assume the colour of the country they occupy; and it may be inferred that man, with all his greater sensitiveness, will, in a measure, reflect the sunshine, the storm, and the various aspects and conditions of Nature with which he is brought in contact. In New Zealand, as [unclear: in] every country, more or less, Nature is doubtless presented in some distinctive forms. Can we trace, then, as a result of these, any characteristics commencing to impress themselves on us, as a people, [unclear: and] tending to distinguish us from our cousins in the Mother Country [unclear: !] Are such effects likely to be accentuated by time, or will they [unclear: disappear] as the colony grows older? These are the questions which present themselves for consideration.

The aboriginal natives, it may at first be thought, will exhibit the result of the country's influence on its inhabitants; but the [unclear: short] time which has elapsed since the Maoris first set foot in New Zealand makes any deductions from this source exceedingly hazardous. They were originally a tropical people, their ancestors having probably come from the Malay Peninsula, where their racial characteristics must have been moulded through ages. The hereditary element is consequently the predominant one, and it must not be concluded that, because the Maoris manifest an imaginative mind, or a lazy disposition, these peculiarities have resulted from the impress of their present surroundings. It is true that the imaginative and poetical proclivity may be plausibly attributed to the magnificent scenery of these islands: the winding river, the forest-clad hills, and the glistening mountain peak, each irresistibly suggesting some spiritual counterpart. But the ultimate effect on the mind of these natural phenomena must always be conditioned by the susceptibility of the subject to the poetic suggestion, which is always discernible, even in the most commonplace surroundings, by the seeing eye and the hearing ear. Though there is probably no tract of country in the world more richly endowed with the elements of the sublime than the rugged and far-extending Rocky Mountains of America, we do not hear that the Indians from these parts are anything but dull and phlegmatic. Further, as the matter is more closely approached, the rational *a priori* deduction would seem to be that a people continually face to face with the strongest possible stimulants of any sentiment should tend to become indifferent to their influence. To one who habitually sees Nature in its more prosaic aspect, an occasional glimpse of more entrancing scenes liberates, with overwhelming force, the sense of beauty or grandeur, the susceptibilities for which have been accustomed to respond to much less powerful appeals. But with scenery, as with almost all things, familiarity breeds, if not contempt, at least a considerable amount of insensibility.

The poetical element in the mind of the Maori, then, cannot be attributed to a close intercourse with scenic display, which, if the foregoing conclusions be just, would tend to act in quite an opposite direction. The case of the white invaders of the country may be regarded in the same light, in so far as the exigencies of population permit them to have free contact with Nature. The rugged hill may lend itself admirably to metaphor, but, in the mind of the shepherd, it is too closely linked with footsore wanderings after straggling sheep to be strongly suggestive of any finer analogy. The conditions will not be favourable to the fullest development of the poetic instincts as applied to Nature as long as the subject matter is too common to be impressive. This is illustrated by the tone of what may distinctively be called colonial literature, including poetry such as that, to take a typical example near home, of Mr D. M'Kee Wright. There must be, in Nature, a certain "aloofness" from the ordinary affairs of life, in order that its poetic aspects may impress themselves with full effect. To the mind engrossed in abstract business, and worried with petty wrangles, or tired with the ceaseless ebb and flow of human institutions, the wide-reaching moorland and the placid lake entwining the base of the everlasting hills stand out in their serenity and immovable grandeur as imposing types of the immutable and abiding reality. But, when these same phenomena are bound up with prosaic life and the struggle for existence, they lose a great part of that charm; and the poetry which they inspire has reference more to the emotional phases of man, as he copes with, and endeavours to overcome, their refractory obstacles, than with the symbolism of the phenomena themselves. In poetry such as that of Mr Wright, the river or creek, unlike Tennyson's Brook, which is made a typo of the everlasting in contrast with fleeting human life, becomes merely a man-trap to be dreaded—a danger torrent, whose swollen and gurgling waters may perhaps engulf an unsuspecting or muddled rabbit as he makes his way homeward in the dark to an outlying and lonely hut. The cloud-capped mountain peak, which, with Byron, figures the chilly darkness that heads the ascent of fame, here is set forth as extracting groans from the lost and hungry swagger, as he wearily travels up rock and down precipice, endeavouring to make his way to the low-lying lands beyond. The conclusion is that the general attitude towards Nature in New Zealand, as in all new countries where men are engaged in doing battle with her, is not poetical, and that, where poetry does emerge, it will be chiefly introspective, will deal more directly with the soul of man than with the soul of Nature.

It has been stated, in reference to the Maoris, that their characteristics must be principally due to hereditary propensities. The same assertion applies to the colonists. We are still Britons; and many centuries, at least, must elapse before ancestral predisposition gives place to environment as the paramount influence determining

national character. This would be so even were the change of circumstances severe. From Great Britain to New Zealand the change is not at all severe, especially in climate, which is calculated to most strongly affect racial disposition; and the great characteristics of the Anglo-Saxons will always be exhibited by the people of this colony. The climate of the Northern provinces certainly approaches the tropical, and these parts may consequently have a slightly enervating tendency; but, if we take New Zealand as a whole, the just conclusion appears to be that the climate does not sufficiently differ from that of the Mother Country to affect, in any considerable degree, the bodily or mental constitution of the colonists or their descendants. It is not, therefore, to the climate we must look for a clue to our present enquiry : no important result can be attributed to its agency. A more fertile field is to be found in the pristine state of the land, the sparseness of the population, and the consequent predominance of rural occupation. New Zealand is essentially a rural country. No doubt some manufacturing is done, but this is principally for home supply. Of the exports from the colony, gold is the only considerable item other than agricultural and pastoral products, and gold mining may also be regarded as a rural pursuit. There are as yet no large cities, and the business of the towns we have is in such close touch with the country that the latter may be put down as exercising the governing influence. What may be termed the city mind is doubtless found, to some extent, in the large towns. There are clerks engaged in office work who are constantly figuring out accounts connected with country matters of the nature of which they neither know, nor care to know, anything. But any such estrangement from Nature which exists here must be trivial in comparison with the state of affairs in the large cities of the Old Country, where millions of men are employed writing about things which they have never seen and never can see, or toiling at the manufacture of castings or other pieces of machines, utterly ignorant, not only of the ultimate use of the complete mechanism, but also of the place in it which their article is to occupy. It has been said that, in the manufacturing towns of England, hundreds of men are engaged in the manufacture of fencing wire, which, for all they know to the contrary, might be intended for fishing lines. Here, then, is a vast difference between our colony and older countries in respect to the general relation of the people to Nature. In New Zealand every apprentice in an implement factory at least knows that a plough is used for turning over the ground; there are no armies of men in commercial establishments who have a mechanical understanding of business forms, while they know nothing of its matter; and to the student at the Universities there is not the same danger of the charge which Goethe lays at the door of Faust :—

*"From living Nature thou hast fled
To dwell 'mong fragments of the dead;
And for the lovely scenes which heaven
Hath made man for, to man has given :
Hast chosen to pore o'er mouldering bones
Of brute and human skeletons."*

When it is considered that the whole tone of the colony is rural, and that the great majority of the people are face to face with Nature, it will be seen that those characteristics which distinguish the mental and physical constitution of a country population from that of the closely crowded inhabitants of cities will be found predominant in New-Zealand. The first inference from this, in respect to intellectual quality, is that the intelligence will be broad and practical, as opposed to the abstract and formal. Although it has been customary to connect bright intellectuality with the city and dullness with the country, a closer investigation will show that the mental difference is one of kind rather than degree. The average country mind is as fully equipped as that of the city, but it runs in different grooves. A minute insight into details, a clear representation of individual things as they actually exist, a shrewd and well-practised faculty for adapting means to required ends—these are some of the characteristics most fully developed in those who confront Nature at first hand. To use [unclear: the] language of logic, the particular and concrete are more familiar [unclear: than] the general and abstract. This is not to say that the volume of knowledge is small, for it is certainly just the reverse, but that the [unclear: mind] grasps its objects separately and in detail, reasoning more from [unclear: one] particular case to another than striving consciously after [unclear: generalisation] or universal propositions. The latter are more sought after by the aspiring intelligence of towns; but, while covering a greater area [unclear: of] cases, they do not tend to stimulate a ready application of the [unclear: minor] premise, without which the practical conclusion cannot be drawn.

In passing judgment on the relative merits or desirableness of [unclear: the] two types of intellect set forth as broadly characterising, respectively, [unclear: a] rural population and people closely packed together in cities, who [unclear: are] consequently more engaged in theoretical pursuits, it must be remembered that the intellect, besides being primarily a means to an [unclear: end] may be regarded to some extent as an end in

itself. The faculty [unclear: o] generalisation and deduction is commonly looked upon by [unclear: met] physicians as that which differentiates the mind of man from that [unclear: o] the brutes, and as the highest and best phase of thought. This [unclear: is] just; but perfection does not consist in an undue development of [unclear: th] differentiating element, but in giving the various modes of mind [unclear: the] proper proportions. Viewed as a *means* to practical ends, there can [unclear: be] little doubt that the detailed and particular type of intelligence, [unclear: he] attributed to the country, is the superior. In dealing with Nature, [unclear: i] is the incalculable elements that for the most part exercise the determining influence, or, at all events, those elements the deductive [unclear: ca] calculation of whose effects would occupy more time than can ever [unclear: h] spared. The practised waggoner knows better whether or not he [unclear: ca] drive over a given side slope without capsizing, by intuitively comparing it with similar places which he has previously encountered, [unclear: tha] he could ever judge from any knowledge, however clear, that equilibrium depends on the centre of gravity falling within the base. [unclear: I] driving home a stake, the proper delivery of the blow can be arrived [unclear: a] infinitely better and more expeditiously by trying a few different positions than by making any computations from the rule that the [unclear: energy] stroke varies directly as the product of the mass of the hammer [unclear: as] the square of the velocity. Of course, practical knowledge may [unclear: I] found in conjunction with, although not resulting from, a [unclear: strong] developed faculty for abstraction and generalisation; and this combination is most effective of all. But, generally speaking, the two [unclear: form] tend to separate. The abstract is opposed to the concrete; [unclear: reflexion] opposed to observation. In the lower animals the latter faculty is [unclear: me] fully developed, probably because the former is altogether wanting. [unclear: T] consequence we find brutes with unerring memories and most [unclear: susceptible] of lessons from experience. A dog ten months' old is better [unclear: al] to cope with Nature within its sphere than a child of as many years; better, in fact, than many an adult man. Of course the lower animals through lack of the power of reflex thought, have their limitations; they have not the rational faculty of man. But man can never combine with his intelligence their alert watchfulness and close observation. The mind which would remain practical, however, cannot eliminate those functions which are so indispensable to success in the struggle for existence. It must learn to accept and appropriate with alacrity the teachings of its environment without unduly pausing to consider if they can be syllogistically explained. It is true that the general includes the particular; but it is also true that the particular typifies the universal, and is, moreover, unshorn of individual peculiarities, which are usually of the greatest importance, but which it is the very nature of generalisation to suppress. The term intellectual is, as a rule, applied to that class of mind which spreads itself, even though it be but superficially, over a large area of knowledge. In populated centres mental power, where it exists, develops more readily in this direction on account of the facilities for obtaining second-hand information from all quarters. But such a mind *tends* to exclude details; and, where it does so, it represents only one department of the cognitive sphere of man. On the other hand, where intercourse with the primary sources of production is closer, and where the momentous desideratum is a mental equipment best adapted to cope with Nature, a form of intelligence emerges which, although probably containing a greater number of items of knowledge, is less widespread in its scope. Unhealthy extremes are possible in both the directions indicated. A man may struggle up the slopes of theory till actuality is left altogether behind, the heated mental faculties fuming off in empty vapourings; or he may so confine himself to his particular sphere that his rational prerogative becomes chilled and paralysed. In New Zealand, if danger exist, it will be in the latter direction colonials are not inclined to dwell overmuch on abstractions. This is perhaps well, for, after all, the best-balanced minds are not those that run riot in theory. Men may build stately temples, dedicated to reason, whose sparkling domes and pinnacles and inspiring marble halls may delight the souls of the architects; but more humble structures are often of greater utility. The phase of intelligence which grasps things as they appear in their diverse aspects rather than in their ideal relations can, from its inherent usefulness and healthiness, never be lacking in dignity.

(To be continued.)

Here and There.

[BY SEMPER IBI.]

A contributor who signs himself "X.Y.Z.," but who fails to forward his proper name, sends us two samples of alleged sanity. [unclear: Th] first is entitled "Scraps from Seldeniana Ceremony." It [unclear: say] "Ceremony keeps up all things," but would it keep up a pair [unclear: o] trousers or support a family? "Of all people, ladies have no [unclear: reason] cry down ceremony; for were they not used with ceremony—[unclear: wi] compliments, addresses, and kissing of hands—they were the [unclear: pitiful] creatures in the world." We should pity the modem Selden who [unclear: sa] this to a New Woman or a lady med. Mr Selden may have been [unclear: a] authority in his own day, but his modern disciple should, in [unclear: future] head his

contributions "Notes from Seacliff." The second note is [unclear: a] unwarranted attack on the methods of amusement adopted by [unclear: th] medical student. We have handed the article to the J. L. [unclear: Sulliv] of the Medical Faculty, who will be pleased to discuss the matter [unclear: wi] "X.Y.Z."

It is a pity that the Debating Society is not better patronised by [unclear: th] students. However good a subject may be, a debate cannot be a [unclear: succe] if there is but a small attendance of students. The [unclear: Parliaments] debate was the best of the year, and the warmth with which some [unclear: of] the speakers entered into the debate was worthy of S. M. J. himself.

We quote the following from a private letter from Dr. Chilton:[unclear: —]"To-morrow is the Capping Ceremony here (Edinburgh), and [unclear: the] are, I think, eight New Zealanders, and one of them—W. J. Barclay[unclear: —]is the "Ettles Scholar"—i.e., the most distinguished graduate of [unclear: h] year; while another, P. T. Herring, gets his M.D., with a gold [unclear: meda] for his thesis, and a valuable scholarship, so that the New [unclear: Zealand] are well to the front again. I see that the Capping Ceremony has [unclear: been] revived with you on a new, and I hope, a more satisfactory basis."

Dr Chilton is still acting as house surgeon to the Eye Ward at [unclear: t] Infirmary, and intends continuing his studies for some time on [unclear: th] Continent before returning to the colonies.

In the last report of the Director of the School of Mines we [unclear: not] that complaint is made of the limited space available for [unclear: laboratory] purposes, and a proposal to remedy it by extending the North end of [unclear: th] Mining School six feet towards the tennis court. We have no [unclear: dou] that more space is urgently required, but we would point out that the proposal is taken up by the Council it means almost the [unclear: annihilation] of the tennis court, as it at present stands. Even now [unclear: there] little enough room for back play, and should the Council find necessary to make an extension of the building they should, at the same time, extend the tennis court at the north end. Tennis and Fives are the only recreations we are allowed—and that on sufferance—within the grounds, and it seems to be only a question of time when they too will be shutout by buildings.

One often feels tempted to say a great deal about the want of space around the 'Varsity, but it would be to little purpose. Many students are compelled to spend the greater part of the day about the buildings, either at lecture, or waiting until the next one comes on. The latter is almost entirely waste time. Study is out of the question; in the students' rooms it is impossible, and the use of the library and class room for this purpose is prohibited. Recreation is possible only to the limited few who can occupy the tennis and five courts—eight at the most, and the result is that the greater part of the time is spent in useless loafing. It takes no sage to see that if a football and cricket ground, with two or three tennis and fives courts, with a well-equipped gymnasium were at hand, they would be largely made use of, and what is now waste time would at least be used in healthy exercise. With the leasing of the Castle street block for building sites the last hope of the students in this direction has gone, and there seems to be nothing for it hut that our 'Varsity must become a place for mere lectures and cram.

A Trip Through Central Otago.

One fine morning in July Jim and I left Dunedin, to see some of the now famous Otago dredges, by the 9.5 train for Lawrence, where we arrived in time for lunch. From Lawrence we had to coach, and coaching at any time has its little disadvantages : in summer it is all dust and jolts, in winter it is mud—thick, oily, green mud—and the jolting strains every muscle in your body. We did not see much of the surrounding country, as we had to travel in the body of the coach, cramped up on hard seats, bumping our heads at every jolt. Our companions like ourselves were depressed by the journey, but on our producing a flask one of them, a tall, gaunt Scot, brightened up considerably after a nip, in spite of the fact that a jolt caused him to apply most of the whisky to his eyes. We stopped at Roxburgh, where we spent the night, arriving at 9 o'clock—cramped, sore, cold, and hungry. We were jolly glad to see a good hot dinner waiting for us. After a smoke in front of a small, miserable fire, in which they burn lignite of the vilest description, we "turned in," hoping to get a good night's rest: but, alas ! the beds were hard, dirty, and damp, and——; it was a freezing night, and, to add to our troubles, a Scotch concert began in the next room. The songs had 28 verses and a chorus; the tune—well, we understand now why the old cow died, poor brute! The concert finished at 12 p.m., and we were called to catch [unclear: a] the coach as 3.30 on a freezing and pitch dark morning. This time we got a [unclear: bo]; seat, and, though bitterly cold, we were fully recompensed by the [unclear: view] after daylight. It was a weird drive in the darkness, and at first [unclear: ever] the horses were mere blurs.

At 8 o'clock we arrived at Bald Hill Flat, and never was flat [unclear: better] named—bare trees, bare rocks, and mud or stone houses. This [unclear: place] is said to be rich in gold, several reefs being worked on the hills to [unclear: th] left of the road, towards the Old Man Range. Strange to say, on [unclear: thi] bleak flat

is one of the finest fruit gardens in Central Otago. [unclear: W] arrived at Alexandra at 10 a.m., numb with cold and very [unclear: hungry] here we expected a roaring fire and steaming breakfast. We went [unclear: t]—hotel, and wandered from room to room looking for a fire at [unclear: which] to thow. But there were only two small *pocket* stoves, and both out, [unclear: o] nearly so, whereat we grumbled a little. Upon this the landlady [unclear: beca] very hostile, and said she thought we were very cool; so we were, [unclear: very] She then advised us to take a good walk, which we did after a [unclear: doubtful] looking and semi-cold breakfast. The only way we could keep [unclear: wa] indoors was to light a candle and sit round its ruddy blaze, a [unclear: proce] which requires a gigantic imagination and plenty of time. [unclear: After] breakfast we went on board the dredge. As every body knows all [unclear: abo] a dredge nowadays, we do not intend to describe any. The first [unclear: thin] that struck us was the manners of the dredge hands. Ongoing [unclear: aboa] we politely asked if smoking was allowed. "I don't give a——if [unclear: you] do or not. You can burn the——old tub if you like," was [unclear: th] pleasant reply. We smoked. In the afternoon we went to see [unclear: th] Earnscleughs No. 1 and No. 2. The latter is a fine specimen of [unclear: th] grinding, groaning, gold-getting machines.

Music at Alexandra is of a very high class, and we were [unclear: fortun] enough to hear their brass band, which consisted of one cornet [unclear: wit] only one note, a penny whistle or two, and ten kerosene tins filled [unclear: wit] stones. The last named are played by being violently shaken; [unclear: th] stones are the keys, the tin the sounding board. The [unclear: frequency] the note varies directly as the number of stones and the [unclear: shak] Another musical treat was the hotel gramophone, the strains of [unclear: whi] woke us in the morning and lulled us to sleep at night. [unclear: But] proceed. After a very cold journey we arrived at Cromwell, where [unclear: w] saw the famous Hartley and Riley dredge getting gold by the [unclear: bucketf]. The dredgemaster very kindly spent an hour showing us all [unclear: th] interesting points about a dredge. In the evening we sat round a [unclear: re] fire, and got warm. The coal here unless handled by an expert will [unclear: n] burn; if you poke it it goes out, but if kicked by an expert it [unclear: bur] brilliantly. At Cromwell we also enjoyed the luxury of a hot [unclear: bath] the only bath, I believe, in Central Otago. The only thing they [unclear: wa] here is gold. On the following day we walked over to see the [unclear: Ranfu] Dredge, which has the name and appearance of being the best kept dredge on the river. Next day we continued our journey to Queens-town. The road follows the Kawarau Gorge, and as it was under snow, it was a very cold drive, especially near Arrow town. Here we toasted our toes in front of a huge wood fire while the horses were changed. We proceeded on our journey to Queenstown by moonlight, which with the snow added to the grandeur of the scenery, especially where the Remarkables come into view. We arrived at Queenstown at 9 o'clock. The lake looked like a huge mirror : it was so still and cold. After a splendid supper we went to bed. Next morning (it rained hard and froze on the ground) we washed with a piece of ice in one hand and soap in the other, and this is not a method which allows of much comfort, as the ice is rather hard, though it gives a fine polish to one's face. As it rained hardall day, we stayed indoors listening to tales from far back of the cold. One man assured us that he could not put out his candle one night, as the flame was frozen hard; so we congratulated ourselves on being in front of a good fire. We spent a delightful week here, having splendid skating both at Queenstown and Frankton, where the lake was frozen. But all good things come to an end, so do holidays. After a perishing journey home we arrived safe, and congratulating ourselves on our trip.

WE TWO.

The Faculties.

Arts Notes.

Already the students have begun to count time backwards from the fateful ending of the session, and the November exams, almost seem to reveal themselves as a bright spot seen through the enveloping vapour of beclouded brains of those over-eager to disport themselves in the flowing robes and the sunshine which surrounds the full-blown graduate, and should we be so happy as to find that no Mataura tragedy occurs to darken our New Year, we feel sure that this year's work will prove a credit to the Faculty.

With reference to the coming exams., the much-discussed topic of an Examination Hall is now disturbing the Fives Court orator, while we find that no less than a special column of this number has been devoted to the venerable opinion of one who sat in Greek and Anglo-Saxon last year. However exaggerated some of the current reports may be, there is no doubt that the Machine Hall of the Agricultural Buildings is eminently unsuitable for examination purposes. No doubt the Boating Carnival was the cause of our having to put up with the swaying of a make-shift floor when anyone stirred, the throbbing of the engine in the corner, the hail which

beat on the unlined roof, and the bad light which came through it, to say nothing of the draughts which came from everywhere; but no allowance is made in consideration of such details for a possible lowering in the standard of the work handed in, and we hope that this year we shall be more fortunate in our surroundings. The inconvenience that some students suffer at the Terms Exam, through having to proceed with a paper for 15 or 20 minutes, while another class in the room at the same time are having their questions read out, could no doubt be easily avoided by rearrangement of the time-table.

During the past month Dr Shand has been exercising the genial side of his generous nature in entertaining the students at his house, and some students have taken a revived interest in Physics—not to improve their position in the class, for that would only tend to rob them of the delights they hope to share again—another year in the same class. Let us hope such a base desire shall not be gratified.

At the last meeting of the Debating Society, Dr Benham, during the course of a short address, referred to the absence of illustrative apparatus and material in all the classes at the University which are not purely scientific. There would no doubt be some difficulty in carrying out the plan as suggested by the Doctor in all its fulness, such as the collection of ancient costumes, &c., but there is no reason why we should be without many of the little things we do not now possess. A science like mathematics could be simplified in many cases, and in such a branch as solid geometry models are almost a necessity. When the present students become professors there will be a change.

A certain student of books on this side of the College has been greatly puzzled to understand why Noah took fish into the Ark with him. Perhaps some student of fish in the Biological School could supply the desired information. It is a somewhat rare occurrence to find the Professor of Classics grow impatient when questions are answered in detail, but the student was presuming too far, who, when asked what some Gallic tribe—extinct long ago—lived upon, began "Pectore vivunt—" The Prof, quickly saw that if he began at the milk stage, long before he got to solid beef (pecore), 'Arris' bell would be going downstairs, and cut matters short.

Our REVIEW manager has distinguished himself this month in a fierce encounter with a butcher's cart. While scorching on his cycle to an exam., he was improving the shining hour by having a last look at cert question, and in turning a corner collided with a hostile meat-van. When the brief contest finished, honours were easy.

Medical Notes.

Rumour has it that on the completion of the new wards the present Children's Ward will be converted into a Students' Room. We hope so; so do the lady meds. At present they have to use the Staff Room wherein to stow their impedimenta, and this has its drawbacks. For instance, on one occasion a bashful lady med waited for an hour whilst a staff meeting was being held before she could obtain her hat. The ladies hope the present Students' Room will in the near future be handed over to them.

There is one innovation in the dress of the lady meds. that simply shrieks for comment. We refer to the new style of pocket—a kind of tool-carrier and hand-warmer combined. The average antiquated female of, say, five years ago was quite content with a single pocket, situated to the right and rear, and well masked by the flowing folds of the dress, hut the present lady med.—"the victim of higher education"—goes in for two capacious receptacles, situated as nearly as possible in the same geographical position as those of the male. To increase the effect and to aggravate the nuisance the edges of these pockets are adorned with large dinner-plate buttons. No doubt these are matters that concern the ladies most, but the long-suffering mere man, deprived of his rights and even of his pockets, is compelled to turn at last and give one last howl of protest before being driven completely from the social stage. One enterprising lady has outstripped her fellows in ingenuity and inventive genius by introducing a kind of marsupial pouch made of chamois leather, in which coster-like she carries her belongings. Now, we recognise that the male students and the patients especially are always delighted and charmed by the graceful appearance and gentle ministrations of the lady meds. in the ward; but we must confess that the sight of some of these ladies going about with their arms up to their elbows in their pockets, as if in a chronic state of tiredness, is enough to turn these feelings of admiration into feelings of vexation and scorn.

The thanks of the students in general and of the ladies in particular are due to their genial benefactor for his untiring efforts in improving the surroundings and adjuncts of the University. Naturally, he has a great desire for retirement, and he has only been drawn from his seclusion by the wistful pleadings and suggestions of the ladies. His zeal and success have been such that he is looked upon by all as a conspicuous authority on architecture and public works, and all are breathlessly looking forward to the time when the mantle of the Hon. Hall-Jones shall descend upon him. Great as has been his work, we hope he will go on to greater, and that once having put his hand to the plough he will not turn back. There are still considerable improvements to be made, and in our humble and halting way we would like to make a few suggestions to this blossoming disciple of Sir Christopher Wren. In the first place, we would suggest that an ornamental portico be erected, under whose

fluted column strains of sweet music might be sawn off by the German Band to harmonise with the tender nothings of the Romeos and Juliets from Jefferson's Matrimonial [unclear: Burea] Couches and lounges might be provided, on which the [unclear: wear] toilers from the Dissecting Room, clad in apron and [unclear: hig] flavour, might recline and lose some of their high tone in the [unclear: blending] of coffee and liqueurs from the licensed booth, presided over by [unclear: fa] Hebes from the Medical School. The little plot of ground that is [unclear: a] present an unsightly wilderness might be cultivated by the sweat [unclear: o] Harris' brow, and become converted into a paradise of playing [unclear: four] tains and waving palms, under whose shade the weary senior, fearful [unclear: o] plucking, might rest from his labours, lulled to sleep by the murmur [unclear: o] the Leith, and the gliding forms of the sylph-like lady meds.

The Subjugation of the Male Medical—A Warning

[BY MEN'S RIGHTS.]

The gradual degradation of the male medical student, under [unclear: th] influence of causes not as much appreciated by students as they [unclear: shou] be, is a fact that is slowly being recognised; and, as one who sighs [unclear: fi] the good old *tempora acta*, I feel the spirit moving me to "say a [unclear: little] bit" thereanent, as Mr A. H. Burton would express it.

The last few days of the first half were wont, in the olden days, to [unclear: h] celebrated by the mischievous pranks of an evil spirit of unrest [unclear: as] excessive *bonhommie*. These little overflows of the flood of [unclear: pervert] energies, characteristic of the coming lights of the profession, [unclear: usual] found exit, amongst a variety of harebrained performances, in a [unclear: vo] if hardly to be called musical, wave, which would sweep the [unclear: building] from end to end, from rafter to basement membrane, in the [unclear: expiri] hours of incarceration.

Occasionally cases occurred where the monotony of [unclear: vocalisation] (more or less so) was varied by the introduction of such [unclear: instrument] harmony as could be obtained from the united effect of wails [unclear: from] pensioned kerosene tin, seconded by the vaso-motor paralytic [unclear: into] due to the alternate opening and closure of the materia [unclear: medi] cupboard portals, the whole being delicately mellowed by [unclear: stomach] strains from a pipe band, consisting of a bass S Trap and a soprano 3-[unclear: inc] drain.

Of late years, however, a transformation has occurred, and by [unclear: such] remarkably insidious process of evolution as to make the [unclear: altera] fully comprehensible only after the most careful method of [unclear: examinatia] *i.e.*, looking behind the scenes.

And what, then, do we find is the etiological factor in the [unclear: destruction] of the good old organism of fin-de-session tradition? Who [unclear: h] dared to throw, as it were, the damp of antiseptic disapprobation [unclear: o] this once proud and virulent organism of 'Varsity custom?

The answer is only too evident—who would have had the hardihood to rob us of those traditions which we should prize, but the Lady Medical, who knows no limit to her concerns, but plunders on our rights even to the extent of assuming to herself the humble but useful trouser—I should say side pocket—to which she will, in all probability, in the near future, add the bifurcated appendages which are at present regarded as strictly masculine crural envelopes? And by what means, you will ask, has she brought these things to pass? With shame and a heavy stom—heart, I fear to write it. Tea and Buns!

Women and buns!—ye gods! "Here's richness!" More effective than the thinly-veiled symptoms of professorial disapproval, or the head-splitting agonies of tympanic contumely, against even the meekest of undegrads., they have quelled and subdued us into humiliating silence. Tea and buns! Ah, woman! how insidious are thy modes of infecting the human heart, and how dyspeptic thy ways of soothing the savage chest! Were not the fall of Adam, the destruction of Troy, and the degradation of Sketcher Rayner, metaphorically speaking, sufficient scalps to hang, as trophies of thy prowess, on thy patent chest protector?

No! With that indomitable spirit of mischief-working and interference that is the birthright of all femininity, the lady medical, not content with abrogating to herself, in her peculiarly taking way, the majority of our rights—such as hip-pockets (already alluded to), arrangement of exams., &c, senior clerkships, &c., &c., which latter we might consider furthermore strictly our own by virtue of numbers and academical status—has gone further, and by the fascinating and intoxicating effects of tea and buns, actually and successfully, attempted to deprive us of the practice of those very traditions which we should jealously guard as heirlooms or *organised residua* from the brain cells of the pioneer giants of our alma mater.

Let us pause to admire the ingenuity of her temptations, and at the same time the degenerating effect of our

frailty in giving way to her fascinations and those of her gustatory charms. For who could vocalise in that same soul-stirring way of old when pressed down under the weight of currant buns and tea and the fear of a morbid dilated stomach ? Who could extract those Orpheus-like strains from a soprano S Trap when his pancreas is groaning under its wrongs and the fear of traumatic glycosuria? Who, I say, could wield that primitive but appealing harmonium of sound—the kerosene tin—with the proper spirit of the muse when his liver and portal circulation are racked by a million questioning peptones and the fear of a macaroonuria ?

But even this severe blow, which, by means of indirect violence, has been dealt by our lady meds. at our old customs, is but a flea-bite, a straw showing how the wind blows, to other indications of a set purpose for the subjugation of the superfluous male, which can be detected if we care to look below the surface.

Too true that her efforts are often, as it were, sugar-coated, but none the less toxic, even as the complacent-looking but deceitful pill. Thus it is that now by means of a violent but primitive love-making, now by a scornful bearing of contemptuous superiority, our lady metis, are apparently seeking by tooth and nail, by sugared buns and love, to slowly subjugate us to that condition of stark-nakedness of privilege; and position which is seemingly her estimate of the state of being which will be the lot of the mere male in the approaching millenium.

What, may we ask, will be the sequel of Such a condition of serfdom and deprivation of, so to speak, moral and mental clothing ? Shall we, even at that stage of nakedness, shame, and trembling, be allowed to remain so, the vestige of a once pride-endowed race, or shall her insatiety go further, and by the usurpation of our last—our hymeneal—rights totally secure to herself the privilege which in the darker days she enjoyed only quadrennially—in leap years ?

Alas ! I sadly fear that the trend of events, from the hesitating and demure entrance into the sacred portals of the first lady med. down to the stage of masterful proprietorship and arrogance of our latter-day Amazons, is only too much to be dreaded as the prelude to that final era of moral and academical asthenia, wherein she will take to herself the right of carrying us off neck and crop to Hymen's altar as a kind of belated *coup d'avenge* for our indiscretions from the Rape of the Sabines down to the fickle *affaires-de-cœur* of the present freshman.

Too true it is that even now one or two of our number are verging on the brink of bacularian destruction—too irrevocably and deeply stricken to give the faintest hope of a favourable prognosis of ultimate cure. And what, I ask, was the means of their first seduction ? Turn ye for reply once more to the baleful sugar-coated bun and the ensnaring afternoon cricket tea.

My little ones! take ye heed, and be warned in time by their awful example of what shall inevitably be the lot of each and all of ye who give way to the dulcet temptations of her who cometh clad in the simplicity of Mother Eve.

Beware of the factors that predisposed to their fall, e'en though it be apparently a noble fall.

Learn to look below the surface for the sign of the cloven foot—yea, even in the innocent ceremony of afternoon tea, buns, and flirtation, if aggravated by the romantic surroundings of an artistic crick pavilion, or the darkly-quiet corner of the cloak-room without chaperon-age.

Be impassive to the love-lit smile flitting from opposite seat to opposite seat in the lecture room.

Shrink as an icicle of prudery from the warmth of sentimentalism engendered by pathological fireside studies in the twilight.

Look only with the cold and hasty glance of the misogynist on the peeping well-turned ankle so innocently displayed.

Regard with distrust the ginger and biscuits so lovingly offered, as doth the atonic small boy the spoonful of jam from the stern parent.

Withhold the fervour of admiration at the more daring achievements in millinery audacity, lest in the consideration of the material ye wander unguardedly to the personal beneath.

Take safety in talking "shop" when the duties of "accompanying home" the lone lady med. devolve upon you and sternly deny yourself the touching and tender good-bye.

Abhor virtuously the compromising and awkward questions of the fair junior, lest your blush of modesty become the by-word of the unregenerate.

Dread as a pit of serpents the demure desire to "look at your eye" in the ophthalmic department of the hospital, in the absence of that safety which alone exists with the presence of numbers.

These, and many more warnings would I give, but that space forbids, and I must conclude with these few remarks in the hope that the warning herein given may serve to postpone, even for a short time, that state of subjugation that we are inevitably coming to, the path to which we are making easier by giving way to the temptations and fascinations of the lady med., as above set forth, thereby strengthening her authority and influence till the latter will become such an enormous factor that our subjugation will be complete, and our total extinction but a question of utility or otherwise in that day when (speaking from a medical standpoint) women alone shall wield the lancet, and man shall be little less than nurse and a little more than slave.

Notes from Other Colleges.

Auckland College.

We are glad again to write to Otago about our University, because we still write out of the midst of the glowing enthusiasm for all College life and institutions that we mentioned in our last letter. This has been largely stimulated by the Capping Ceremony, which we managed to celebrate in some fashion, despite the afternoon function of the Senate, which was, of course, the essence of dignity, tho' the Chancellor at its conclusion did invite us to sing "Gaudeamus." But on a previous evening we held, under the patronage of the Council, a very successful gathering of friends of the University in the College buildings, where after a classical concert, speeches, side shows, a programme of students' songs was gone through. The buildings were crowded with visitors, and the celebration did a little more to remove the prevailing but now fast vanishing impression that the College is moribund. [unclear: This] is a subject that a penny-a-liner, that goes by the name of "Mahara," is never tired of writing about to our leading paper. For the last [unclear: year] he has been doing what he can to harm the University, by taking [unclear: the] barest figures of exam, results, and building conclusions on them; [unclear: but] tho' we hate the paltry criticisms of the man, we thrive in spite [unclear: of] it.

Perhaps the most important suggestion that has come before [unclear: un] lately is a proposal that was mooted at a College Council meeting [unclear: of] the establishment of a boarding house near the 'Varsity buildings, [unclear: in] which students could live under one roof, and so obtain some of [unclear: th] benefits of a Residential College. Of course the house would be [unclear: merely] a private one to which the Council would extend its patronage, [unclear: bu] there is no doubt that its institution would be a great boon. [unclear: Th] founding of a 'Varsity Club is also freely discussed among the [unclear: student] and we shall doubtless hear more of this matter.

The Debating Society and the Girls' Korero Club are wending [unclear: thei] quiet way through satisfactory sessions, and our Football Club [unclear: ha] proved itself very much alive. The team regularly meets for [unclear: practic] on a ground near the College, and we have had matches nearly [unclear: every] Saturday. Some weeks ago we journeyed to Thames for our [unclear: annu] match with the School of Mines. Their team included three if [unclear: no] five interprovincial players, but we got off with only a potted goal [unclear: t] our debit. In most of our other matches we have been successful, [unclear: an] the interest that the club has inspired in the whole body of [unclear: students] shown by the fact that several of them always journey with the [unclear: tea] for its support, and that on two occasions our drag has been accompanied by another full of 'Varsity girls.

The 'Varsity ball was a great success, all the dancers and all [unclear: th] papers speaking in most enthusiastic tones of its management. [unclear: There] was a slight deficit when the balance-sheet was made out, but owing [unclear: to] the promptitude of the guarantors, that did not last for long. [unclear: On] good feature of the ball was that the Professors and their wives [unclear: act] on the Committee, and contributed in very large measure to the [unclear: succe] of the function.

We are now looking forward to another Association [unclear: meetin] where an attempt will be made to secure the admittance of [unclear: no] matriculated students to the privileges of membership, and where [unclear: the] will be suggested some plan to amalgamate all College institutions [unclear: wi] the Association, and to make membership of all dependent on [unclear: o] subscription.

A winter Idle.

"A week's a week for a' that" (Robbie Burns revised). It although we had but a week's holiday, we meant to make the most it. All the party felt a change of air would be beneficial, especially as two who had been taking the Surgery Class said they showed undoubted symptoms of tuberculosis, whilst two from the Medicine Class wore equally sure they had heart disease.

Puketeraki was the health resort selected. "A good house, a jolly good week's loaf, and plenty of tucker," as the Cook said, "and w'ere will be the microbes?"

Pour of us managed to rise early enough to catch the 7.10 a.m. train. Each had a roll of blankets and a gun, and looked as disreputable as possible; one tie amongst the party alone prevented a suspicious policeman from

running us in as vagrants.

Having arrived at Puketeraki we proceeded to make ourselves at home in a very comfortable house. We enjoyed a good square meal, topping off (a very large top) with cake, for which the tourist showed a devotion equalled only by that of a monkey for nuts. "Sunshine," said the Loafer, quoting his Surgery, "is invaluable for consumption; let us therefore sit in the sun and smoke." We did; and felt at peace with all the world, except the shags in the river, on whom we kept a desultory but harmless fire.

The Linguist (so named from his knowledge of the classics) then went to meet the late comers at the station, whilst the rest went to procure a boat from a voluble one-eyed fisherman. Polyphemus proved gracious and gave us a boat for the week.

That evening a very gay party assembled around a roasting fire, indulging alternately in pipe and song. The Loafer produced his accordeon, an instrument detestable in civilization, but welcome out of it. The Linguist rivalled him by fossicking out a small musical box which would play with tearful solemnity "Ta ra ra;" then, shaking off its melancholy, it would burst into the cheering strains of "Katey Connor;" the latter was entirely encore, whilst the former was "by special request."

The Cook caused some excitement by jumping a bunk previously reserved. In spite of cries of "Peace, let us arbitrate," the Cook came out on his head, appealing to the Conciliation Board for justice. A Daniel came to judgment in the form of the Tourist, who seized the accordeon and said the bunk should belong to the one who guessed the tune correctly. The Cook having a keen ear for music lost the bunk.

It snowed all that night and the next day (Sunday), so we stayed indoors and had to be satisfied with some hymns on the accordeon. The musical box was ruled out of order owing to the secular nature of its music.

Monday was cold and bright, and the three more energetic members ventured out to catch fish for a feed. The swell, however, turned the tables in favour of the fish, and the party sot out for home, only to be half swamped by a roller on the bar. They returned with the usual fisherman's luck, their ardour damped and their [unclear: clothe] soaked.

The next day we had a visitor to lunch, and the two cooks for [unclear: th] day prepared what they called "a dashed good feed." It consisted [unclear: of] soup, stew, joint, and vegetables—all in one pot—and would have [unclear: been] excellent had it not been for the surplus water, raw meat, and [unclear: under] done onions in it. The concocter of this dish was [unclear: henceforward] dubbed "The Cook." Rifle in hand, he awaited our criticism of it [unclear: wit] a peaceful self-satisfied smile. He also brought to light, a cake [unclear: which] was finally cut up for sinkers.

The next day was set aside for a visit to the Temple of [unclear: Delusion] Seacliff, and early breakfast was ordered, *i.e.*, the Director ordered [unclear: it]. It was his custom every morning to lie in his bunk shouting out directions to the toilers in the kitchen. For instance, "Mind you fill [unclear: that] boiler;" "Put plenty of salt in the porridge;" "Don't leave the [unclear: tap] running," etc. In this he was joined by the Cook, who sang the [unclear: first] line of "I fear no foe in shining armour," till silenced by a plate [unclear: of] burgoo.

The Director had great ideas about skating, and was always [unclear: trying] the ice on every pool. On the way to Seacliff he struck a beauty, [unclear: an] stood proudly in the middle till the ice let him suddenly through. [unclear: This] was especially discomfoting for him, considering that he was [unclear: faultless] attired in his best country togs in order to fascinate the female [unclear: hear] at Seacliff. The Linguist too had a high collar for the occasion, [unclear: bu] accurate snowballing soon took the starch out of it, utterly ruining [unclear: it] fascinating powers.

A pleasant time was spent at Seacliff, and we got a warm invitation to a concert and dance on the Friday. The Cook showed considerable pluck by snowballing a dangerous lunatic from the top of the tower.

We got home late, but in plenty of time for supper. Unfortunately a rather large and heavy cake was set before us, and one slice was [unclear: quiet] enough to keep down the buoyant spirits of the party. The Cook [unclear: in-]judiciously tackled a second slice, but paid the penalty with [unclear: nightman]. That cake was no ordinary sort of cake; you might have hit it in [unclear: the] epigastrium with a hammer and it wouldn't have turned a [unclear: crumb] whilst it would have sunk in mercury. A nice light iced cake was produced instead and highly relished, but we only got one chance at it [unclear: a] the Cook and his assistant got up and finished it before breakfast [unclear: ne] morning.

We had a pleasant morning's fishing next day—that is, all [unclear: except] the Tourist, who never got a bite; the fish probably heard what he [unclear: kep] saying about them and shunned him consistently.

That evening we sustained a visit from two fellow-students who stayed the night. We had a musical evening, the accordeon and musical box being tested to the utmost.

Next day we packed our swags and struck out for Seacliff, where we arrived after a healthy tramp against rain and snow. After a good drying we sot about practising some songs for the concert in the evening; our choir was considerably strengthened by the sudden arrival of Mr Sourface from town.

The dance began at 7.30 p.m.; nurses, warders, and patients all took part in it. Unshaven and wild, we were

bashful about joining in, but Sourface reassured us by saying we would only be mistaken for inmates and not students. At 8.30 we led off the concert with "Otago Fair," "Twin Duet," "Old Age Pensions," "Celebrities," and "Slap Dab." We pleased the lunatics and felt satisfied.

Supper followed, and then more dancing. By 11 p.m. all felt at home and danced with a will. We finished up about midnight, and after a smoke went to downy. We were furnished with shakedown in the large hall; most of the party turned in quietly, but Sourface had a nice tightly-stuffed cylindrical mattress which had evidently been filled by an absent-minded lunatic. Sourface balanced himself on top of this and tried to sleep, but the thing turned turtle on the least provocation. S. soon got "full up;" as he said, "Might as well try to sleep on a greasy pole." Getting no sympathy, he thoughtfully pulled our bunk to pieces, and then played the piano over the ruins, like Nero over burning Rome. After going through three square dances in the middle of the hall by himself, and a season of voice production, S. sneaked in between two of us and gave us rest about 4 a.m.

A jocular warder roused us at 6 a.m. to come out and see the cows milked. This dose was repeated every few minutes by different warders, till S. growled and said he wished all the cows had remained in calf-hood, and then he might get some sleep. However, we had no further sleep, and got up to breakfast at 7.30 a.m. After many farewells, we set out for the train, and sought the seclusion of a railway carriage. A more disreputable looking crowd was seldom seen on the Polichet Bay station, and we sneaked home.

Institutions.

Debating Society Notes.

In these notes there is not a great deal to record. The prize essay by Mr J. C. Begg was read by Mr W. L. Moore. The audience was very small; for which the fact that the essay is printed in the REVIEW is answerable. In former years the same thing has occurred, and in future it would be advisable to discontinue the reading, provided that the essay is printed. The essay was well read by Mr Moore, and was thoroughly worthy of the close attention with which the audience listened to it. It was thoughtful, carefully reasoned, and well expressed, the only failing in this particular being that the language was occasionally rather philosophical. However, readers of the REVIEW will have a chance to judge for themselves.

The debate on "Amateur Dramatic Societies" was much handicapped by being postponed. Naturally, the enthusiasm of the debates had had time to cool, being therefore "cauld kail het again." The audience also seemed half-hearted. Unfortunately there were very few men present, but the few who were there did their best. We [unclear: can] say "unfortunately," even though there were many ladies. They write "Cloak Room Notes," and talk of the deadness and slowness [unclear: of] the Debating Society. They even talk of attempting to put some [unclear: life] into it, but when the matter comes to the test, when there is a gap [unclear: for] a speech, when we should expect at least one of the many ladies to [unclear: ris] and speak, then no one arises. We must conclude either that [unclear: the] writer of the notes is irresponsible, or that the ladies have not [unclear: th] courage of their opinions. After all, what was there to be afraid of [unclear: in] the last debate? There were very few men present, and there was [unclear: non] of the "Barracker's Brigade" at the back, the *betes noirs* of [unclear: every] chairman and earnest debater. It may be that the ladies are [unclear: mo] afraid of critics among themselves than of those of the opposite [unclear: se]. For the present we can say no more. Before these notes are [unclear: printe] the last debate will be past, and there will be no chance until [unclear: ne] year.

To return to our debate, several of the speeches were very [unclear: meri] torious. Mr Guthrie spoke very well; his points were good, and [unclear: hi] arguments clear and concisely put. Mr Reid spoke sometimes [unclear: with] more zeal than discretion, but his speech was forcible and had [unclear: plent] of life in it. Mr Tewsley had unexpectedly to take the lead on his [unclear: si] instead of seconding, no light experience for one debating for the [unclear: fir] time. He acquitted himself very well, and with practice will [unclear: make] formidable debater. His modesty should not prevent him from [unclear: drivin] his argument home. Of the other speakers, Mr L. Thompson and [unclear: M] Hercus seemed inclined to treat matters in a fatherly and mildly [unclear: critic] manner rather than to take one side definitely and work into it.

For our next debate we hope to have a larger [unclear: attendance] speakers.

We are much indebted to the musical performers who [unclear: ha] favoured us at these two meetings. Miss Branson and Mr Bagley [unclear: pe] formed for the second time for us, and Messrs P. B. Haggitt and [unclear: kei] Ramsay sang. We have also to thank Dr Salmond and Dr [unclear: Benin] for the encouragement they give us when they take the chair at [unclear: o] meetings.

Cloak Room Notes.

Still the slow session drags its weary length along, and some of us are devoutly wishing for the examinations, just for the sake of a little variety. This is surely the most trying part of the year, when the lovely spring weather tempts us to wander abroad, while the nearness of the end makes work necessary, but not yet excitingly imperative.

Some of our friends from the Medical School have lately taken pity on us, and to relieve the monotony of proceedings have set up a little show underneath our window. This comes off, on certain occasions only, at about half-past five, just as the Cloak Room is beginning to fill. The fun seems to consist in one med. laborious y building up a little tower of stones, which the rest proceed to demolish by firing at it with stones of their own. Their is perhaps a slight want of originality in the idea, but since it is done for our delectation we must not complain. At any rate, it succeeds in drawing a crowd of admiring spectators both above and below.

What is the matter with all the University institutions this year? A good many of them appear to have got into a state of "run-downness" that calls for some sort of "winding up." The Tennis Club has practically gone out of existence in spite of spasmodic efforts to revive it. The Debating Society likewise appear to have died some time last summer, and to have been holding a bad funeral at fortnightly intervals ever since. Perhaps a slight exception should be made in favour of the last meeting, when the best (or the least bad) debate of the session was held. The Cloak Room cannot be accused of not doing its part in the matter, at least as far as attendance is concerned.

The University ball takes place on Thursday, but a large attendance of lady students can scarcely be looked for. We hear many complaints of the non-attendance of students, but this can hardly be wondered at when the date is fixed at only a month before the examinations. We understood that efforts were to be made to have it earlier this year, instead of which it is later than ever. Why should it not have been held, gay, in the first week of the present term? Then a reasonable attendance of students might have been expected; for it is really ridiculous that a "Students' Ball" should be attended by about half-a-dozen students. We also hear much of the "stiffness" of the ball, but if there were only a sufficient number of us there we could surely contrive to have a good time amongst ourselves, whatever outsiders might be.

We have to thank Prof. Gilray once more for his welcome gift to the ladies' room, of the 1899 volume of the Royal Academy pictures. The many futile endeavours the writer has made to examine the gift more closely give witness to the appreciation of the recipients.

Israel Zangwill's Philosophy.

Israel Zangwill,—the author of "The Master," "The Children [unclear: of] Ghetto," "The Dreamers of Ghetto," and "Without Prejudice"—[unclear: is] known to comparatively few readers. Nor is the reason far to seek; it is only that his books are too good to be appreciated by the [unclear: crowd] that think Marie Corelli is "simply too sweet."

Zangwill describes his own philosophy of life, and says "[unclear: Th] only wisdom is to live; action is substance, and thought shadow," [unclear: and] the gist of what he calls his "Working Philosophy" is that one's [unclear: duty] in life is to do the little good that comes to hand, to be willing to [unclear: see] the good rather than the evil, and be content with a less than [unclear: final] explanation of things infinite.

As far as I may judge the foundation of Zangwill's philosophy [unclear: is] Love of Truth; the sincerity that keeps a man's life healthy, [unclear: tha] forces him always to give of his, and that holds him in touch with [unclear: th] unvarying truth of the stars.

And with this intense love of Truth, comes a love of the [unclear: beautiful] for indeed these two are one. Somewhere Zangwill says, "[unclear: Th] Beautiful that has not its roots in the True, is not the Good." [unclear: N] one can read his great novel, "The Master," without perceiving [unclear: hi] deep knowledge and keen appreciation of the Beautiful; so that to [unclear: him] the glint of sun in a wayside puddle, the sighing of the weary [unclear: wind] and the upward impulses that come amid the most sordid [unclear: surrounding] are but the reflection of the compassionate smile of the great [unclear: Spiri] that rules all things.

No one heeds the vague generalisations concerning life given [unclear: fort] with pompous confidence by men who have (metaphorically [unclear: speaking] spent their lives in suburban villages, and bijou residences. But [unclear: whe] a man, that has really lived, that has sounded the shallows and [unclear: th] deeps of life, that has despaired because of the meanness of his life, [unclear: an] has comprehended its possibilities, when such a man speaks, wise [unclear: me] listen.

And Zangwill speaks, and his message is that beneath the [unclear: preten] and the conventions, the hollowness and deceit of life, there is the [unclear: ever] lasting truth : that human life is noble, and the soul of man a [unclear: thin] past comprehension for its grandness.

There is truth in the ancient legend that truth is found at [unclear: th] bottom of a well; there is truth in the lowest depths, for it is a reflection of the Truth that sits enshrined on the Highest Heights; [unclear: there] truth in Heaven; there is also truth in Hell. Thus is the whole [unclear: world] wrapped about in the garment of the Most High; but sometimes [unclear: ou] eyes are holden that we see not.

Zangwill's philosophy is, before all things, practical. "Life is always concrete; it is built up of emotions, and you cannot have the emotions, brought into your study." And while no one more thoroughly understands the value of high ideals, he is able to discuss to what extent ideals may reasonably be followed. Speaking of the musician, who, rather than play a false note, stopped his music for ever, Zangwill says: "It is sublime—but silly; he had better black boots."

Zangwill views the place which Love holds in the world with the eyes of a critical, unimpassioned, and withal amused observer. He says : "In every language on earth the student may be heard declaring with more zeal than discretion that he, and you, and they, and every other person, singular and plural, have loved, and do love, and will love. Once you can love grammatically, there is a world of things you may do without stumbling"; and again, "there are those who consider Love a variety of insanity; but it is more often merely a form of misunderstanding. When the misunderstanding is mutual, it may even lead to marriage." Moonlight, and apple blossom, and blighted affections, and all silly sentimentality find short thrift with Zangwill.

Zangwill's Philosophy incites to a steady pressing forward to something higher to a manly recognition of the heights as well as the depths of life, and a deliberate choosing of the higher; for he says : "It is true that the keenest joys of the senses leave a scant deposit in the memory, and that if sensual pleasure are doubled in anticipation, it is the spiritual that are doubled in looking backwards."

To Zangwill has been vouchsafed the Vision Beautiful, the knowledge that

We needs must love the highest when we can see it;

Not Launcelot, nor another.

A. B.

At the last examinations in Edinburgh the following ex-students of Otago University passed their Final in Medicine:—Messrs Barclay, D. Ewart, W. Ewart, Gribben, Herbert, Gilmer, Melhuish, and Phil Macdonald. Mr Barclay graduated with first-class honours, and Mr D. Ewart with second-class honours Mr Barclay will be remembered by older Medicals as one of the ablest men that our Medical School has sent Home.

Dr Logan passed the examinations for M.R.C.S. and L.R.C.P. in London. He arrived on June 27th, and began his examinations on July 4th, so that his distinctions are not due to any teaching received in England. On latest advice Dr Logan was on the point of departing to Scotland to spend a well-earned holiday with his Scottish relations.

A Complaint.

The following unique fragment, written on brown paper, [unclear: w] found in the bicycle shed. Its style might belong to any century [unclear: a] asylum. The justice of the complaint, however, and the appearance [unclear: o] several phrases lead us to infer that the is quite modern :—

". . . Lo ! then, the time of the proving of my [unclear: knowledge] by writing was at hand (this was in that year following next upon [unclear: th] in which the ship Mataura was wrecked) At the door [unclear: of] spacious building, hight the Hall of Husbandry, where I [unclear: encounter] certain individuals. Of these, one seemed gifted with a [unclear: superfluity] levity, yet, withal, to be an official. He accosted me and inquired of [unclear: n] my business. Doubtless my bizarre appearance excited his [unclear: wonder] ment, for when I communicated my purpose to him, he spake [unclear: sudden] saying:

"This way, m' lord, 'ere's the machinery court."

"Who is he that superviseth ?" quoth I, as I entered.

"Oh ! that's Hansferansfernandez," said he, with a wink to [unclear: o] that stood near. (I know not whether I have caught the [unclear: nam] correctly).

"What doeth he now ?" quoth I again, seating myself at a [unclear: table]

"Oh, keep it dark, he's twiggin' a move."

I was about to ask for an explanation of these words when he [unclear: th] supervised said in a gentle voice to those there assembled :

"O excuse me, please, just a minute. You can put on the [unclear: ti] afterwards. I just wish to read the regulations."

Thereupon he read sundry rules wherewith I was already acquainted.

Then began I to write, as did the others.

"O excuse me, please," again spake he that supervised. "You can have more water if you wish."

"Thank you." Again began I to write.

"Oh, excuse me, please. There's a lady learning to ride a bicycle in the Main Hall, and if the gentlemen would not stand and look——"

I cared not for ladies, so I continued writing.

The morning sun streamed through the transparencies in the roof of the spacious hall wherein I sat. The strong beams fell upon my head and made me dizzy. He who had first accosted me was walking about, and as he approached me, jug in hand, he whispered :

"Everything bear an equal strain ?"

I did not understand his words; but I desired of him to be moved into the shade.

. . . The afternoon. Showers of rain fell, and poured on the roof like the beating of many flails. My head seemed to crack as dry wood that splitteth under the stroke of the axe. My feet, be it known, also were muchly chilled by draughts of cold air that rose through the gaping joints of the rough flooring.

. . . Also the next day, when the hall was filled with a continual thud, thud, that seemed to have its origin in the posterior portion of the hall, and that continued throughout the day.

I complained to him that supervised. He said sweetly that he was sorry, but that he was unable to shift the machinery. . . .

To my surprise the proving of my knowledge was satisfactory. Again the time of proving approacheth. Shall I again hear that dull thud, thud, thud ! My thoughts are full of this.

I weep to think of what, perchance, I must endure again. Verily, there is no peace for the wicked.

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"You owe me no subscription."

—KING LEAR.

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Front Cover

The Starborough Settlement, Marlborough, New Zealand.

Particulars, Terms, and Conditions of Disposal and Occupation of 33,621 Acres, Open on Monday, 13th March, 1899.

WITH MAP, FROM SURVEYS MADE BY MESSRS. M. CARKEEK, A. SIMPSON, AND WILSON, SURVEYORS; AND ILLUSTRATIONS FROM PHOTOGRAPHS BY W. F. BURGESS.

coat of arms

Issued under the Instructions of the Hon. John McKenzie, Minister of Lands.

Wellington. BY AUTHORITY: JOHN MACKAY, GOVERNMENT PRINTER. 1899.

From Section 4, Block X., Clifford Bay, looking towards Haldon Mountains.

Starborough Estate, Marlborough.

THE Starborough Estate is situated on the southern bank of the Awatere River, about eighteen miles from Blenheim, and is intersected by the main road from Blenheim to Kaikoura. The lower portion of the property is also conveniently accessible by the new road through the Redwood Pass, the distance from Blenheim being about sixteen miles.

The Blenheim—Awatere Railway, now in course of construction, will shortly be open for traffic as far as the Township of Seddon, near the Starborough Homestead.

With the exception of the four small grazing-runs, where the hills rise to an altitude of 2,600 ft., the land in Starborough includes a large area of good flats, terraces, and rolling downs, ranging from 100 ft. to 1,000 ft. above sea-level.

The soil is generally of excellent quality, from light and stony in parts to good alluvial loam resting on papa.

A large portion of the estate has been cultivated and cropped, and is now laid down in English grass. The land is in good heart and well grassed, and no rabbits are to be seen.

The lower part of the estate is most conveniently visited from Blenheim by the Redwood Pass Road, and by

fording the Awatere opposite Mr. Allen's house.

A coach from Blenheim to Kaikoura leaves Blenheim every Monday morning at 7 a.m.

The same coach returns from Kaikoura every Thursday, arriving at Starborough on Friday afternoon.

There is accommodation at Awatere on the left bank of the river, and at Blind River, where meals and beds can be obtained.

Riding horses can generally be hired at the station. Wheeled vehicles can be taken *viâ* Taylor Pass, the Awatere Ford, and present main road across the estate, also by the Redwood Pass and new road over Starborough and Blind River Estate, crossing the Awatere at the ford, which can be recognised by the cutting on the right bank. At present the cutting down the terrace on the left or Blenheim bank is nearly opposite Mr. Allen's house.

The whole of the estate is surrounded by wire-netting fences, and is also subdivided by plain wire fences, which [unclear: in] some cases form the boundaries of the subdivisions. There [unclear: are] several good plantations of gums and pines, but, with the [unclear: exception] of these, there is no timber for building or fencing [unclear: purposes], or for firewood.

The sections have been laid out with a view to supply [unclear: water] to as many holdings as possible from the existing springs [unclear: and] dams. On some sections it will, however, be necessary [unclear: to] construct dams until some scheme is devised for bringing [unclear: water] from the Awatere River.

One thousand and eighteen acres of Starborough [unclear: Estate] adjoining Section 2, Block X., Clifford Bay District ([unclear: Homestead] Block), is now being subdivided into sections ranging from [unclear: 51] acres to 100 acres. The Township of Seddon is also [unclear: being] surveyed. These lands will be put in the market at an early date. The whole estate last year carried 32,350 half-bred [unclear: Lincoln]-merino sheep.

Successful applicants for sections and small grazing-runs [unclear: in] this settlement can take possession on the 1st day of [unclear: April,] 1899.

Detailed descriptions of each section for disposal on lease [unclear: in] perpetuity will be found on pages 9 to 15.

Detailed descriptions of each small grazing-run will be [unclear: found] on pages 15 and 16.

Terms and conditions of lease in perpetuity will be found [unclear: on] pages 16 to 24.

Terms and conditions of small grazing-runs will be found [unclear: on] pages 25 to 32.

Schedules of sections, areas, and half-yearly rentals will [unclear: be] found on pages 7 and 8.

For large scale map of Starborough Settlement, see [unclear: Marl]-borough Land District poster map No. 101.

Blind River, at foot of Haldon Mountains.

Directions to Applicants.

APPLICATIONS for leases will be received up to 4 p.m. on and after Monday, the 13th March, 1899, at the District Land and Survey Office, Blenheim, where forms of application and maps may be obtained. Forms and maps may also be obtained at the Land Offices throughout the colony, or they will be sent by post on application.

The first ballot for sections for which there are more than one applicant will be held on Thursday, the 16th March, 1899, at 10 a.m., at the District Land and Survey Office, Blenheim. Possession will be given on the 1st April, 1899.

Applications must be accompanied by a deposit of a half-year's rent and £1 1s. lease-fee, otherwise they will not be considered; and in cases where the application is for a section on which buildings are situate, the amount of the first half-yearly instalment of the value thereof and the interest thereon must be deposited. If an application comprises more sections than one, it shall be sufficient if one deposit is made in respect of the section whose deposit is the largest.

If the applicant is successful in obtaining a section, his deposit, or a sufficient part of it, shall be retained and applied in payment of the rent due on the 1st July, 1899, for selections made before that date, and the residue, if any, shall be returned to him.

The agricultural land is for lease for 999 years. The pastoral land is for lease for 21 years, with the option of renewal at the then unimproved value for a further period of 21 years if not required for closer settlement.

Selectors will have to appear personally at the Land Board meeting at Blenheim on Tuesday, the 14th March, 1899, at 10 o'clock a.m., to answer any further questions which the Board may put,

Applications will be received for any number of sections, but no person shall be allowed to acquire or to hold more than one section. Harried women who forward their applications through the post are requested to give the full name and address of their husbands opposite the word "Occupation" on the application form.

Applications for agricultural land cannot be entertained from any person who already holds or has an interest in other lands over 1,000 acres in area, including the land applied for, or who has property of the full value of three times the land applied for, if under 100 acres, or twice the value if under 500 acres, or one and a half times if over 500 acres.

Applications may be made for more than one run of [unclear: pastor] land, but no person who has an interest in lands which, with [unclear: it] area applied for, exceeds 5,000 acres, or who has property of [unclear: the] value of one-and-a-half times the capital value of the land [unclear: applied] for, can be an applicant.

Successful applicants shall insure all buildings at present [unclear: erect] on their sections to their full insurable value.

If there is only one applicant for any allotment, such [unclear: applies] shall obtain that allotment, if the Board is satisfied that he is [unclear: eligible] and thereupon his application in respect of all other allotments [unclear: when] soever shall be void.

In the event of any person being the only applicant for [unclear: may] than one allotment, such applicant shall be entitled to select [unclear: as] one of such allotments (subject to his being eligible), and [unclear: thereupon] his application shall be void as to all other allotments; and [unclear: su] applicant shall declare his election before the commencement of [unclear: the] ballot.

If a person is one of several applicants for more than one [unclear: allotment], then (subject to his being eligible) he shall be entitled [unclear: to] the allotment for which he is first successful in the ballot, and [unclear: there] upon his application in respect of the other allotments shall be void.

Applicants who are landless shall have preference over those [unclear: we] are not, and the decision of the Land Board as to who of [unclear: the] applicants are landless and who are not shall be final and [unclear: conclusive].

An applicant for rural land shall be deemed to be landless [unclear: un] at the time of his application he already holds, under any [unclear: tenure] such area of rural land as, in the opinion of the Board, is [unclear: sufficient] for the maintenance of himself and his family.

In the case of the husband or wife, if either of them is not [unclear: laless], neither of them shall be deemed to be landless.

Selectors are reminded that the terms as to payment of [unclear: re] &c., in advance, and fulfilment of conditions as to improvements [unclear: a] residence, will be strictly enforced.

The right is reserved to the Crown or to its delegated [unclear: author] to take, without compensation, water-races 30 links wide over [unclear: a] land disposed of, the rentals to be reduced in proportion to the [unclear: are] taken when the right is exercised.

Intending applicants should read the conditions carefully, [unclear: are] also make themselves acquainted with the questions, to which [unclear: the] must give written answers, and declare to.

An officer of the Survey Department will start from [unclear: Starborough] Accommodation-house every Monday on arrival of the coach [unclear: from] Blenheim, and on every other day at 8 o'clock a.m., to show [unclear: select] over the estate and point out the boundaries of the sections.

The Homestead, Starborough.

Reaping Oats on Homestead Block.

Outbuildings on Homestead Block.

Land for Settlements Act.

Starborough Settlement.

20,825 Acres Agricultural Land Open for Selection on Lease in Perpetuity

ON MONDAY, 13th March, 1899.

Clifford Bay, Taylor Pass, Blue Mountain, and Cape Campbell Survey Districts.—Marlborough County.

[For description of each section see pages 9 to 16.]

FIRST-CLASS AGRICULTURAL LAND.

Survey District. Lease in Perpetuity Rent, 5 per cent. Section. Block. Area. Rent per Acre per Annum. Half-yearly Rent. A. R. P. s. d. £ s. d. Clifford Bay .. 2 IX. 268 0 0 6 9 45 4 6 Clifford Bay .. 3 " 320 0 0 5 0 40 0 0 Clifford Bay .. 4 X. 548 0 0 4 6 61 13 0 Clifford Bay .. 5 " 558 0 0 3 6 48 16 6 1 £54 13 6 5 17 0* Clifford Bay .. 6 " 645 0 0 3 6 56 8 9 Clifford Bay .. 1 XI. 444 0 0 5 6 61 1 0 Clifford Bay .. 2 " 295 0 0 6 9 49 15 8 Clifford Bay .. 3 " 398 0 0 5 0 49 15 0 Clifford Bay .. 4 " 393 0 0 6 3 61 8 2 £62 14 1 1 5 11† " .. 5 " 464 0 0 5 6 63 16 0 " .. 6 " 271 0 0 5 9 38 19 2 " .. 8 " 434 0 0 4 3 46 2 3 " .. 9 " 311 0 0 6 0 46 13 0 " .. 10 " 369 0 0 6 0 55 7 0 " .. 12 " 313 0 0 4 9 37 3 5 " .. 5 XIII. 574 0 0 4 3 60 19 9 " .. 6 " 436 0 0 3 6 38 3 0 " .. 4 XIV. 345 0 0 4 0 34 10 0 Taylor Pass .. 2 XXII. 453 0 0 6 3 70 15 8 " .. 5 " 513 0 0 6 3 80 3 2 " .. 6 " 437 0 0 6 3 68 5 8 " .. 7 " 271 0 0 5 0 33 17 6 " .. 8 " 452 0 0 4 6 50 17 0 " .. 9 " 731 0 0 3 6 63 19 3 " .. 10 " 401 0 0 4 3 42 12 2 " .. 11 " 594 0 0 4 9 70 10 9 " .. 13 " 558 0 0 3 3 45 6 9 * Interest and sinking fund on house, valued at £150, repayable in twenty-one years, in half-yearly instalments of £5 17s. † Interest and sinking fund on hut, valued at £15, repayable in seven years, in half-yearly instalments of £1 5s. 11d.

SECOND-CLASS AGRICULTURAL LAND.

Survey District. Section. Block. Area. Lease in Perpetuity: Rent, 5 per Cent. Rent per Annum Half-yearly Rent. A. R. P. s. d. £ s. d. Clifford Bay .. 3 XIII. 983 0 0 3 0 73 14 6 " .. 4 " 521 0 0 3 0 39 1 6 " .. 7 " 425 0 0 3 0 31 17 6 " .. 8 " 525 0 0 2 9 36 1 11 " .. 10 " 532 0 0 2 9 36 11 6 " .. 11 " 740 0 0 3 0 55 10 0 " .. 2 XIV. 598 0 0 2 6 37 7 6 " .. 3 " 420 0 0 3 0 81 10 0 Blue Mountain 1 IV. 963 0 0 3 0 72 4 6 " 2 " 727 0 0 2 10½ 52 5 1 Cape Campbell 2 I. 735 0 0 2 1½ 39 1 0 " 3 " 464 0 0 2 9 31 18 0 " 4 " 700 0 0 2 0 35 0 0 Taylor Pass .. 12 XXII. 696 0 0 3 0 52 4 0

Small Grazing-Runs Open for Selection on Lease, 12,531 Acres,

ON MONDAY, 13th March, 1899.

[For description of each small grazing-run see pages 15 and 16.]

S.G. Run No. Section. Block. Area. Lease for 21 Years. Survey District. Rent per Acre per Annum. Half-yearly Rent. A. R. P. s. d. £ s. d. 135 Blue Mountain 3 IV. 3257 0 0 1 9 142 9 10 4 6 5* 133 " 4 " 3373 0 0 1 10½ 158 2 2 134 " 5 " 3077 0 0 1 9 134 12 4 136 Cape Campbell 1 I. 2824 0 0 1 9 123 11 0 * Interest and sinking fund on iron cottage, valued at £50, repayable in seven years in half-yearly instalments of £4 6s. 5d.

Lands for Temporary License for Grazing, 335 Acres.

Section. Block. Survey District. Area. Half-yearly Ken tal. A. R. P. £ s. d. 3 X. Clifford Bay .. 174 0 0 11 19 3 13 XI. " .. 71 0 0 1 15 6- 5 XIV. " .. 44 0 0 3 6 0 6 " " .. 26 0 0 1 19 0 14 XI. " .. 20 0 0 1 2 6

Terms of Lease.

One year; renewable from year to year. Possession of these sections [*unclear*: will] have to be given up on one month's notice if required for purposes for which [*unclear*: they] are reserved.

Site of Seddon Railway Station.

Applications for the lands for temporary license will be received up to 4 p.m. on and after Monday, 13th March, 1899, at the District Land and Survey Office, Blenheim. If there be more than one applicant on the first day for a section, a ballot will be held on Thursday, 16th March, 1899, at 11 a.m., at the District Land and

Survey Office, Blenheim.

No deposit is required with the applications, but the successful applicant must be prepared to pay a half-year's rent and license-fee immediately on his application being approved at the ballot. This will be taken as the rent due on the 1st July, 1899. The next payment will become due on the 1st January, 1900.

The conditions and restrictions of the Land Act and the Land for Settlements Act do not apply. Possession will be given on 1st April, 1899.

Detailed Descriptions of Sections in Starborough Settlement.

THE following detailed description of the soil and character of each section and small grazing-run in the Starborough Settlement, to be offered for lease on Monday, the 13th March, 1899, is furnished for the general information of intending purchasers, who are recommended, nevertheless, to visit the land and inspect it for themselves, the Crown not being in any way responsible for the absolute accuracy of every description.

Open for Selection on Lease in Perpetuity on Monday 13th March, 1899.

CLIFFORD BAY SURVEY DISTRICT.

Section 2, Block IX.; 268 acres. First-class.

All flat; good agricultural land; 50 acres in English grass, remainder was in turnips last season; no water on section; frontage to road reserve along Awatere River. Altitude, 100 ft. above sea-level. 55 chains interior fence, 60 chains boundary netted fence. Access by unformed road; live miles and a half from railway-station.

Section 3, Block IX.; 320 acres. First-class.

Good agricultural land, all flat; partly in English grass, remainder in tussock; river frontage, but no water on section. Altitude, 100 ft. above sea-level. 60 chains netted boundary-fence. Access by unformed road; six miles from railway-station.

Section 4, Block X.; 548 acres. First-class.

About 150 acres good flat land in English grass; remainder tussock downs, with steep faces towards Deep Creek. Altitude, 200 ft. to 500 ft. above sea-level. 200 chains netted fence. Permanent water. This section adjoins railway-station.

Section 5, Block X.; 558 acres. First-class.

About 50 acres ploughable flat land, now in English grass; remainder tussock downs, with steep and broken faces; fair soil; frontage to road reserve along Awatere River. Permanent [unclear: water] Altitude, 200 ft. to 500ft. above sea-level. 120 chains netted [unclear: fences] Access by unformed road; two miles from railway-station. [unclear: There] is a house on this section valued at £150, which is to be paid for [unclear: this] twenty-one years by half-yearly instalments of £5 17s.

Section 6, Block X.; 645 acres. First-class.

This section consists of tussock downs and spurs, with [unclear: rough] faces towards Deep Creek; fairly good soil; about 150 acres [unclear: ploughable]; permanent water. Altitude, 300 ft. to 500 ft. above sea-[unclear: level] 140 chains netted fence. Access by unformed road; one mile [unclear: from] railway-station.

Section 1, Block XI.; 444 acres. First-class.

One-third stony flats, remainder good easy downs, all [unclear: ploughable]; good soil on downs, nearly all English grass; easy [unclear: access] river, but no water on section. Altitude, 100 ft. to 200 ft. [unclear: above] sea-level. 70 chains netted fence on boundary. Access by [unclear: un] formed road; four miles from railway-station.

Section 2, Block XI.; 295 acres. First-class.

First-class agricultural land; all flat, but 30 acres low [unclear: downs] all in English grass; easy access to Awatere River. [unclear: Altitude] about 100ft. above sea-level. 60 chains interior wire [unclear: fence;] chains netted boundary-fence. Access by unformed road; [unclear: four] miles from railway-station.

Section 3, Block XI.; 398 acres. First-class.

Two-thirds good agricultural land; very easy slopes, [unclear: remainder] good tussock downs; nearly all ploughable; watered only part [unclear: of] the year. Altitude, 200 ft. to 300 ft. above sea-level. 30 [unclear: chain] interior wire fence; 40 chains netted boundary-fence. [unclear: Access] unformed road; two miles and a half from railway-station.

Section 4, Block XI.; 393 acres. First-class.

Gently sloping downs, good soil; half in English grass, [unclear: half] tussock; all ploughable; good water all the year. Altitude, [unclear: 100] to 200ft. above sea-level. 65 chains interior wire fence; 60 [unclear: chair] netted boundary-fence. Access by unformed road; three miles [unclear: as] a half from railway-station. There is a hut on this section, [unclear: valued] at £15, to be paid for in seven years by half-yearly instalments [unclear: of] £1 5s. 11d.

Section 5, Block XI.; 464 acres. First-class.

Good agricultural land, consisting of flats and low downs; [unclear: nearly] all ploughable; watered most of the year. Altitude, 100 ft. to 350 [unclear: ft] above sea-level. 65 chains netted boundary-fence; 90 [unclear: chains] fence; good sheep-yards. Access by unformed road; five miles [unclear: as] a half from railway-station

Looking S.W. from Seaview, Section 4, Block XI., Clifford Bay.

Section 6, Block XI.; 271 acres. First-class.

Good agricultural land, half flat, half low downs; nearly all ploughable; 130 acres have been cropped this season. Watered most of the year. Altitude, 100 ft. to 200 ft. above sea-level. 40 chains interior wire fence; 130 chains netted boundary-fence. Access by unformed road; six miles from railway-station.

Section 8, Block XI.; 434 acres. First-class.

Low tussock downs, good soil; about 100 acres ploughable; watered only part of the year. Altitude, 300 ft. to 500 ft. above sea-level. 60 chains netted boundary-fence. Access by unformed road, two miles from railway-station.

Section 9, Block XI.; 311 acres. First-class.

Sloping downs and good flats; all ploughable; 100 acres flat; all good soil; watered nearly all the year. Altitude, 150ft. to 200 ft. above sea-level. 40 chains netted interior fence. Access by unformed road; two miles and a half from railway-station.

Section 10, Block XI.; 369 acres. First-class.

Gently sloping tussock downs; surface-sown with English grass in places; all ploughable; watered most of the year. Altitude, 200ft. to 300ft. above sea-level. 55 chains wire fence; 80 chains netted boundary-fence. Access by unformed road; three miles and a half from railway-station.

Section 12, Block XI.; 313 acres. First-class.

Good sloping tussock downs; one-third steep faces, remainder ploughable; all good soil; no permanent water. Altitude, 200 ft. to 400 ft. above sea-level. 65 chains netted fence. Access by unformed road; four miles from railway-station.

Section 5, Block XIII.; 574 acres. First-class.

200 acres ploughable downs, good soil, remainder somewhat higher, with steep faces towards Blind River; mostly in English grass, surface-sown; permanent water; plantation of gums, 6 acres. Altitude, 300 ft. to 600 ft. above sea-level. 110 chains wire-netted fence. Adjoins railway-station. Present coach-road passes through this section.

Section 6, Block XIII.; 436 acres. First-class.

Rolling tussock downs, with steep faces towards Blind River; 250 acres ploughable; watered nearly all the year. Altitude, 250 ft. to 600 ft. above sea-level. 80 chains netted fence. Access by unformed road; one mile

from railway-station.

Section 4, Block XIV.; 345 acres. First-class.

About 120 acres flat, remainder low tussock downs and spurs; English grass in places; good soil; about 250 acres ploughable; permanent water. Altitude, 200 ft. to 500 ft. above sea-level. 15 chains interior and 20 chains boundary fence; all netted. [unclear: Three] miles and a half from railway-station, by unformed road.

TAYLOR PASS SURVEY DISTRICT.

Section 2, Block XXII.; 453 acres. First-class.

All good agricultural land, nearly flat, now in English [unclear: grass] watered most of the year. Altitude, 300 ft. to 400 ft. above [unclear: sea] level. 170 chains interior fence. Access by formed road; [unclear: three] miles from railway-station.

Section 5, Block XXII.; 513 acres. First-class.

All good flat agricultural land, now in English grass; [unclear: water] most of the year in Richmond Brook. Altitude, 500 ft. to 550 [unclear: ft] above sea-level. 130 chains interior fence; 120 chains give-[unclear: and]-take boundary netted fence along Richmond Brook. Five [unclear: miles] and a half from railway-station—by formed road three miles, [unclear: at] unformed two miles and a half.

Section 6, Block XXII.; 437 acres. First-class.

All good agricultural land, flat, and gently sloping downs; [unclear: permanent] water; 130 chains interior fence. Altitude, 400 ft. [unclear: to] 550 ft. above sea-level. Four miles from railway-station—by [unclear: formatted] road three miles, and unformed road one mile.

Section 7, Block XXII.; 271 acres. First-class.

All good land; half flat; in English grass, remainder [unclear: tuss] downs; 170 acres ploughable; good spring, permanent water; [unclear: 15] chains netted fence. Altitude, 400 ft. to 700 ft. above sea-[unclear: level]. Three miles from railway-station by formed road.

Section 8, Block XXII.; 452 acres. First-class.

About 120 acres flat, in English grass; good soil; [unclear: remainder] pastoral country; well grassed; water most of the year. [unclear: Altitude] 400 ft. to 700 ft. above sea-level. 150 chains interior fence. [unclear: Three] miles from railway-station by formed road.

Section 9, Block XXII.; 731 acres. First-class.

200 acres ploughable flats, fair soil; remainder good [unclear: rolling] tussock-downs; permanent water; good dam. Altitude, 550 [unclear: ft.] 800 ft. above sea-level. 50 chains interior netted fence; 120 [unclear: change] give-and-take boundary netted fence along Richmond Brook. [unclear: For] miles from railway-station—by formed road three miles, [unclear: and] formed two miles.

Section 10, Block XXII.; 401 acres. First-class.

300 acres flat, half ploughable, half somewhat stony; 100 [unclear: acre] good tussock downs; water most of the year. Altitude, 500[unclear: ft]. 600 ft. above sea-level. 80 chains interior netted fence. Five [unclear: miles] from railway-station—by formed road three miles, and [unclear: unfor] two miles.

Looking across Homestead Block towards Awatere Road.

Section 11, Block XXII.; 594 acres. First-class.

All good soil, exceedingly well grassed; 200 acres ploughable, remainder easy slopes; 100 acres flat; 60 acres ploughed and in English grass; water most of the year; good sites for dams. Altitude, 500 ft. to 800 ft. above sea-level. 180 chains interior fence, mostly netted. Four miles and a half from railway-station—by formed road three miles, and unformed a mile and a half.

Section 13, Block XXII.; 558 acres. First-class.

150 acres flats and low downs, ploughable, remainder high tussock downs; 70 acres in English grass; water part of the year. Altitude, 600 ft. to 900 ft. above sea-level. 80 chains interior netted fence. Five miles from railway-station—by formed road three miles, and unformed two miles.

CLIFFORD BAY SURVEY DISTRICT.

Section 3, Block XIII.; 983 acres. Second-class.

400 acres rolling downs, 150 acres of which are ploughable, remainder steep pastoral country, all well grassed; water most of the year. Altitude, 400 ft. to 1,000 ft. above sea-level. This section contains Star Hill. 200 chains interior netted fence. A mile and a half from railway-station, by formed road.

Section 4, Block XIII.; 521 acres. Second-class.

Fair soil, 100 acres ploughable, remainder rolling tussock downs, with steep faces towards Blind River; water most of the year. Altitude, 350 ft. to 600 ft. above sea-level. 120 chains interior netted fence. Half a mile from railway-station, by formed road.

Section 7, Block XIII.; 425 acres. Second-class.

Fair soil; a few acres flat, remainder tussock downs, with steep faces towards Blind River; 200 acres ploughable; water most of the year. Altitude, 200 ft. to 600 ft. above sea-level. 90 chains interior fence. A mile and a half from railway-station, by unformed road.

Section 8, Block XIII.; 525 acres. Second-class.

Low tussock downs, with small flats, stony in patches; very little ploughable; fair soil, somewhat broken by gullies; all well grassed; water most of the year. Altitude, 400 ft. to 600 ft. above sea-level. 100 chains interior netted fence. Five miles and a half from railway-station—by formed road three miles, and unformed two miles and a half.

Section 10, Block XIII.; 532 acres. Second-class.

About 200 acres flat, too stony to plough successfully; remainder fair tussock downs; water most of the year. Altitude, 400 ft. to 800 ft. above sea-level. 20 chains netted fence. Six miles [unclear: from] railway-station—by formed road three miles, and unformed [unclear: three] miles.

Section 11, Block XIII.; 740 acres. Second-class.

Rolling tussock downs and small creek flats; fair soil, 100 [unclear: act?] ploughable; water most of the year. Altitude, 350ft. to 700[unclear: ft] above sea-level. This section was burnt last season. [unclear: Boundary] fenced two sides with 160 chains netting. Six miles from [unclear: railway] station by unformed road.

Section 2, Block XIV.; 598 acres. Second-class.

About 40 acres ploughable flat, remainder tussock downs, [unclear: pa] toral only; permanent water. 60 chains interior netted [unclear: fen] 120 chains boundary netted fence. Altitude, 200 ft. to 400[unclear: ft] above sea-level. Three miles from railway-station by [unclear: unformed] road.

Section 3, Block XIV.; 420 acres. Second-class.

All fair soil; 100 acres flat, remainder tussock downs, with [unclear: steal] faces towards Blind River; 200 acres ploughable; permanent [unclear: water] Altitude, 200 ft. to 500 ft. above sea-level. 60 chains interior [unclear: and] 50 chains boundary fence, all netted. Two miles from [unclear: railway] station by unformed road.

TAYLOR PASS SURVEY DISTRICT.

Section 12, Block XXII.; 696 acres. Second-class.

50 acres flats along creek, remainder tussock downs with [unclear: ste] faces; fair soil, well grassed; water part of the year. [unclear: Altitude] 500 ft. to 900 ft. above sea-level. 15 chains interior netted [unclear: fence] Five miles from railway-station—by formed road three [unclear: miles,] unformed two miles.

BLUE MOUNTAIN. SURVEY DISTRICT.

Section 1, Block IV.; 963 acres. Second-class.

Tussock downs, with small flats and gullies; fair soil, 200 [unclear: act]; ploughable; creeks mostly dry in summer. Altitude, 600 [unclear: ft.]; 900 ft. above sea-level. 60 chains give-and-take netted [unclear: boundary] fence along Richmond Brook. Six miles from railway-station—[unclear: by] formed road three miles, and unformed three miles.

Section 2, Block IV.; 727 acres. Second-class.

All fair soil; 50 acres flat, remainder high tussock downs; [unclear: portions] ploughable; water most of the year. Altitude, 600 [unclear: ft.] 950 ft. above sea-level. 50 chains netted boundary-fence. [unclear: Six] miles from railway-station—by formed road three miles, [unclear: and] formed three miles.

Plantation, Site of Township of Seddon.

CAPE CAMPBELL SURVEY DISTRICT.

Section 2, Block I.; 735 acres. Second-class.

About 40 acres flats, ploughable; remainder steep tussock spurs, fairly well grassed; water most of the year. Altitude, 400 ft. to 700 ft. above sea-level. 70 chains give-and-take boundary netted fence. Seven miles from railway-station by unformed road.

Section 3, Block I.; 464 acres. Second-class.

About 100 acres flats, remainder low tussock downs; 150 acres ploughable; water most of the year, two small springs. Altitude, 600 ft. to 850 ft. above sea-level. 20 chains interior netted fence. Seven miles from railway-station—by formed road three miles, and unformed four miles.

Section 4, Block I.; 700 acres. Second-class.

Almost all tussock downs, broken with gullies, pastoral only; water part of the year. Altitude, 500 ft. to 700 ft. above sea-level. 50 chains interior netted fence. Access by road up Tetley Brook, three miles formed, five miles unformed.

Small Grazing-runs.

BLUE MOUNTAIN SURVEY DISTRICT.

Section 3, Block IV.; 3,257 acres.

About 300 acres of flats and low downs in front of hills; 400 acres of high downs, covered with tussock and patches of fern on Flaxbourne side; remainder hilly country, rising up to 2,500 ft. above sea-level; rocky and broken on high tops; well grassed, easy sloping valleys in centre of block; permanent water. A mile and three quarters of boundary-fence along Flaxbourne River, 30 chains wire fence on western boundary, 40 chains wire-netted fence on north-west boundary, 80 chains wire-netted fence on front of hills, 3 miles of interior fence. Access by road; seven miles from railway-station. Small iron hut at back of Haldon Range; good sheep-yards; three-roomed iron cottage with brick chimney, valued at £50, is to be paid for in seven years by half-yearly instalments of £4 6s. 5d.

Section 4, Block IV.; 3,373 acres.

About 250 acres rolling downs and creek-flats in front, and about 80 acres of stony flat on Flaxbourne side; remainder steep hill-sides on Haldon Range; mostly tussocky slopes, with few acres of rocky-faces, &c.; give-and-take boundary-fence for five miles and a half along Richmond Brook and Flaxbourne River; 107 chains wire-netted interior fence, and about 110 chains not netted along top of Haldon Range. Altitude, 850 ft. to 2,600 ft. above sea-level. Access by proposed road up Deep Creek, seven miles from railway-station. Permanent water, principally on Flaxbourne slopes.

Section 5, Block IV.; 3,077 acres.

About 250 acres of easily sloping, rolling downs and flats, [unclear: half] of which is ploughable; small patches of stony flat on [unclear: Flaxbourne] side, remainder on Haldon Hills very rough and rocky in [unclear: high] country; good tussock slopes towards flat; permanent [unclear: water] Altitude, 750ft. to 2,400 ft. above sea-level. Give-and-take [unclear: boundary] netted fence along Flaxbourne River; also 30 chains wire [unclear: fence] on boundary at top of Haldon Range, two miles and a half [unclear: interior] wire fence in the hilly country, 120 chains netted fence along foots [unclear: of] main hills. Access by proposed road up Deep Creek; seven [unclear: miles] from railway-station.

CAPE CAMPBELL SURVEY DISTRICT.

Section 1, Block I., 2,824 acres.

About 200 acres downs and flats in front of section, 500 [unclear: acres]; rolling downs in centre of block, remainder steep hill-sides [unclear: up] 2,500ft. above sea-level; permanent water. Four miles give-[unclear: and]-take boundary fence along Flaxbourne River and Tetley Brook, [unclear: 6] chains wire [unclear: fence] along top of hills, 60 chains netted fence a frontage. Altitude, 600 ft. to 2,500 ft. Access by road along [unclear: Tetley] Brook, eight miles from railway-station.

Terms and Conditions of Lease in Perpetuity

First-and Second-Class Agricultural Land.

1. Part of the lands included in the Starborough Settlement [unclear: and] divided into sections, which are open for selection on lease in [unclear: perpetuity], under the provisions of "The Land Act, 1892," "[unclear: The] Land for Settlements Act, 1894," and "The Land for [unclear: Settlement] Act Amendment Act, 1896" (herein referred to as "the [unclear: amending] Act").

2. The lease shall be for a term of 999 years, to be [unclear: reckons] from the next 1st day of January or July following the date of [unclear: the] lease, and shall in addition include the broken period between [unclear: the] date of the lease and such day.

3. The half-yearly rentals stated in the Schedule on pages 7 [unclear: and] shall be the price at which the land shall be open for [unclear: selection] and shall be payable in advance to the Receiver of Land [unclear: Revenue] on the 1st day of January and 1st day of July in each year, [unclear: the] first half-year's rent being due on the 1st day of January or [unclear: July] first following the date of the lease, and being payable out of [unclear: the] hereinafter-mentioned deposit.

4. The lease shall be dated as on the day whereon the [unclear: Land] Board declares that the applicant has succeeded in obtaining [unclear: the] allotment.

5. Applications for leases shall be in the form or to the [unclear: effects]

Section 4, Block XL, Clifford Bay, looking S.W.

forth in the Regulations under "The Land for Settlements Act Amendment Act, 1896," and every applicant shall make the declaration therein set forth, or to that effect.

6. Applications shall be addressed to the Commissioner of Crown Lands, Blenheim.

7. The day on which the lands shall be first opened for selection shall be Monday, the 13th day of March, one thousand eight hundred and ninety-nine.

8. Every applicant shall, to the best of his ability, answer the questions set forth in his application, and such other questions relating to his means and ability to work the land and fulfil the conditions of the lease as the Land Board may see fit to ask. Failure to answer any such question to the satisfaction of the Land Board will entail the rejection of the application.

9. No application will be considered unless it is accompanied by a deposit consisting of an amount equal to the rent for the first half-year of the term, together with the sum of one guinea to defray the cost of the lease, and, if the application is in respect to land on which buildings are situate, the amount of the first half-yearly instalment in respect of the value thereof and interest thereon, or, as the case may be, of the interest alone, as hereinafter provided in clause 27 of these conditions.

10. An application may be for more allotments than one, but no person shall be allowed to acquire or to hold more than one allotment.

11. If any application comprises more allotments than one, it shall be sufficient if the prescribed deposit is

duly made in respect of the allotment applied for whose deposit is the largest.

12. If the applicant is successful in obtaining an allotment, his deposit, or a sufficient part thereof, shall be retained and applied in payment of the items hereinbefore referred to in respect of such allotment, and the residue, if any, shall be returned to him.

13. No person shall be capable of applying for or holding any allotment in any of the following cases, that is to say:—

- If at the date of his application he is directly or indirectly, either by himself or jointly with any other person or persons, the owner, tenant, or occupier of any land whatsoever under the Land for Settlements Acts, or the owner in fee-simple, or the tenant or occupier under a lease for a term whereof not less than two years are unexpired, of any other land in the colony which, with the allotment applied for, would exceed an area of 1,000 acres; or
- If at such date he is the owner of real or personal property the total value whereof, after deducting the encumbrances thereon, exceeds the following proportion of the capital value (exclusive of buildings) of the allotment applied for, that is to say,—
 - ¶ Three times such capital value where the area of such allotment does not exceed 100 acres;
 - ¶ Twice such capital value where such area [unclear: exced] 100 and does not exceed 500 acres;
 - ¶ One and a half times such value when [unclear: sea] area exceeds 500 acres.

14. When more applications than one are made on the same [unclear: a] for the same land, the right to occupy the land shall, if such [unclear: apply] cations are accepted by the Land Board, be decided by [unclear: ballot] accordance with the regulations under "The Land Act, 1892."

15. Subject to the provisions of "The Land Act, 1892," to relaxing or dispensing with the conditions relating to [unclear: resident] the lessee shall reside on the land within one year from the [unclear: date] the lease, and thereafter such residence shall be continuous for [unclear: the] period of ten years.

16. The lessee shall put on the land comprised in his [unclear: lease] substantial improvements as under, that is to say:—

- Within one year from the date of his lease, to a value [unclear: equal] to 2½ per cent, of the aforesaid capital value of the [unclear: land].
- Within two years from the date of his lease, to a value [unclear: equal] to another 2½ per cent, of the aforesaid capital value the land;
- And thereafter, but within six years from the date of [unclear: the] lease, to a value equal to another per cent, of the [unclear: afore] said capital value of the land;

and in addition thereto he shall, within six years from the date his lease, put on the land substantial improvements of a [unclear: permanent] character within the meaning of section 3 of "The Land Act, [unclear: 1892] to the value of £1 for every acre of agricultural land (first-[unclear: class] and 10s. for every acre of mixed agricultural and [unclear: pastoral] (second-class). For the purposes of this clause the Land [unclear: Bo] shall determine and specify in the lease what proportion of [unclear: the] land comprised therein is agricultural and what proportion is [unclear: mixed] agricultural and pastoral land.

17. For the purpose of determining whether the lessee [unclear: has] upon the land substantial improvements to the value and [unclear: with] the time prescribed by these conditions (but for no other [unclear: purpose] there shall be included the value of all substantial [unclear: improvement] existing on the land at the date of the lease, and also all [unclear: capital] sums paid by the lessee in respect of the value of the [unclear: building] under clause 27 of these conditions, nevertheless to the [unclear: extended] only of the actual value of such of the said improvements and [unclear: bu] ings as are subsisting at the time when their value is [unclear: included] aforesaid.

18. Substantial improvements of a permanent character [unclear: me] and include reclamation from swamps, clearing of forest, gorse, [unclear: brooq] sweetbriar, or scrub, cultivation, planting, gardens, fencing, [unclear: dre] ing, making roads, sinking wells or water-tanks, constructing [unclear: water] races, sheep-dips, making embankments or protective works of [unclear: a] kind, or in any way improving the character or fertility of the [unclear: s] and include the erection of any non-movable building.

Lagoon, Section 4, Block XI., Clifford Bay.

19. The lessee shall, within two years from the date of his lease, have the land fenced with a ring-fence; and such fence shall be a sufficient fence within the meaning of "The Fencing Act, 1895."

20. The lessee shall once a year throughout the term of his lease, and at the proper season of the year, properly cut and trim all live fences on the laud at the date of the lease, or subsequently planted thereon, and stub all gorse not growing as fences, and also stub all broom and sweetbriar and other noxious plants.

21. The lessee shall not take more than three crops, one of which must be a root-crop, from the same land in succession; and either with or immediately after a third crop of any kind he shall sow the land down with good

permanent cultivated grasses and clovers, and allow the land to remain as pasture for at least three years from the harvesting of the last crop before being again cropped.

22. The lessee shall at all times during the term of the lease so farm the land, if the area of the whole exceeds 20 acres, as that not less than one-half of the total area shall be maintained in permanent pasture.

23. The lessee shall not cut the cultivated grass or clovers for hay or seed during the first year from the time of sowing as aforesaid, nor shall he at any time remove from the land or burn any straw grown upon the land.

24. The lessee shall once a year during the term of his lease properly clean and clear from weeds, and shall at all times during the said term keep open, all creeks, drains, ditches, and watercourses upon the land; and the Commissioner of Crown Lands (hereinafter called "the Commissioner") or any Crown Lands Ranger of the land district shall have the power at any time to enter upon and make through the land any drain that he deems necessary, without payment of any compensation to the lessee.

25. In the event of any lessee at any time failing to comply with any of the conditions hereinbefore mentioned relating to the trimming of live fences, and stubbing gorse, broom, and sweetbriar or other noxious weeds, and to the cleaning, clearing from weeds, and keeping open all creeks, drains, ditches, and watercourses, it shall be lawful for the Commissioner to have such work done, and to recover the cost of the same from the lessee in the same manner as rent.

26. The lessee shall pay all rates, taxes, and assessments levied on or payable in respect of the land during the term of his lease.

27. In the case of land with buildings thereon which have been valued separately, in pursuance of section 7 of the amending Act, the following special provisions shall apply:—

- The ascertained value of the buildings shall be set forth in the sale-plan and in the deed of lease, and the amount so set forth shall be final and conclusive evidence of such value.
- Subject to the provisions for postponement contained in subsection (3) of section 7 of the amending Act, the amount so set forth, together with interest thereon at the rate of 5 per cent, per annum, computed from the first day of January or July next following the date of the lease, shall be paid by the lessee by equal half-yearly instalments in advance, extending over such period, being not less than seven nor more than twenty-one years, as, with the approval of the Minister, the Land Board thinks fit to determine: Provided that during such postponement (if any) the interest alone shall be payable by half-yearly instalment in advance.
- Such instalments shall be payable in the manner and on the dates hereinbefore appointed for the payment of rent: Provided that the lessee may at any time pay the whole or any less number of the then future instalments under a duly proportionate rebate of interest.
- The amount of such instalments (where they consist of combined principal and interest, and not of interest alone) shall be calculated according to the table shown in the Second Schedule to the Regulations under "The Land; for Settlement Act Amendment Act, 1896," which shall be deemed to be final and conclusive.
- So long as any such instalment remains unpaid, the lessee shall, at his own cost in all things, insure the buildings, and keep them insured, in the name of Her Majesty, in an amount equal to the full insurable value thereof, in some reputable insurance office, to be first approved by the Commissioner.
- The lessee shall deposit with the Commissioner the policy of insurance forthwith upon effecting the insurance, and shall also duly pay all premiums in respect thereof, and deposit with him each premium receipt not later than the forenoon of the day on which such premium becomes payable.
- If the lessee at any time fails or neglects to effect or keep on foot such insurance, or to duly pay any such premium or deposit such policy or receipt, it shall be lawful for but not obligatory on the Commissioner, at the cost in all things of the lessee, to effect such insurance in such sum as aforesaid, or in any other sum, or to pay such premium as he thinks fit.
- The amount of such insurance may, with the consent of the Commissioner, be reduced from time to time, provided that it is not reduced below the total amount of the aforesaid instalments for the time being remaining unpaid.
- In the event of the buildings so insured, or any of them, being destroyed or damaged by fire, all moneys payable to Her Majesty under the insurance shall be recoverable by the Commissioner, who, after deducting the expense

Spring in Township of Seddon, Manager's House.

(if any) incurred in recovering the same, shall, in his discretion, apply the residue thereof, or a sufficient part thereof, either in or towards restoring the buildings or in or towards paying the unpaid instalments (a duly-pro-portionate rebate of interest being made in the case of instalments not then due), and any surplus shall be payable to the lessee.

- Every such instalment as aforesaid as it becomes due, and every sum paid by the Commissioner in respect of cost of insurance, shall be payable by and may be recovered from the lessee in the same manner as rent.

28. The lessee shall at all times during the term of his lease keep in good repair and condition, to the satisfaction of the Commissioner, all buildings and erections for the time being standing on the land, and shall not destroy, pull down, or remove them, or any part thereof, without the previous permission of the Commissioner in writing.

29. The lessee shall not open up any mine on the land comprised in his lease without the previous permission of the Commissioner in writing.

30. The right to search for and take gravel for making or maintaining roads from any of the lands disposed of is reserved, payment to be made for surface damage only.

31. If and so often as the lessee makes default in the due and full payment of any rent under the lease, or of any instalment in respect of the value of building as aforesaid, or of any sum in respect of cost of insurance as aforesaid, or of any other moneys payable under the lease, or in the faithful observance and performance of any other of the provisions of these regulations, or of the lease, then and in any such case the Land Board may, without any previous or other notice or demand, forfeit the lease; and in such case all his interest therein shall absolutely cease and determine, subject, nevertheless, to the provisions of the next following clause, respecting valuation of improvements; but such forfeiture shall not affect any right or remedy on the part of Her Majesty to recover from the lessee any money due to Her Majesty, or release the lessee from any penalty or liability in respect to anything done or omitted to be done by him.

32. In the event of the forfeiture or surrender of the lease, the provisions of "The Land Act, 1892," respecting valuation of improvements and the payment or other disposal thereof shall, so far as the same are applicable, apply to the improvements made by the lessee.

33. For the purpose of distinguishing the improvements existing on the land at the date of the lease from those subsequently made by the lessee, the first-mentioned improvements and their value shall be fixed by the Land Board, and be specified in the lease: Provided that to the extent to which the lessee pays the aforesaid instalments in respect of the value of buildings, to the same extent shall such buildings be deemed to be improvements made by him.

34. The lease shall be in the form or to the effect set forth in the regulations under "The Land for Settlements Act Amendment Act, 1896," and may contain such additional provisions, not inconsistent with the said Acts or these regulations, as, with the approval of the Minister, the Land Board thinks fit.

35. The lessee shall not cut down or remove any of the trees growing in the plantations at present existing on the land demised, without the consent of the Commissioner in writing first obtained, and such consent shall be conditional on the lessee giving a written undertaking to plant other trees of an equal number and approved kind within one year thereafter.

36. The right is reserved to the Crown or to its delegated authority to take water-races, 30 links wide, over any lands disposed of without compensation. The rentals of the sections to be reduced in proportion to the area taken when the right has been exercised.

37. Subject to the provisions of the said Acts and the foregoing regulations, the provisions of "The Land Act, 1892," and the regulations thereunder with respect to applications for and the grant of leases in perpetuity, the stipulations and conditions subject to which such leases may be granted, the rights and powers of the lessor and of every person and authority in Her behalf, the rights, powers, and functions of the Land Board and the Commissioner in relation to the land and premises comprised in such leases, and the estate, interest, rights, duties, and liabilities of the lessees, shall, so far as the same are applicable, apply to leases in perpetuity granted under these regulations.

FORM OF APPLICATION.

Application for Rural Land for Lease in Perpetuity under "The Land for Settlements Act, 1894," and its Amendments.

To the Commissioner of Crown Lands for the Land District of I HEREBY apply for a lease in perpetuity of one of the following allotments:— Allotments. Survey District. Block. Sections. Area. Annual Payments. Capital Value. For Kent. For Value of Buildings. Of Laud. Of Buildings. Prescribed Deposit. Remarks. A. R. P. £ s. d. £ s. d. £ s. d. £ s. d. £ s. d. And I deposit herewith the sum of &., being the half-year's rent, and other payments prescribed in respect of the allotment applied for.* If more than one allotment is applied for, the deposit should be for the allotment requiring the largest deposit, and the words "which is greatest in value" should be added

Frontage to Section 6, Block XI., Clifford Bay District.

In proof of my fitness and qualifications to hold the land applied for, I hereby make the following replies to the under-mentioned questions:—

Declaration.

I, ____, of ____, do solemnly and sincerely declare—

- That I am of the age of twenty-one years and upwards.
- That I am the person who, subject to the provisions of "The Land for Settlements Act, 1894," "The Land for Settlements Act Amendment Act, 1896," and the regulations made thereunder, am applying for a lease in perpetuity of one of the allotments described in the foregoing application.
- That I am acquiring such lease solely for my own use and benefit, and not directly or indirectly for the use or benefit of any other person or persons whomsoever.
- That I am not, directly or indirectly, either by myself or jointly with any other person or persons, the owner, tenant, or occupier of any land whatsoever under "The Land for Settlements Act, 1894," or its amendments, nor the owner in fee- simple, nor the tenant or occupier under a [unclear: lease] for a term whereof not less than two years are unexpired, of any other [unclear: la] in the colony which, with the largest allotment included in [unclear: ta] foregoing application, would exceed in area 1,000 acres.
- That the total value of all the real and personal [unclear: properties] owned by me does not, after deducting the encumbrances [unclear: there] exceed the prescribed proportion of capital value (exclusive [unclear: of] buildings) of any allotment comprised in the foregoing [unclear: application]: And I am aware that the prescribed proportion is,—
 - ¶ Three times, where the area of the allotment does not [unclear: exceed] 100 acres;
 - ¶ Twice, where such area exceeds 100 and does not [unclear: exceed] 500 acres; and
 - ¶ One and a half times, where such area exceeds 500 acres.
- That my answers to the foregoing questions (Nos. 1 to 11) [unclear: as] true and correct in every particular.

And I make this solemn declaration conscientiously [unclear: believe] the same to be true, and by virtue of an Act of the [unclear: General] Assembly of New Zealand intituled "The Justices of the [unclear: Ped] Act, 1882."

(Signature in full.)

Declared at ____, this day of ____, on thousand ____, before me—

(Signature),

A Justice of the Peace in and for the Colony of New [unclear: Zealand] (or as the case may be).

Received on ____, at ____, Commissioner of Crown Lands.

Site of Township of Seddon.

Terms and Conditions of Small Grazing-Runs.

Pastoral Land.

1. A portion of the lands included in the Starborough Settlement is divided into small grazing-runs, which are open for selection under the provisions of "The Land Act, 1892," "The Land for Settlement Act, 1894," and "The Land for Settlements Act Amendment Act, 1896" (herein referred to as "the amending Act").

2. The lease shall be for a term of twenty-one years, to be reckoned from the next 1st day of March following the date of the lease, and shall in addition include the broken period between the date of the lease and such day.

3. The lessee, duly fulfilling on his part all the covenants, stipulations, and conditions of the lease, shall, at the expiration of the term thereof by effluxion of time, have the option of a renewal thereof for a further term of twenty-one years, computed from the date of the expiration of the original term, at a yearly rental equal to 5 per cent, on the then capital value of the land, computed in manner prescribed by the said Acts, being, however, in no case less than the original rental; and for the purposes of this clause the provisions of "The Land Act, 1892," relating to renewals of leases of small grazing-runs shall, *mutatis mutandis*, apply so far as the same are applicable.

4. The half-yearly rentals stated in the Schedule on page 8 hereof shall be the price at which the land shall be open for selection, and shall be payable in advance to the Receiver of Land Revenue on the 1st day of March

and 1st day of September in each year, the first half-year's rent being due on the 1st day of March first following the date of the lease, and being payable out of the hereinafter-mentioned deposit.

5. The lease shall be dated as on the day whereon the Land Board declares that the applicant has succeeded in obtaining the small grazing-run.

6. Applications for leases shall be in the form or to the effect set forth in the Regulations under "The Land for Settlements Act Amendment Act, 1896," and every applicant shall make the declaration therein set forth, or to that effect.

7. Applications shall be addressed to the Commissioner of Crown Lands, Blenheim.

8. The day on which the lands shall be first opened for selection shall be Monday, the 13th March, one thousand eight hundred and ninety-nine.

9. Every applicant shall, to the best of his ability, answer the questions set forth in his application, and such other questions relating to his means and ability to work the land and fulfil the conditions of the lease as the Land Board may see fit to ask. Failure to answer any such question to the satisfaction of the Land [unclear: Board] will entail the rejection of the application.

10. No application will be considered unless it is [unclear: accompanied] by a deposit consisting of an amount equal to the rent for the [unclear: first] half-year of the term, together with the sum of one guinea to [unclear: defray] the cost of the lease.

11. An application may be for more small grazing-runs than one, but no person shall be allowed to acquire or to hold more than one run.

12. If any application comprises more small grazing-runs than one, it shall be sufficient if the prescribed deposit is duly made in respect of the run applied for whose deposit is the largest.

13. If the applicant is successful in obtaining a small grazing run his deposit, or a sufficient part thereof, shall be retained and applied in payment of the items hereinbefore referred to in respect of such run, and the residue, if any, shall be returned to him.

14. No person shall be capable of applying for or holding any small grazing-run in any of the following cases, that is to say:—

- If at the date of his application he is directly or indirectly either by himself or jointly with any other person a persons, the owner, tenant, or occupier of any land what soever under the Land for Settlements Acts, or the owner in fee-simple, or the tenant or occupier under a lease for term whereof not less than two years are unexpired, of any other land in the colony which, with the small grazing-run applied for, would exceed in area 5,000 acres; or
- If at such date he is the owner of real or personal property the total value whereof, after deducting the encumbrances thereon, exceeds one and a half times the capital value; of the small grazing-run applied for.

15. When more applications than one are made on the same day for the same land, the right to occupy the land shall, if such applications are accepted by the Land Board, be decided by ballot in accordance with the regulations under "The Land Act, 1892."

16.

- Subject to the provisions of "The Land Act, 1892," as to relaxing or dispensing with the conditions relating to residence, the lessee shall reside on the land comprised in his lease, or by the amending Act deemed to be so comprised, within one year from the date of the lease in the case of open or partly open land, or three years in the case of bush or swamp land; and in each case such residence shall thereafter be continuous to the end of the term.
- For the purposes of this clause, the Land Board shall determine and specify in the lease the period within which residence is to commence.

17. The lessee shall put on the land comprised in his lease substantial improvements as under, that is to say:—

- Within one year from the date of his lease, to a value equal to the amount of one year's rental; and
- Within two years from the date of his lease, to a value equal to the amount of another year's rental; and

From point above Homestead, looking towards Haldon's Section 5, Block XIII., Clifford Bay.

- Within six years from the date of his lease, to a value equal to the amount of other two years' rental.

18. For the purpose of determining whether the lessee has put upon the land substantial improvements to the value and within the time prescribed by these conditions (but for no other purpose), there shall be included the value of all substantial improvements existing on the land at the date of the lease.

19. Substantial improvements of a permanent character mean and include reclamation from swamps,

clearing of forest, gorse, broom, sweetbriar, or scrub, cultivation, planting, gardens, fencing, draining, making roads, sinking wells or water-tanks, constructing water-races, sheep-dips, making embankments or protective works of any kind, or in any way improving the character or fertility of the soil, and include the erection of any non-movable building.

20. The lessee shall at all times during the term of the lease maintain in permanent pasture not less than two-thirds of the total area of the land.

21. The lease shall be in the form or to the effect set forth in the Schedule to the Regulations under "The Land for Settlements Act Amendment Act, 1896," and may contain such additional provisions, not inconsistent with the said Acts or these conditions, as, with the approval of the Minister, the Land Board thinks fit.

22. The lessee shall once a year throughout the term of his lease, and at the proper season of the year, properly cut and trim all live fences on the land at the date of the lease, or subsequently planted thereon, and stub all gorse not growing as fences, and also stub all broom and sweetbriar and other noxious plants.

23. The lessee shall not take more than three crops, one of which must be a root-crop, from the same land in succession; and either with or immediately after a third crop of any kind he shall sow the land down with good permanent cultivated grasses and clovers, and allow the land to remain as pasture for at least three years from the harvesting of the last crop before being again cropped.

24. The lessee shall not cut the cultivated grass or clovers for hay or seed during the first year from the time of sowing as aforesaid, nor shall he at any time remove from the land or burn any straw grown upon the land.

25. The lessee shall once a year during the term of his lease properly clean and clear from weeds, and shall at all times during the said term keep open, all creeks, drains, ditches, and watercourses upon the land, and the Commissioner of Crown Lands (hereinafter called "the Commissioner") or any Crown Lands Ranger of the land district shall have the power at any time to enter upon and make through the land any drain that he deems necessary, without payment of any compensation to the lessee.

26. In the event of the lessee at any time failing to comply with any of the conditions hereinbefore mentioned relating to the trimming of live fences and stubbing gorse, broom, and sweetbriar, or other noxious weeds, and to the cleaning, clearing from weeds, [unclear: a] keeping open all creeks, drains, ditches, and watercourses, it [unclear: should] be lawful for the Commissioner to have such work done, and recover the cost of the same from the lessee in the same [unclear: manner] rent.

27. The lessee shall pay all rates, taxes, and assessments [unclear: level] on or payable in respect of the land during the term of his lease.

28. The lessee shall not open up any mine on the land [unclear: comprise] in his lease without the previous permission of the [unclear: Commissioner] writing.

29. In the case of land with buildings thereon which have [unclear: been] valued separately, in pursuance of section 7 of the amending [unclear: Act,] following special provisions shall apply:—

- The ascertained value of the buildings shall be set [unclear: forth] the sale-plan and in the deed of lease, and the amount set forth shall be final and conclusive evidence of [unclear: such] value.
- Subject to the provisions for postponement contained in [unclear: such] section (3) of section 7 of the amending Act, the [unclear: amount] so set forth, together with interest thereon at the [unclear: rate] 5 per cent, per annum, computed from the first [unclear: day] January or July next following the date of the lease, [unclear: shall] be paid by the lessee by equal half-yearly instalments [unclear: in] advance, extending over such period, being not less [unclear: than] seven nor more than twenty-one years, as, with the [unclear: approval] of the Minister, the Land Board thinks fit to [unclear: determine]: Provided that during such postponement (if [unclear: any] the interest alone shall be payable by half-yearly [unclear: instalments] in advance.
- Such instalments shall be payable in the manner and on [unclear: that] dates hereinbefore appointed for the payment of [unclear: rent] Provided that the lessee may at any time pay the [unclear: who] or any less number of the then future instalments [unclear: under] a duly proportionate rebate of interest.
- The amount of such instalments (where they consist of [unclear: combined] principal and interest, and not of interest [unclear: alone] shall be calculated according to the table shown in [unclear: the] Second Schedule to the Regulations under "The [unclear: Land] for Settlement Act Amendment Act, 1896," which shall [unclear: be] deemed to be final and conclusive.
- So long as any such instalment remains unpaid, the [unclear: lesser] shall, at his own cost in all things, insure the [unclear: building] and keep them insured in the name of Her Majesty in [unclear: a] amount equal to the full insurable value thereof, in [unclear: some] reputable insurance office, to be first approved by [unclear: the] Commissioner.
- The lessee shall deposit with the Commissioner the [unclear: policy] insurance forthwith upon effecting the insurance, [unclear: and] shall also duly pay all premiums in respect thereof, [unclear: and]

Cottage and Sheep-yards in Section 3, Block IV., Blue Mountain.

deposit with him each premium receipt not later than the forenoon of the day on which such premium becomes payable.

- If the lessee at any time fails or neglects to effect or keep on foot such insurance, or to duly pay any such premium or deposit such policy or receipt, it shall be lawful for but not obligatory on the Commissioner, at the cost in all things of the lessee, to effect such insurance in such sum as aforesaid or in any other sum, or to pay such premium, as he thinks fit.
- The amount of such insurance may, with the consent of the Commissioner, be reduced from time to time, provided that it is not reduced below the total amount of the aforesaid instalments for the time being remaining unpaid.
- In the event of the buildings so insured, or any of them, being destroyed or damaged by fire, all moneys payable to Her Majesty under the insurance shall be recoverable by the Commissioner, who, after deducting the expense (if any) incurred in recovering the same, shall, in his discretion, apply the residue thereof, or a sufficient part thereof, either in or towards restoring the buildings or in or towards paying the unpaid instalments (a duly proportionate rebate of interest being made in the case of instalments not then due), and any surplus shall be payable to the lessee.
- Every such instalment as aforesaid as it becomes due, and every sum paid by the Commissioner in respect of cost of insurance, shall be payable by and may be recovered from the lessee in the same manner as rent.

30. The lessee shall at all times during the term of his lease keep in good repair and condition, to the satisfaction of the Commissioner, all buildings and erections for the time being standing on the land, and shall not destroy, pull down, or remove them, or any part thereof, without the previous permission of the Commissioner in writing.

31. The right to search for and take gravel for making or maintaining roads from any of the lands disposed of is reserved, payment to be made for surface damage only.

32. If and so often as the lessee makes default in the due and full payment of any rent under the lease, or of any other moneys payable under the lease, or in the faithful observance and performance of any other of the provisions of these conditions, or of the lease, then and in any such case the Land Board may, without any previous or other notice of demand, forfeit the lease; and in such case all his interest therein shall absolutely cease and determine, subject, nevertheless, to the provisions of the next-following clause respecting valuation of improvements: but such forfeiture shall not affect any right or remedy on the part of Her Majesty to recover from the lessee any money due to Her Majesty, or [unclear: release] the lessee from any penalty or liability in respect to anything [unclear: done] or omitted to be done by him.

33. In the event of the forfeiture or surrender of the lease, [unclear: the] provisions of "The Land Act, 1892," respecting valuation of [unclear: improvements] and the payment or other disposal thereof shall, so [unclear: far] as the same are applicable, apply to the improvements made by [unclear: the] lessee.

34. For the purpose of distinguishing the improvements [unclear: existing] on the land at the date of the lease from those subsequently [unclear: made] by the lessee, the first-mentioned improvements and their [unclear: value] shall be fixed by the Land Board and be specified in the lease.

35. Subject to the provisions of the said Acts and the [unclear: foregoing] conditions relating to small grazing-runs, the provisions of "The Land Act, 1892," and the regulations thereunder with respect [unclear: to] applications for and the grant of leases of small grazing-runs, [unclear: the] stipulations and conditions subject to which such leases may [unclear: be] granted, the rights and powers of the lessor and of every person and authority in Her behalf, the rights, powers, and functions of the Land Board and the Commissioner in relation to the land [unclear: and] premises comprised in such leases, and the estate, interest, rights duties, and liabilities of the lessees shall apply to lands [unclear: acquired] under the said Acts and disposed of under the small-grazing-[unclear: run] system: Provided that the lessee shall not be entitled to obtain [unclear: a] lease in perpetuity of the small grazing-run by surrendering [unclear: his] small-grazing-run lease or otherwise, anything in "The Land [unclear: Act], 1892," to the contrary notwithstanding.

FORM OF APPLICATION

Application for Pastoral Land for Lease as Small Grazing-run under "The Land for Settlements Act, 1894," and its Amendments.

To the Commissioner of Crown Lands for the Land District of I Hereby apply for a lease of one of the following allotments as a small grazing-run:— Allotment or Run. Survey District. Block. Section. Area. Annual Payments. Capital Value. Prescribed Deposit. Remarks. For Bent. For Value of Buildings. Of Land. Of

Build-ings. A. R. p. £ s. d. £ s. d. £ s. d. £ s. d. £ s. d.

Flaxmill on the Awatere, near Site of Railway-bridge.

And I deposit herewith the sum of £_____, being the half-year's installment of rent, and other payments prescribed in respect of the small grazing-run applied for

If more than one run is applied for, the deposit should be for the run requiring largest deposit, and the words "which is greatest in value" should be added.

In proof of my fitness and qualifications to hold the land applied for, I hereby make the following replies to the under-mentioned questions:—

Declaration.

I,____, of____,____, do solemnly and [*unclear*: sincerely] declare,—

1. That I am of the age of twenty-one years and upwards.

2. That I am the person who, subject to the provisions of "[*unclear*: The] Land for Settlements [*unclear*: Act], 1894," "The Land for Settlements An Amendment Act, 1896," and the regulations made thereunder, [*unclear*: as] applying for one of the small grazing-runs described in the [*unclear*: foregoing] application.

3. That I am acquiring such lease solely for my own use [*unclear*: and] act benefit, and not directly or indirectly for the use or benefit of [*unclear*: any] other person or persons whomsoever.

4. That I am not, directly or indirectly, either by myself or [*unclear*: jointly] with any other person or persons, the owner, tenant, or occupier [*unclear*: of] any land whatsoever under "The Land for Settlements Act, 1894," or its amendments, nor the owner in fee-simple, nor the tenant [*unclear*: or] occupier under a lease for a term whereof not less than two [*unclear*: years] are unexpired, of any other land in the colony which, with [*unclear*: the] largest run included in the foregoing application, would [*unclear*: exceed] 5,000 acres.

5. That the total value of all the real and personal [*unclear*: property] owned by me does not (after deducting the encumbrances [*unclear*: thereonly] exceed one and a half times the capital value (exclusive of [*unclear*: buildings] of any run comprised in the foregoing application.

6. That my answers to the foregoing questions (Nos. 1 to 11) [*unclear*: are] true and correct in every particular.

And I make this solemn declaration conscientiously believing [*unclear*: the] same to be true, and by virtue of an Act of the General Assembly [*unclear*: of] New Zealand intituled "The Justices of the Peace Act, 1882."

(*Signature in full.*)

Declared at____, this day of____, one thousand____, before me—(*Signature*),____A Justice of the Peace in and for the Colony of New Zealand (*or as the case may be*).

Received on____, at____Commissioner of Crown Lands.

By Authority: JOHN MACKAY, Government Printer, Wellington.—1899.

[2,500/1/99-[*unclear*: 38]

Looking towards the Awatere, from Cemetery across Sections West of Homestead.

From point above Homestead, looking East towards Cape Campbell.

From point above Homestead, looking towards Mouth of Awatere.

Photo Lithographed, at the Head Office, Department of Lands and, Survey. Wellington, N.Z. January, 1899 F.W. Flanagan, Chief Draughtsman.

Front Cover

The Samoan Question and The Decision of Chief Justice Chambers.

By William Cooper,

Late Municipal Magistrate of Apia.

Auckland, N.Z. Wilson & Horton, Printers. Queen and Wynoham Streets. 1899.

Preface.

THE articles constituting this pamphlet were contributed to the "New Zealand Herald" between January 27th and March 2nd, and arose out of the most recent trouble in that troublesome country, Samoa. The articles dealt mainly with the decision of Chief Justice Chambers, concerning which there has been, and still is, fierce and bitter controversy. I have endeavoured to review that decision calmly and impartially. How far the attempt has been successful, the reader will judge for himself. From recent letters and other information received from Samoa, it seems that an impression exists there that an effort will be made to fortify the decision of the Chief Justice by incorporating with it his opinion on the merits of the case, expressed some time after the disturbances had occurred. I do not know of any principle of law upon which this can now be done, but probably it is a mere surmise arising out of the statement of the Chief Justice that if he had given a decision on the merits, that decision would also have been against Mataafa.; The pamphlet is issued at the suggestion of a few persons interested in Samoan affairs, and at the time these pages go to press the problem created by the decision and by Mataafa's action remains unsolved.

Wm. Cooper.

The Samoan Question.

Mataafa and the Kingship.

IN view of the recent startling events in Samoa, some fuller information respecting various phases of the situation may not be unwelcome to the public, especially as errors have been somewhat numerous in some of the articles which have lately appeared. The mistakes concerning the present *de facto* King of Samoa have been particularly numerous, and it is with regard to Josefa Mataafa that in this article I propose especially to speak.

Mataafa has for many years been a prominent man in Samoa, occupying important positions in the native Government. As far back as 1880, he was understood to be an aspirant for royal honours: but, for the purposes of this article, it is not necessary to go further back than 1887. At that time there was strife and bloodshed in the country. Tamasese, the elder (since deceased), claimed the throne in opposition to Malietoa Laupepa. Tamasese was actively supported by the Germans, one of whom, Herr Brandeis, was his Premier. Many lives had been lost, villages devastated, and property destroyed. Malietoa Laupepa had been driven from Maulinuu, and from his place of refuge he looked with a sorrowful eye on the distracted country. In September, 1887, he voluntarily surrendered himself to Brandeis and the German Consul, Becker, in the hope and trust that by this act of self-sacrifice he would save his country from further bloodshed and ruin. He was conveyed to Germany, thence to the Cameroons, and finally to Jaluit, in the Marshall Group. Torn away from his country and his people, he endured an exile of two years in foreign lands, suffering much both in body and mind. For far less meritorious acts men have been hailed as heroes, and received the adulation and worship of the world but Malietoa Laupepa has had no trumpeter to sound his fame and no poet to sing his praises. Just before delivering himself up, he summoned Mataafa, and entrusted him with the welfare of his country and his cause. Mataafa accepted the trust, and entered upon that struggle with Tamasese, from which he ultimately emerged triumphant, a result attributable to some considerable extent to the advice and enthusiastic support of English and American sympathisers. It was during this struggle, in December, 1888, that Mataafa's forces defeated a landing party of German sailors at Vailele, near Apia, and [unclear: the] alleged mutilation of dead and wounded sailors by [unclear: Mataafa] followers on this occasion was the cause of his being [unclear: subsequently] barred from the kingship. During the first year of [unclear: Malieton] Laupepa's banishment, Mataafa was the deputy of the exiled [unclear: king] but on September 9th, 1888, he was appointed King of [unclear: Samoa,] Faleula, by the chiefs of Atua, Aana, Tuamasaga, and Savaii, [unclear: and] received the name of Malietoa. Tamasese's day was then drawing [unclear: the] a close. By the end of the year the war was practically over, [unclear: an] Tamasese had become a nonentity, with but a remnant of [unclear: his] former following.

Just a year after Mataafa had been appointed [unclear: King] Faleula, that is, on September 11th, 1889, the banished [unclear: king] Malietoa Laupepa, was restored to Samoa, and, on his landing [unclear: as] Apia, a very cordial and affecting meeting took place between [unclear: him] and Mataafa. Then the future relations of the two men began [unclear: be] discussed. Who was to be king? It soon transpired [unclear: that] Malietoa, broken in spirit, and feeble in health, was unwilling [unclear: to] resume the cares and obligations of sovereignty, and on [unclear: October] 2nd a great meeting was held at Vaiala. Upwards of 2,000 [unclear: people] were present, and the principal chiefs of Atua, Aana, [unclear: Tuamasaga] Savaii, and Manono, were there. At that great meeting, [unclear: Malietoa] publicly and solemnly abdicated in favour of Mataafa, who [unclear: was] then as publicly and formally appointed and confirmed as King [unclear: of] Samoa. The people

most interested and concerned thought [unclear: the] question was finally settled, but they were sadly mistaken. [unclear: Some] months before this a Conference on Samoan affairs had taken [unclear: place] at Berlin. It was a unique Conference, and it has [unclear: naturally] produced unique results, results more striking than [unclear: satisfactory]. Samoa herself, the country most deeply interested, did not join [unclear: in] the Conference—she was not invited to join—there was no one there to represent her. The Conference drew up a [unclear: document,] which was dubbed its "Final Act," but Samoa was not [unclear: made] acquainted with the contents of this document for nearly a [unclear: year] after its completion. Three great Powers had kindly taken [unclear: Samoa] in hand, and her part was humbly to submit to be led [unclear: blindfold] along the way which was pointed out to her. But, though [unclear: Samoa] had not been represented at the Conference, the Conference [unclear: had] been very jealous for her freedom and independence. Its [unclear: words] were very clear and unmistakable, for the "Final Act," the [unclear: Treaty], after opening with a touching and eloquent expression of the desire of the great Powers for the welfare of Samoa, proceeds [unclear: to] declare that "the three Powers recognise the independence of the Samoan Government, and the free right of the natives to [unclear: elect] their chief or king, and choose their own form of [unclear: government], according to their own laws and customs." Could anything [unclear: be] more liberal and considerate? And the Samoans, though at the time ignorant of this beneficent provision on their behalf—for the Treaty had not yet been disclosed—had elected their king at a great gathering of leaders and chiefs. But, after expressly recognising this "free right," the Final Act immediately proceeds just as expressly to deny it, and declares that "Malietoa Laupepa, who was formerly made and appointed king on the 12th day of July, 1881, and was so recognised by the three Powers, shall again be recognised hereafter in the exercise of such authority, unless the three Powers shall by common accord otherwise declare, and his successor shall be duly elected according to the laws and customs of Samoa." So, on November 8th, 1889, six weeks after the abdication of Malietoa, and the appointment of Mataafa in his stead, the three Consuls, who really constitute a Triune Deity, presiding over the destinies of Samoa, issued a proclamation in the name of the three Powers they represented, embodying the paragraph just cited, though not quoting it as from the Treaty, which still remained a secret agreement, undisclosed to the Samoans, and "invited the people of Samoa to take without delay such measures as according to the Samoan custom were necessary to reinstate the High Chief Laupepa as King of Samoa."

This gentle and polite invitation conveyed to the Samoans a meaning not exactly warranted by the derivation of the term, and not sanctioned by Webster or Johnson, but when three great Powers join in an invitation to a small and feeble State, the ordinary canons of interpretation become unreliable, and must be abandoned. The real interpretation can only be determined by ascertaining the will of the Powers. In this case the word invite actually meant command. It was simply the velvet glove of diplomatic politeness concealing the mailed hand of arbitrary dictation. This having been made clear to the Samoans, they responded to the request, if not with cheerful alacrity, at least with submissive obedience. There was no great public ceremony, as on October 2nd, but it was understood that fonos, *i.e.*, native councils, were held in various districts, and on December 5th, 1889, the Consuls issued another proclamation in which they stated that: "Having been informed that in compliance with the invitation contained in our proclamation of November 8th, Malietoa Laupepa has been reinstated as King of Samoa by his own party, and being also aware by letters received from the chiefs at present assembled at Lufilufi, bearing the date of November 1st, and by a letter of November 12th, signed by the high chief Tamasese, that they too are willing to accept Malietoa Laupepa as King of Samoa, we, the undersigned representatives of Germany, Great Britain, and the United States of America, availing ourselves of the instructions sent to us for the purpose by our respective Governments, hereby proclaim that the Governments of Germany, Great Britain, and the United States of America from this time recognise Malietoa Laupepa as King of Samoa."

It was rather significant that there was no reference to a consent on the part of Mataafa to this arrangement, but there can be little doubt that he acquiesced in the new order of things, though probably with great reluctance, and subsequently he frequently acknowledged the Treaty to be binding on him. This episode is probably without parallel in history. We have here a king, publicly and solemnly renouncing his dignity and title in favour of another, and that other freely and spontaneously elected by the natives to the vacant throne. We have the three greatest States of modern times recognising in one breath the free right of the people to elect their own chief or king, and, in the next, declaring that their nominee must be chosen. Nay, more, when that nominee voluntarily resigns they compel the people to annul the election of his successor, command them to restore the former occupant of the position to the place he had relinquished, and force the unwilling king to resume once more the burden which but two months before he had laid down with feelings of relief and satisfaction. And all this was done under the provisions of a secret agreement, concocted thousands of miles away, without the knowledge or consent of the country and persons affected! Four months after, this document, now known as "the Final Act of the Berlin Conference on Samoan Affairs," was presented to Samoa, and she was practically forced to assent to it. Then the Power? which had thrust Mataafa from the throne, and forced

Malietoa Laupepa upon it, left the unfortunate king to his fate. What happened? Mataafa, brooding over his thwarted ambition, became discontented, seditious, rebellious. Twelve years before he had deserted Malietoa Laupepa, and intrigued to supplant him, and now once more he left him, and set up a hostile camp at Malie, a few miles from Apia. For more than two years Malie was the centre and focus of discontent, sedition, and intrigue, Mataafa being supported and encouraged by a number of European sympathisers, prominent amongst whom was the late Robert Louis Stevenson. For a long time the Samoan Government seemed powerless to cope with the rebellion, and appeals to the representatives of the Powers, which had forced Malietoa to remount the throne, were not only futile, but strong objections were made to active hostilities being commenced by Malietoa in his own defence. At length, however, the rebels became so emboldened, and had approached so near Apia, that immediate action became imperative, and the Government forces advanced to the attack. On July 8th, 1893, a battle took place at Vaitele, and Mataafa was easily defeated. He fled to Savaii, but was compelled to leave immediately, and ultimately took refuge in the small island of Manono, with his discomfited followers. Here he was closely surrounded by the Malietoa forces. The extermination of his followers was practically inevitable and his own death a moral certainty, but he wisely surrendered to Captain Bickford, of H.M.S. Katoomba, which ship, together with the German warships Bussard and Sperber, were now acting in conjunction with the Samoan Government. By direction of the three Powers, not by Germany alone, as has been frequently stated lately. Mataafa and a number of his principal chiefs were deported to Jaluit, being conveyed thither in one of the German warships. After five years of exile he was returned to Samoa by direction of the Powers. When he landed in Samoa he found the throne again vacant, his old rival, Malietoa Laupepa, being dead. There seemed to be nothing to prevent him from realising his ambition and becoming King of Samoa, for the Germans, who had formerly bitterly opposed him, had now adopted him as their protege. Again he was appointed, whether regularly or not has not been determined. He was about to grasp the sceptre, but his outstretched hand was struck down by the decision of Chief Justice Chambers, that the ban laid on him by the Treaty Powers at Berlin, in 1889, at the instance of Germany, has not been removed, and that he is therefore ineligible for the kingship. How he has treated that decision we have learned within the last few days. That decision is one of the most important matters for the Powers to deal with, and a review of it in a subsequent article may not be uninteresting to those who are watching the progress of events in and concerning Samoa.

The Dilemma of the Powers.

Mataafa's Ineligibility.

Of all the awkward situations which have from time to time arisen in Samoa, the Treaty Powers have never been presented with such a painful dilemma as that which confronts them now. The attempted deposition of the Chief Justice, and usurpation of his powers by Dr. Raffel, and the alleged misconduct of Herr Rose, the German Consul, though grave matters, contain in themselves no elements of difficulty preventing their being disposed of summarily and satisfactorily. These are matters which can and will be dealt with by the Powers amongst themselves. But the gravest and by far the most difficult question to be decided is, What is to be done with regard to the decision of Chief Justice Chambers declaring Mataafa ineligible for the kingship, and Malietoa Tanumafili duly-elected King of Samoa? Mataafa has trampled the decision of the Chief Justice under foot, defeated the forces of the youthful Malietoa and his ally Tamasese, seized the throne, and has been acknowledged by the representatives of the Treaty Powers as *de facto* King of Samoa. This somewhat hasty action of the Consuls still further complicates matters. (*En passant*, it may be remarked that the terms "throne," "sceptre," "crown," etc., as applied to native rulers of Samoa, are merely figures of speech. I have frequently been in the late king's palace—a two-roomed cottage—and have been present at a number of royal functions, and never saw a crown on the king's head, or a sceptre in his hand, while the nearest approach to a throne in his possession was an Austrian bentwood rocker.

At the time of the fighting on New Year's Day, Mataafa's forces appear to have outnumbered the combined Malietoa and Tamasese forces by about ten to one.

Later information seems to indicate that this rather overestimates [*unclear*: Mataafa's] force, while it is also contended that his supporters throughout the islands are not [*unclear*: so] numerous as they were at first. The appointment of a king in Samoa, however, is [*unclear*: not] effected by anything in the nature of a plebiscite or popular vote, and therefore [*unclear*: the] numerical strength of a party is important only so far as it may affect the stability of [*unclear*: the] government and the permanence of peace. There seems to be no reason to doubt

unclear: that] Mataafa's supporters even at the present time are numerically larger than those of [*unclear*: Malietoa] Tanu, and his armed forces are unquestionably much stronger, and more [*unclear*: efficiently] equipped.

It is possible that Mataafa had practically the whole of his party in and around Apia, for he had for some time been concentrating his warriors there, as if anticipating an adverse decision. But there seems some reason for believing that the majority of the Samoans are in favour of Mataafa; that not only in Apia, but throughout the country, his followers are largely preponderant, and his successful coup would probably have the effect of still further strengthening his cause.

The dilemma the Treaty Powers have to deal with is this: The decision of Chief Justice Chambers must either be enforced or not enforced. If it is to be enforced, there is the moral certainty, unless Mataafa once more relinquishes the kingship, which, though possible, is scarcely probable, of scenes of bloodshed and desolation in Samoa, eclipsing all previous things of the kind. Are the Powers prepared to enforce the decision of the Chief Justice at the sword's point? Would public feeling in Germany, England, or America permit this to be done? On the other hand, if the Treaty Powers tamely submit to the decision of the Chief Justice being treated with contempt, openly defied, and set at naught by force of arms, they not only expose that official to bitter humiliation, but render the Supreme Court of Samoa, so far as the natives are concerned a mere name, and a thing to be flouted with impunity by all those against whom its decisions may be given. Is there any third or middle course by which these evils can be avoided? The ingenuity of diplomatists may succeed in discovering one, but, assuming Mataafa's determination to retain the position he now holds, it seems to me impossible to find one.

The importance of the matter justifies a discussion on that fateful judgment, which has already led to startling occurrences in Samoa, and which is still big with import to that fair but distressful country. Like most judgments, mundane and otherwise, there is doubtless a good deal to be said for and against it. In my remarks, I shall not presume to contend either one way or the other, but simply draw attention to some points on both sides, with the object of presenting the whole matter for the consideration of those who feel interested in it, though, of course, not pretending to deal with the subject exhaustively.

Chief Justice Chambers has decided that Mataafa is ineligible for the kingship of Samoa, and that Malietoa Tanumafili, a youth not yet of age, son of the late Malietoa Laupepa, being the only other candidate, has been duly elected King of Samoa. This decision has been given under the provisions of Section 6 of Article III. of the Treaty, called the "Final Act of the Berlin Conference on Samoan Affairs," which runs as follows: "In case any question shall hereafter arise in Samoa respecting the rightful election or appointment of king or of any other chief claiming authority over the islands, or respecting the validity of the powers which the king or any chief may claim in the exercise of his office, such question shall not lead to war, but shall be presented to the Chief Justice of Samoa, who shall decide in writing conformably to the provisions of this Act, and to the laws and customs of Samoa, not in conflict therewith, and the signatory Governments will accept and abide by such decision."

The words, "any question" are very wide, and seem to be all embracing, but it will doubtless be contended that this question of Mataafa's eligibility is not covered by them, and that there is nothing in the laws or customs of Samoa to prevent Mataafa from being an eligible candidate for the kingship. Moreover, it will be contended that there is no provision in the Treaty declaring Mataafa ineligible. Round this point the dispute as to the validity of the decision of the Chief Justice will be warmest and most interesting. The declaration in the Treaty that Malietoa Laupepa should again be recognised as king, operated at that time, of course, to the exclusion of everyone else. But Malietoa Laupepa has been buried with his fathers, and at the time of Mataafa's appointment (November 12th last), there was absolutely nothing in the Treaty itself which could be made to spell out ineligibility.

It is perhaps unfortunate that the decision should have been based on this point alone. In his judgment, Chief Justice Chambers says:—"In view of the vast importance of the questions involved in this contest, and the magnitude of the issue itself, an opinion will be handed down later (which will be published), sustaining the decision which is now announced, and which, in accordance with the requirements of the Treaty, is made in writing. The opinion will discuss extensively the evidence pro and con, and, as far as it may be possible, determine what the laws and customs of Samoa are bearing upon the election of a king. It will also discuss, at greater length, the question of eligibility of one of the contestants." Mataafa, however, did not wait for the publication of this opinion, but let loose the dogs of war, and in a few hours had, for a time at least, reversed the decision of the Chief Justice, with heavy costs on the other side.

Before proceeding to discuss the decision of the Chief Justice, it is proper in this place to review the facts upon which that decision, as to the ineligibility of Mataafa, is based.

Reference has already been made to the engagement at Vailele between the Samoans under Mataafa and the German sailors, when a score of the latter were slain and a considerable number wounded.

One of the customs of Samoan warfare is to decapitate dead or wounded combatants, and exhibit the severed and gory heads as trophies of valour and triumph. I have heard Samoans justify this practice by citing the case of David and Goliath, and, if Mataafa's Roman Catholic followers are familiar with the Douay version of the Bible, they would probably also cite the case of the beautiful widow Judith, and the amorous general, Holofernes. There seems no reason to doubt that three of the dead or wounded German sailors were, in accordance with this custom, beheaded. In one case there is some reason to believe that the ears were also cut off. But there also seems to be no reason to doubt that these barbarities were not sanctioned by Mataafa himself, and that when he and his principal chiefs became aware of it, they strictly forbade any further acts of the kind, giving as one reason the fact that Europeans did not themselves commit these atrocities on helpless foes, and, therefore, it was unfair that they should be treated in this manner. So far as I know, however, there has never been a careful or impartial investigation into the matter, and it is consequently impossible to say to what extent Mataafa was personally responsible.

Six months later, that remarkable Conference on Samoan affairs was being held at Berlin, and Lord Salisbury, in a letter of instructions to the British representatives, had said, "The selection of a native ruler will be a matter of difficulty, and probably will give rise to serious discussion. Her Majesty's Government has no other wish but that the Samoans should be governed by the ruler they themselves prefer, and any arrangement for securing the free election of a sovereign will have their hearty support. But the liberty of choice may possibly be restricted in view of some of the Powers by considerations arising out of past events." Lord Salisbury's surmise proved to be correct, and when the matter came up for final discussion, Count Herbert Bismarck said: "The Conference had already agreed that it was desirable to interfere as little as possible with the internal affairs of Samoa, and the German Government had no objection to recognise any form of Government which the natives might choose for themselves. The principle of the election of a king was therefore acceptable, but he was bound to make one exception, in the person of Mataafa, on account of the outrages committed by his people, and under his authority, upon dead and wounded German sailors lying on the field of action." Sir E. Malet, the British Ambassador, "considered the exception made by Count Bismarck as fair and reasonable. His Government would have probably entertained a similar objection, had the like outrages been committed on British sailors." The American representatives appear to have remained silent on the matter at that time, though, ultimately, it was not allowed by them to pass without comment. Mataafa's German supporters probably feel the irony of fate pretty keenly, for they are in the position of the "engineer hoist with his own petard." The ban laid on Mataafa, at the instance of Germany, is held by the Chief Justice to be still in full force, and so Mataafa's erstwhile bitter enemies, but at present his ardent friends, find their new protege declared ineligible for the position they wished him to occupy. The matter had been freely discussed in Samoa; Mataafa's candidature was known to the German Government, and as that Government had made no protest, it was naturally concluded by Mataafa's friends that there was no objection to his candidature. The objection to his eligibility was not taken at the outset; in fact, not until the proceedings had nearly terminated. During his five years exile at Jaluit, Mataafa had been in constant intercourse with German officials, and, apparently, intimate friendly relations had been established. Herr Brandeis was the last man to address him before the exile left Jaluit, in a German warship, on his return to Samoa. A German political agent was the first person to meet him on the ship, when she arrived at Apia, although the three Consuls had arranged that no one was to see him until after they had interviewed him collectively, not individually. After he had landed at Apia it was soon evident that the German ægis was over him. Naturally, it was concluded that the past was forgiven, or that Germany "was satisfied that Mataafa had not been personally responsible for the outrages committed on her unfortunate seamen ten years before. Before he left Jaluit he had been required to sign a document, containing certain promises relating to his future conduct in Samoa, and he confirmed these promises immediately after his arrival. These promises have an important bearing on what has recently taken place, and reference will be made to them hereafter. For the present I conclude by pointing out that the decision as to Mataafa's ineligibility is based not on the treaty itself, but on what is contained in the protocols, and communications connected therewith. Chief Justice Chambers has held that the protocols form part of, and are to be read with the Treaty, and that, "as long as the condition remains in the protocol, and until it is stricken out or altered by the same Powers that placed it there, a judicial officer, whose right to exercise the functions of his office depends upon the same Treaty and protocols, cannot give any interpretation to Article I. than that so manifestly and mandatorily stated in the protocol of the fifth session of the conference." (The utterances of Count Bismarck and Sir E. Malet quoted above.)

While it is easy to understand how the Treaty can be amended by provisions being struck out, or altered, and new provisions inserted, it is not quite clear how the report of Count Bismarck's utterances can be expunged from the protocols, which are a record of what was said and done.

The Protocols and Mataafa.

I come now to consider the decision of Chief Justice Chambers, which has already exercised such a potent influence over the destinies of Samoa, and the ultimate effect of which it is as yet impossible to determine or estimate. For the purpose of these articles it will be sufficient to review that decision under four heads, put in the form of questions.

First. Is the decision based on any provision of the Treaty itself?

Second. Is the decision founded on any stipulation, agreement, or provision in the protocols?

Third. Do the protocols, and, in particular, this condition as to Mataafa's ineligibility which Chief Justice Chambers holds to be "so manifestly and mandatorily stated," form part of the Treaty?

Fourth. Is the decision final and conclusive, or can it be reviewed, annulled, or reversed?

The first question has been already practically disposed of. There is absolutely nothing in the Treaty, express or implied, imposing any disability whatever on Mataafa. Nor does His Honor profess to base his decision on any provision of the Treaty itself. He founds his judgment on the condition which he finds to be "so manifestly and mandatorily stated in the protocol of the Fifth Session of the Conference." holding that the protocol forms part of the Treaty, and that he is, therefore, bound by what it contains. It is well to bear in mind that Chief Justice Chambers, who is an American lawyer of repute, has arrived at that conclusion after hearing argument by counsel on both sides, after careful consideration of the matter, and with a full sense of the great responsibility devolving upon him, and, moreover, knowing that if he decided against Mataafa it was morally certain that civil war would immediately begin. On the other hand, if he decided in favour of Mataafa, war was not likely to arise, at least for some time, and many personal troubles and difficulties would have been avoided. Those who study the matter impartially will therefore be convinced that, though some may doubt the correctness of the decision, it was conscientiously given. I must confess, however, that when I come to look for a definite agreement, condition, or stipulation, unanimously assented to by the three Powers, and embodied in a minute, resolution, or declaration in the protocol, as the emphatic words of the Chief Justice would lead one to expect, I fail to discover it. Count Bismarck's words have already been quoted, and the Chief Justice, in referring to the matter, says:—"Count Bismarck consented to the principal of the election of a king, but did so upon the condition that one exception should be made, in the person of Mataafa, on account of the outrages committed on his people, and under his authority, upon dead and wounded German sailors lying on the field of action. Sir E. Malet, Senior Plenipotentiary, on behalf of Great Britain, voiced the sentiments of all the other Plenipotentiaries, that the exception made by Count Bismarck was fair and reasonable, stating that his Government would have probably entertained a similar objection had the like atrocities been committed on British sailors." With all deference to Sir E. Malet, there is perhaps room for considerable doubt on the matter. Let us put a parallel case. Suppose the Indian territory in the United States to be in the same unfortunate position as Samoa, and that during the struggles between rival chiefs for the supremacy, a company of English soldiers had intermeddled, some of them being scalped, in accordance with Indian custom, on the field of action, would England, when matters came to be settled up by a Conference, raise a similar objection to the eligibility of the chief whose warriors had, with or without his authority, taken the soldiers' scalps? I think not. However, the question is not what England would have done under similar circumstances, but what was really done at the Berlin Conference. It is important to note that no resolution was passed, no agreement recorded, no understanding arrived at.

Does it not simply amount to this: That in the event of an election taking place, and Mataafa being a candidate, the German Government, not the Treaty Powers, would object, and that probably, not certainly, that objection would be supported by the British Government? That there was no agreement that Mataafa should be deemed ineligible is apparently clear from the remarks of Mr. Phelps, one of the American Plenipotentiaries. The American representatives listened to Count Bismarck's denunciation of Mataafa in silence, and before the sitting closed Mr. Phelps "asked permission to revert to certain views expressed by Count Bismarck at the beginning of the session, that he might state that the silence of the American Plenipotentiaries was not to be construed as assenting to those views, except as they expressed an indignation at the atrocities mentioned, with which the United States heartily sympathised. Happily, the assent of the Conference to Sir E. Malet's proposition made the question of who among the natives were responsible for these atrocities a mere academic question, and the subject need not therefore be further pursued." It is manifest from this that if Sir E. Mart's remarks are to be understood as consenting to a disability that was then placed on Mataafa, the British Ambassador did not "voice the sentiments of all the other Plenipotentiaries," and it may be very fairly presumed, from Mr. Phelps' remarks, that the necessary consent of one at least of the three great contracting parties was withheld, and that it would have probably been difficult, if not impossible, to obtain it. Is it not also

a fair deduction from Mr. Phelps' remarks, that in consequence of a proposition made by Sir E. Malet being accepted, the demand for the ostracism of Mataafa was not pressed? What was that proposition? Turning back, we find it in the same protocol, and immediately after Count Bismarck's remarks. Sir E. Malet was one of a sub-committee appointed to consider the form of the future Government of Samoa. He read the report, which, after alluding to the difficulties surrounding the election of a king in the then distracted state of Samoa, proceeded:—"We therefore propose that in the interests of the peace and prosperity of the islands, it should be intimated to the Samoan people that if they will take Malietoa us king, such act on the part of the Samoans shall receive the sanction of the Treaty Powers." It might be fairly argued from what has appeared above, not only that no disability was actually placed on Mataafa, but also that the one contemplated had reference only to an election, which it was originally intended should take place upon the Treaty coming into operation. What would appear to support this view is a paragraph from the report of the British Plenipotentiaries to Lord Salisbury, which runs as follows:—"Our original instructions contemplated the necessity of a fresh election of a native ruler, and we were authorised to cordially support any arrangement for securing the free election of a Sovereign. Your Lordship, at the same time, correctly anticipated that this was a matter likely to give rise to serious discussion in the Conference, as there was a possibility of the liberty of choice being restricted in the view of some of the Powers by considerations arising out of past events. In order to obviate this difficulty, which we promptly recognised as the only serious one likely to occur in the course of our negotiations, Her Majesty's Plenipotentiaries assumed the responsibility of recommending an alternative mode of supplying the Samoans with a native ruler of their own choice, in the person of Malietoa Laupepa. . . . This proposition, which fully corresponded to the wish expressed by the United States Plenipotentiaries for a restoration, if possible, of the *status quo*, met with complete success."

It may be urged in support of the decision of the Chief Justice that it was clearly the intention of Germany to impose a disability on Mataafa if a genuine election had taken place instead of the farce of inviting the Samoans to reinstate Malietoa Laupepa. There can be no doubt on that point. There is also nothing to show that that disability was to last for a limited time. Probably the German Government at that time were determined to oppose Mataafa's election to the kingship at any time during his life. Had Malietoa died a year or so after his reinstatement, there is little doubt that Germany would have objected strongly to Mataafa succeeding him. It is sought, however, to make the protocols, in effect, a penal statute as against Mataafa, and it can be urged on his behalf that this penal statute should, in accordance with a well-recognised principle of law, be strictly construed. It is not too much to say that a strict construction renders it impossible to discover anything in the shape of a penal enactment against him

The Protocols and the Treaty.

In my last article it was pointed out that, admittedly, there was no disability imposed upon Mataafa by the Berlin-Samoan Treaty, either by express terms or by implication, and that it is exceedingly difficult to find, even in the protocols, that "condition so manifestly and mandatorily stated" upon which Chief Justice Chambers founds his decision. That which appears difficult to one reader, may, however, seem plain and clear to another. His Honour has decided that the condition is contained in the protocols and that the protocol forms part of the Treaty. The reasoning [*unclear: by*] which he has arrived at this conclusion, though not quite [*unclear: convincing*] to some, may be considered cogent and irresistible to [*unclear: those*] who will probably be called upon to review and report on the [*unclear: judgement*]. Assuming, therefore, that the interpretation placed [*unclear: upon*] the fifth protocol by the Chief Justice be correct, and that a [*unclear: disability*] is by that protocol actually imposed on Mataafa, the [*unclear: third*] question presents itself for consideration: Do the protocols, and [*unclear: in*] particular this condition as to Mataafa, form part of the [*unclear: Treaty*]. To the question, put generally, Do protocols form part of [*unclear: the*] Treaty, which is their ultimate outcome? probably the [*unclear: unanimous*] reply of any body of lawyers would be an emphatic negative. A treaty is, perhaps, the highest form of contract, being a solemn agreement between two or more nations, and though some of the principles of the law relating to contracts between individuals do not apply to treaties, yet many of the rules for the construction and interpretation of treaties are similar to those governing the construction and interpretation of private contracts. Thus, when a matter has been the subject of extended negotiation, and is at length reduced into a formal-written contract, signed and accepted by all parties, this final document supersedes the preliminary negotiations, and is looked to as containing all that has been finally agreed upon between the parties. To incorporate the preliminary negotiations would have the effect of introducing uncertainty, conflict, and confusion. So, with regard to treaties, it is laid down that "mere negotiations, preparatory communications, are, in their nature, not of a binding character." Now, the protocols of the Berlin-Samoan Treaty are the record of the preliminary negotiations, the minutes of the meetings of the Conference, and they also contain evidently

much abbreviated reports of some of the discussions which took place. To incorporate all this matter in the Treaty itself would manifestly enormously increase the difficulty of a rational, consistent, and true interpretation. On the other hand, it is unquestionable, with regard to this particular Treaty, that there are in the protocols, various agreements and stipulations, which, though not in the Treaty itself, were intended to operate concurrently with it as fully as if they had been incorporated in its text. Thus, in the protocol of the seventh session, we read: "Dr. Krauel asked whether a clause should not be inserted, exempting the Consuls from the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court.

"It was agreed that such a clause was not necessary, as it was the manifest intention of the Conference that the Consuls and their families should be exempted from such jurisdiction."

Again, in the protocol of the eighth session, we read, with reference to the Chief Justice, "Mr. Kasson further suggested that it might be desirable to add the words, 'and shall be fully acquainted with the English language.'

"Count Bismarck thought that it would be sufficient that the latter suggestion should be recorded in the protocol, which proposal was adopted."

"The opinion was unanimously expressed by the Conference that the person selected for that office should be fully acquainted with the English language."

Again, as an instance of interpretation of what might otherwise be considered obscure or uncertain, we read, "It was agreed to state in the protocol that section 3, of Article V., intended that the appointment of Municipal Magistrate should be made by resolution of the Council, and thus be subject to approval as in the case of other resolutions" The reader will be struck at once with an essential difference between these instances and the minutes containing the references to Mataafa. In the former, the protocols record an agreement, a unanimous expression, a manifest intention, whereas with regard to Mataafa no agreement, no manifest intention, no unanimous expression is to be found in the record. Count Bismarck did not even ask that anything in the shape of a resolution or condition should be recorded. Whether a Court in construing and interpreting the Treaty would be right in taking judicial notice of the passages in the protocols quoted above, is a very debatable question. Chief Justice Chambers, however, has many precedents to justify him in referring to the protocols in judicial decisions. Both his predecessor, Chief Justices Cederkrantz and Ide, have made reference to them repeatedly, and counsel have often referred to them in support of their arguments. I do not, however, recollect a case where a decision has been based upon a protocol, nor yet a case where the protocols have been held to govern the interpretation of the treaty. Reference has been made to them merely for the purpose of getting all the light possible on obscure and difficult questions. No doubt they have been of some value from time to time in assisting the Court to interpret rightly what is in the Treaty, but that, of course, is very different from using them for the purpose of putting into the Treaty something which the Treaty does not already contain, and something, moreover, which seems to be in complete antagonism to its express provisions. There is another important distinction between the agreements recorded in the protocols and the alleged disability of Mataafa. The former relate to matters which do not really affect the Samoans at all, and are of little or no interest to them, while the latter is a purely Samoan matter affecting them most deeply, and interesting them most profoundly, and here one of the fundamental principles of the law relating to treaties requires to be noticed. It is thus stated by Phillimore: "The free reciprocal consent of both contracting parties, which is indispensable to the validity of a contract between individuals, is equally requisite for a treaty between States." It has been already stated that Samoa was not represented at the Berlin Conference, and was not consulted at all while the Treaty was being framed. The gentlemen constituting the Berlin Conference were nearly two solid months framing their Treaty. Samoa was allowed just two days in which to consider a measure so deeply affecting her. She, however, assented to it, and Malietoa Laupepa certified that his country accepted it with satisfaction. The assent of Samoa to the Treaty was, of course, a mere matter of form. It was translated into the Samoan tongue, and the certificate of assent prepared and duly signed. By a legal fiction it may be considered that the free reciprocal consent of both parties had been obtained. That consent, however, was to the Treaty, and the Treaty only. It is impossible for anyone to contend seriously that Samoa ever consented to the protocols. The protocols have never been translated into Samoan. The Samoans have never been made acquainted with them. Of the few copies of the protocols in circulation in Samoa it is not probable that even one is in the hands of any Samoan. The consent of Samoa to any of the protocols has never been obtained, has never been sought. To suggest or argue that assent by Samoa to the Treaty included or involved assent to the protocols would be too preposterous to be seriously treated by anyone. However binding the various agreements minuted in the protocols may be as between England, Germany, and America, it seems impossible to contend on any principle of law, equity, or common sense, that Samoa is in any way bound by them. That free reciprocal consent which is indispensable to the validity of a Treaty is absolutely wanting, even in form.

Chief Justice Chambers has, however, given a decision under a clause in the Treaty assented to by Samoa, and that clause authorises him to decide any dispute, and declares his decision shall be final, and this last

question as to the finality of his decision remains to be considered. From what has been now stated, it would seem that Mataafa would have rather a strong case to carry to a Court of Appeal, supposing that such a court existed. He may have reason to regret that he did not adopt this course, if such a course were really open to him. Probably the Treaty Powers regret this even more than he is ever likely to do.

Is the Decision Final or Binding?

Samoa is still on the tenterhooks, awaiting communications from the Treaty Powers respecting the decision of the Chief Justice on the kingship question, and the fourth query, Is that decision final? is therefore still of great interest. I propose to consider it from three standpoints. First, Is it final or binding as against the three Treaty Powers? Second, Is it final or binding as against Samoa generally? Third, Is it final or binding as against Mataafa personally?

The brief and necessarily imperfect discussion of these questions may be appropriately prefaced by a few remarks on the Supreme Court of Samoa, and the powers and functions of the Chief Justice. The Treaty provides that "a Supreme Court shall be established, to consist of one judge, who shall be styled Chief Justice of Samoa . . . His decision upon questions within his jurisdiction shall be final . . . The Supreme Court shall have jurisdiction of all questions arising under the provisions of this general Act, and the decision or order of the Court shall be conclusive upon all residents of Samoa."

Some question might be raised as to the bearing of these provisions on the kingship dispute, but that matter is dealt with specially in a subsequent section, and it would probably be rightly contended that as the whole matter is specially dealt with in that section (section 6), it is not intended that preceding sections shall affect it. However, even if these provisions did apply, they would not materially modify or affect the position. But I shall assume that section 6 contains all the powers, and defines the jurisdiction of the Chief Justice on the kingship question, and, therefore, is the only one necessary here to consider.

It may seem a rather fine distinction to draw, but it is nevertheless undoubtedly correct to say that though the Supreme Court consists of the Chief Justice, the Chief Justice is not always the Court. He has important duties to perform, which are not included in the ordinary judicial procedure of the Supreme Court. All ordinances, resolutions, and regulations passed by the Municipal Council, and not unanimously approved by the three Consuls, have to be referred to the Chief Justice for final modification and approval. He has the right to recommend the Samoan Government to pass laws which he may deem just and expedient. He is also the sole arbiter in case of disagreement between the Treaty Powers. All these duties, some of which are more judicial than ministerial, are imposed on the Chief Justice, not upon the Supreme Court. So, with regard to the kingship, section 6 provides, "In case any question shall hereafter arise in Samoa respecting the rightful election or appointment of king . . . such question shall be presented for decision to the Chief Justice of Samoa, who shall decide in writing conformably to the provisions of this Act and to the laws and customs of Samoa, not in conflict therewith, and the Signatory Governments will accept and abide by such decision."

Though the decision of Chief Justice Chambers does not appear to be in form a judgment of the Supreme Court of Samoa, the published reports seem to indicate that the matter was dealt with by the Supreme Court. Some passages in the decision itself apparently confirm this view, and Herr Bulow, Mataafa's counsel, was required to take the barrister's oath before being allowed to act for his client in the proceedings.

Since this was written, the reports of the various cases of contempt of Court have come to hand, and I find that the charge against Mr. H. J. Moors, commences thus: "Whereas, on the 12th day of December, 1898, there being to your knowledge, pending in the Supreme Court of Samoa, before the Chief Justice thereof, a contest for the kingship of Samoa, etc." It is clear from this that the trial took place before the Supreme Court.

The form of procedure which the Chief Justice chose to adopt is a matter of small importance, and would not be likely to affect the validity of his decision, but it might afford scope for some very pretty legal argument as to contempt of Court and other matters.

There have been several charges of contempt of the Supreme Court of Samoa, arising out of the trial of the kingship question, and they form an interesting little side issue. The Supreme Court of Samoa has jurisdiction in cases of all crimes and offences committed by foreigners not subject to consular jurisdiction. The charges of contempt have been brought against German subjects and an American citizen, who are subject to consular jurisdiction, and the first question would be whether the inherent power a superior Court possesses to punish for contempt exists in the Supreme Court of Samoa in cases where the persons who are guilty of contempt are British or German subjects, or American citizens. The second question is whether in these particular cases the conduct and actions of the defendants really constituted contempt of Court, and the third question is whether in these cases contempt of the Supreme Court could have been committed, seeing that the Treaty does not confer upon the Supreme Court any jurisdiction in the matter of disputes concerning the kingship. The first and third

questions are rather knotty and difficult, but the second would not be hard to answer. It is not necessary to discuss any of them here, but it will be interesting to learn how the cases will be dealt with, as they have, no doubt, been brought under the notice of the Powers.

Coming now to the question, Is the decision final as against the Treaty Powers? the answer would be in the affirmative if the decision be in accordance with the provisions of the Treaty, and the laws and customs of Samoa not in conflict therewith. The decision is not based upon any law or custom of Samoa, and it has not been contended by any one that there is any law or custom of Samoa rendering Mataafa ineligible for the kingship. Is the decision in accordance with the Treaty? It is indisputable that taking the Treaty itself, the decision is not only not in accordance with it, but in direct conflict with its express provisions recognising the free right of the Samoans to elect their chief or king. The issue is, therefore, narrowed down to the construction of what the protocols contain, and the determination of the relation of the protocols to the Treaty. The Treaty Powers cannot be required to accept and abide by the decision, unless it be established that the protocols are to be read and construed as part of the Treaty, and that the condition which the Chief Justice declares to be "so manifestly and mandatorily stated," is really contained therein. Failure to establish either of these points would be fatal to the decision, and each appears so difficult that failure seems inevitable.

Second, Is the decision final as against Samoa generally? It is almost unnecessary to repeat that if the decision is not in accordance with the Treaty it is no more binding on Samoa than it is on the Treaty Powers. It is also clear that if the fundamental principles of the law relating to treaties be applied to the protocols, Samoa cannot be bound by the decision, even if the construction placed upon the protocols by the Chief Justice be correct, for, as already pointed out, Samoa has never signed or assented to the protocols. She has never been asked to sign or assent to them, nor have they at any time been made known to her. But even assuming the decision to be fully in accordance with the Treaty, and the laws and customs of Samoa, it is questionable whether Samoa would be bound by it. The "Signatory Governments" agree to accept and abide by the decision, but, by a strange omission, there is no declaration that Samoa shall accept and abide by it. It would probably be urged that the words are mere surplusage and unnecessary, but if such an express declaration were necessary to bind the Treaty Powers, a similar declaration is, of course, equally necessary to bind Samoa. A careful study of the Treaty will show that the expression "Signatory Governments" is synonymous with "Signatory Powers," "Powers," "three Powers," "three Treaty Powers," etc., and does not include Samoa. Moreover, Samoa did not sign the Treaty; she only assented to it.

Third, Is the decision final as against Mataafa personally? In dealing with this question it is necessary to refer to various pledges, given by Mataafa to the Treaty Powers, and the Samoan Government. Before he was permitted to leave Jaluit and return to Samoa, after five years' exile, he was required to solemnly promise in writing that on returning to Samoa he would at all times be and remain loyal to the Government of Samoa, as established by the Berlin Final Act, and the Government, as heretofore existing under King Malietoa Laupepa, and to the successor of the said Malietoa Laupepa when chosen; that he would not encourage or participate in any hostile action against the Government, nor permit his relatives or adherents to do so; that he would, to the best of his ability, uphold and support the Government, and that he would use his influence to promote the peace of Samoa, and strengthen the loyalty of the people to the Government. He agreed that a breach of faith on his part in the observance of these pledges should render him liable to renewed banishment or other punishment. On his arrival in Samoa he was required to ratify and confirm these pledges, and he did so. At the commencement of the proceedings before the Chief Justice, the contending parties were called upon to sign an agreement agreeing to abide by the decision of His Honor. The Malietoa party signed it readily, but the Mataafa party declined, and it is not quite clear from the published reports whether they ultimately signed it or not, though it appears that during the trial they verbally undertook to accept the decision.

This agreement may have been designed to remedy the omission in the Treaty referred to above. If not, it is difficult to see of what utility it would be, for such a document could not well clothe the Chief Justice with any powers or jurisdiction which he did not already possess; and if the decision were irregular, or not according to law, either party could reasonably claim that the agreement did not cover it. As to the pledges given at Jaluit, Mataafa would, of course, claim that he is the regularly-appointed successor to Malietoa Laupepa, and that his own Government is the one to which his loyalty is due.

If the decision be regular and good, and the agreement was actually signed by Mataafa, or on his behalf, or the verbal undertaking given by his chiefs duly authorised by him, he would probably be held bound by the decision. But if he did not sign it, or signed it under compulsion, or did not authorise the undertaking, it is difficult to see how he could have been bound by it, were it not for the pledges given by him at Jaluit. In view of these pledges, he would probably be held bound if the decision be really in accordance with the Treaty. Should this beheld to be the case, Mataafa's ill-advised resort to arms would render him liable to be deported once more, or punished in some other way. Had he endeavoured, in a regular and peaceful manner, to obtain a review and reversal of the decision given against him, he could have presented a very strong case. Such a

course was open to him, for a precedent has been established for reversing even the "final decisions" of Chief Justices of Samoa. In 1892, Baron Senfft von Pilsach was President of the Municipal Council of Apia. He was also Treasurer to the Samoan Government. The Customs duties had been collected and used as municipal revenue for two years, with the knowledge and acquiescence of the Samoan Government. The worthy Baron came to the conclusion that the Customs duties belonged to the Government. As Treasurer to the Government, he prevailed on the king to demand the moneys from him, and then asked the Chief Justice, M. Cederkranz, to give a decision on the matter. He did not inform the Municipal Council of his proceedings, nor was the Council notified by the Chief Justice, but His Honour published a decision declaring the Customs duties to belong to the Government, and not to the Council. Thereupon the Council memorialised the Treaty Powers, whose law officers advised that the decision was not in accordance with the Treaty, and was therefore a nullity. The Customs duties were thereupon restored to the Municipal Council. A similar course was open to Mataafa, with perhaps even greater chances of success than the Municipal Council had; but he has resorted to arms, and created a situation which may result in his losing that position which he has been so ardently striving after for many years, and in becoming once more an exile from the land that he loves.

Conclusion.

I bring this series of articles to a close while the action of the Treaty Powers, with regard to the present situation in Samoa, is still a matter for speculation and conjecture. The orders for another British warship to proceed to Apia; the intelligence that another German man-o'-war is also on her way thither; and the fact that at last an American cruiser is bound for the group, would suggest the idea that a naval demonstration by the Powers is contemplated. But if the report be true that Germany has demanded the recall of Chief Justice Chambers, there is some reason for doubting whether that demonstration would be for the purpose of enforcing the decision of the Chief Justice.

If the Powers choose to hold Mataafa strictly to his promise, the most perplexing and troublesome feature of the present problem would be eliminated, though at what cost it would be impossible to say. That would depend entirely upon Mataafa himself—upon his action when his surrender was demanded. It is freely stated in Samoa that he would resist to the last any attempt to seize him, but it is rather rash to predict what his course of action would be. It may be true, as has been stated by some, that the actual fighting was not sanctioned by him, but he had certainly been for a considerable time massing all his available warriors at Maulinuu, apparently oblivious or regardless of his written promise to use his influence for the promotion of peace in Samoa. Within a few hours of a decision adverse to him being given, his followers, with or without his sanction, were engaged in a bloody strife, and were devastating the villages of their opponents. He agreed, as a condition of his restoration to Samoa, that if he failed in his promises he should be liable to renewed exile, or other punishment. If he were again deported, the kingship question would, for a time at least, be somewhat less involved. It may, therefore, be that, irrespective of the decision of the Chief Justice, the Treaty Powers are about to seize him again, or attempt to do so, and punish him for disturbing the peace of Samoa, contrary to his obligation to promote it. But are the Powers prepared to hold him strictly to His promise? Is he not entitled to some little indulgence—an indulgence that any generous opponent would at once accord on the ground that, even if the decision against him were sound in law, it was unjust that he should be prevented from aspiring to the throne? There is little doubt that for years Mataafa has suffered from a rankling sense of injustice in this matter, and probably most men, when they had the opportunity, would have acted in a similar manner. Again, if, as appears to be the case, Mataafa's cause has been espoused by Germany, the only Power which had any objection at all to his being appointed king, is it likely that Germany will readily consent to his being punished for doing what the officials of the Imperial German Government are said to have incited him to do? It is true that these officials have denied having given him the active support alleged to have been afforded by them, but they have certainly befriended and adopted him. In the United States he is regarded as a barbaric hero, who defeated the forces of a great military Power; and though his present alliance with the Germans, and the complication between the latter and the American Chief Justice, may have a modifying influence on this feeling, there will probably be a strong sentiment against harsh measures.

Since this was penned, the cablegrams have announced that the most cordial relations exist between the United States and Germany in connection with the Samoan difficulty. It does not seem likely, therefore, that Germany has been asked to join many hostile movement against Mataafa.

Nor is there any reason for supposing that England will desire to treat Mataafa harshly, though there the feeling of the Government would probably be in favour of supporting the Chief Justice's decision, if it can be rightly done.

Supposing that the Powers decide that the decision of the Chief Justice is not in accordance with the Treaty,

and that a decision on the merits should have been given, and supposing also that Mataafa is allowed to remain in amoa, the ordinary course would be for a new trial to take place. But here a fresh difficulty arises. The Chief Justice has stated, and the statement has been published, that if he had given a decision on the merits, that decision would also have been against Mataafa. Would Mataafa be likely to consent to submit his case again to the Chief Justice, knowing that the latter had already declared against him on the merits? This statement of the Chief Justice renders it more difficult to understand why a decision on the merits was not given instead of on a point which at least is surrounded with very grave doubt. It is even still more difficult to understand, when it is remembered that only a few months ago the Chief Justice, in a letter to Mr. Voors, expressed the opinion that Mataafa was as eligible as anyone else. It has been stated, it is true, that when he wrote this letter he was not acquainted with the passage in the protocols upon which his decision was subsequently given, but he does not state this himself apparently, and on the face of it, it seems improbable that he was not familiar with everything in the protocols. Moreover, the question was not a new one, and had been frequently discussed in Apia, yet the objection to Mataafa's candidature was not raised in the proceedings before the Chief Justice until the last day of the trial. Under ordinary circumstances this might have been attributed either to a belief on the part of Malietoa's counsel that the opinion of the Chief Justice had undergone a change, or to a feeling on the part of counsel that they were so weak on the merits that it was necessary, even at that late stage, to raise an objection which should in the regular course have been raised at the outset. But each of these explanations fails in view of the statement that the first opinion of the Chief Justice was given without reference to the protocols, and that the merits were strongly in favour of Malietoa; one is therefore driven to the conclusion that the eloquence, ingenuity, and reasoning of the counsel opposed to Mataafa were so effective that they prevailed with the Chief-Justice, and I frankly express my admiration of the skill which could out of the extremely flimsy materials to hand weave such a convincing argument as must necessarily have been presented to the Court by Messrs. Carruthers and Gurr. Perhaps a weakness in reply from Mataafa's counsel contribute somewhat to this result. However, the *de facto* king of Samoa has now secured the services of a counsel who is able, ingenious, persuasive, and persistent, who has, no doubt, already taken steps to prevent a hasty decision being arrived at without a full statement of the case on behalf of Mataafa. Still, Mataafa is rather severely handicapped by the pledges he gave in Jaluit, and by the verbal understanding of the chiefs representing him in Court that the decision of the Chief Justice would be accepted by them. The Samoan kingship problem is, it seems to me, one of the most interesting and intricate little puzzles ever presented for solution, and the fact that no decision has yet been announced would seem to indicate that its difficulties are being fully appreciated.

What the Powers will do at this present juncture, though an exceedingly interesting question, falls into comparative unimportance before the larger and graver question, What is to be the ultimate destiny of Samoa? The opinion amongst those who have studied the matter is practically unanimous that annexation by one Power affords the only satisfactory solution of the problem. But annexation by one Power seems at present to be utterly improbable; and there is little doubt that whatever may be done at the present time, the three Powers will still maintain their present relations with Samoa. The present system of control has proved a dismal and disastrous failure, but it is somewhat rash to say that a fairly satisfactory system of tripartite control is an impossibility. The existing Treaty requires extensive modification and some radical alterations. A number of amendments were suggested several years ago, and embodied in a memorial from the foreign residents of Samoa to the Powers, but the Powers turned a deaf ear to the petition. Though the Treaty makes express provision for amelioration and modification, and experience has shown that extensive alterations are an urgent necessity, the Powers have steadily refused to make any change, and the Treaty remains unaltered, save in the matter of apportionment of revenue. This is the more regrettable, since it is scarcely possible that a more defective system could be devised than that now in vogue. Almost any alteration would of necessity be an improvement.

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Front Cover

The Influence of Electricity on the Human Race

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The Influence of Electricity on the human Race.

landscape featuring ship and sea

WHEN Sir Isaac Newton studied the influence of gravity on matter, he found that he could not take it alone and neglect other influences, but that motion was a complementary force which had to be studied at the same time. From this he was led to the laws of motion, and by study of the joint effects of motion and gravitation on matter, he was led to those practical results which have been such great helps to the increase of (human knowledge; probably all his thoughts on these subjects would have been little use to mankind, unless at the same time, he had been led to formulate a system of symbols, (*Differential Calculus.*) through which the variations of those forces, could be recorded: and we must not forget that Sir Isaac had been a deep student of Theology (seeking the kingdom of God and His righteousness,) before his attention was turned to the workings of these forces of the Creator.

Any student who wishes to get practical results from study of the forces, or powers of the Creator, and how they work in matter, must proceed on similar lines. Now the knowledge that Electricity, either in its statical form which we call Magnetism, or in its dynamical form, which is generally spoken of as Electricity, is working in all matter is quite a recent discovery. Faraday, in 1815, showed that nearly all bodies are influenced by magnets. Further observation has confirmed this, so we may accept it that Electricity is a component influence in matters the same way that Gravity is. Now we have to search for the complementary influence, which must be studied in conjunction with Electricity, in order to get practical results. I may say at once, I find it to be hereditary transmission of faculties, using the word faculty in the same sense I did in "Creation with Development." Whether I am justified in accepting this power as a complementary power to Electricity must be decided by what follows.

Next, have we to invent a system of symbols to record results in; or have we anything known to us which will answer the purpose? I think the old system of parable, so much used by Christ, prophets, and poets, who would draw our attention to the spiritual meaning which may be drawn from all works of the Creator, will probably be found best. It is one which never can be learnt by the thoughtless, but none can enter into the workings of God's laws without thought.

First, let us seek out some of the things Electricity does for us, and the parallel working of human thoughts.

Statical Electricity, or Magnetism, attracts matter charged with the opposite electricity, and repels matter charged with like electricity, so it is probable that those unaccountable attractions and repulsions which we feel for individuals met for the first time may thus be accounted for. So may the attraction of the different sexes, one being positively the other negatively charged. A study of the experiments with matter shows that matter which appears + in the presence of other matter may, in its turn, be- in presence of a third piece of matter; so a male may attract males of lower potentiality. These attractions and repulsions can be further increased, neutralised, or changed by using dynamical electricity of sufficient power or potentiality, which may also demagnetise a magnet, or can Reverse its magnetism. (How this is done will be found in various text-books on the subject.) Now, what parallel working is there in the human mind? As far as we can see, all living creatures, including plants, are brought into the world with a predisposition to follow in the steps of their ancestors, and the longer time those ancestors have been trained to certain work the greater the predisposition to do all that plant or animal can do, but not in any way to excel the ancestors without outside help: e.g., a fruit tree will bring forth similar fruit to the ancestor, provided conditions of soil and climate are the same, but if man comes along and improves those conditions he may improve the fruit; if he, the caretaker of fruit trees, neglects them and lets weeds rob the tree of its sustenance, the fruit deteriorates; again, by cutting off branches and grafting, he may change the character of the fruit. The parallel to this in the human race is that children are born with a certain predisposition to follow their ancestors, provided no other influences are brought to bear. This may best be seen in the Indian castes where one caste keeps to one kind of work; they arrive at a certain stage of manual dexterity, but go no further, because no new ideas are put into their minds, and generation after generation do the same work in the same manner. But a European comes along with better ideas. First he has to overcome caste prejudice, which offers great resistance, and then he has to instil his better ideas into the undeveloped Indian mind; or if, as is often the case, the Indian mind is developed, it is in a direction the European has little idea of, and so fails to get an entrance. Now, how can knowledge of Electricity help us in this? We must bear in mind Electricity works in two ways: through Conduction and Induction. I have already, in "Creation with Development," likened conduction to the hereditary faculties transmitted from parents to children, so that when parents have acquired certain faculties, or improved them, they transmit germs of the improved faculty to the children, which they, in turn, can, if they will, further improve or allow to degenerate by neglecting the means adopted by their parents to maintain or improve their faculties. What does induction do, and what parallel has it in the development of the human being? I suppose my reader has acquired the rudiments of Electricity, so will say that powerful induction coils can regulate magnetism, either by developing it, increasing it, or changing it. So also can human being, with well-trained thoughts, stir up thoughts in a fellow creature, if he can find some common ground on which they can meet and interchange ideas, and in time the teacher's thoughts may effect a complete change in the hearer's thoughts, and stir him up to do work of quite an opposite character to that

which he was by birth predisposed to. So also the man or woman predisposed to good work can strengthen and improve that predisposition by collecting the thoughts of like-minded persons from books and other sources, and forming of them a coil of thought which stimulates them to action. But if we would do the Creator's work we must bear in mind that every good thought or gift came to those persons from above.

Now, Induction is, at the time the current is passing, a more powerful stimulant than Conduction, and can do a class of work which Conduction cannot do, except by using an immense number of voltaic cells. It depends on the make and break of the current for its stimulating power, So thoughts instilled into a mind may, for a time, act more powerfully than the original predisposition, and a person may be led, under the inductive influence of another person's thoughts, to do things which at other times they would be horrified at; and, again, weak-minded people may be led to do heroic actions. A good proof of this is the Soudan soldier, who, from years of slavery, has a predis-position only to work under command; under the inductive influence of Lord Kitchener and his British officers, is led to conquer foes whom he would otherwise fly from or obey. I have said induction depends on the make and break for its stimulating effect, so the influence of British officers, being a new influence to Soudanese, had a greater effect than would have had the same ideas conveyed to them through black men. If white officers remain always amongst them they must not expect to be always able to stir them up to such exertions, until two or three generations have been raised under these inductive influences. The inductive current must bear a certain proportion to the work to be done, so Hicks Pasha probably failed from an insufficiency of British officers, or weakness of potentiality amongst those officers, whilst Gordon, with his intense potentiality, as shown in his leading Chinese troops, very nearly accomplished, without arms, what has since been done under Kitchener. But Gordon's self-sacrifice had such influence on British thought that it stirred us up to do the work which he wished to do: not to avenge the death of Gordon! though it may be well that Arabs of the Deserts should feel the avenger of blood has pursued them. But our thoughts have been, happily, turned in the right direction by Lord Kitchener's suggestion to educate the Soudanese; not, I trust, a secular instruction, but true education—learning of things in Heaven as well as things on earth. The money has been rapidly collected at the call of the successful conqueror, but are the men forth coming who will steadily persevere in the slow, and, at times, weary, work of raising a downcast nation?

Now, what is this potentiality of which I have been writing? It is invisible, like all the invisible forces of the invisible Creator. Have we anything we can liken it to; Electricity here helps us. We know that we can arrange voltaic cells either to give us quantity or intensity. If arranged for quantity, all are brought up into line and connected directly with the work to be done. This can only be used where there is little resistance, and no distance to be traversed; when the cells are arranged in series, so that the current passes from one cell through the next where it gets intensified, and so on through successive cells, each cell adding its quota till the last cell, from which the electricity springs with greater or less potentiality, according to the number of good cells it has passed through, and is connected with the work to be done. Intensity is required where long distances have to be traversed. In practice we find it is not good to have too long a series of cells, but it is better to combine quantity with intensity, which agrees with all we see in nature. A long fine wire may pull in one direction, but to push and pull we must have metal of another quality and thickness.

Next, we have to inquire, Is there anything in the human race corresponding to this?

We shall find that a long line of good ancestors, who have done good work in their day, convey a certain potentiality to their descendants, which may be used either for good or evil, according as their descendant will be guided by the same rules as they have been. If he or she will do good, the work done by such ancestors as they have knowledge of fortifies them in any good work they may be engaged in. This potentiality is passed down through the female as well as the male line, but as the female influence is hidden by her change of name at marriage, we must not be content with the study of names in tracing hereditary descent.

Now, what constitutes good descent? I have alluded to the weakness produced in a long line of ancestors confined to one class of work, as shown in Indian castes. This I was particularly brought before me in a magazine article on Indian potters, and the transmitted skill in that particular class of work passed down from father to son. We also see the same in animal breeding, where continual in-breeding produces a very purebred stock in one sense, but stock which require more and more care in each succeeding generation, until at last they are quite helpless without the human caretaker. These are no good as a Hock. They may serve to re-introduce into a flock a characteristic in which they are prepotent, and which is falling away in the flock. But for the human race at large we want a certain capacity to adapt themselves to all situations in life. So a race bred from ancestors who have directed their attention to only three or four subjects will be weak, as compared with a race bred from ancestors who have proved themselves good in many different stations of life. To find these ancestors so that they may have on us the influence acquired through knowledge of them, in addition to the hidden influence which is passed on from parents to children by a law of the Creator whose manner of working is as yet unknown to mankind, they must have done work which has been considered worthy to be handed on from father to son. There must be much of this in private families unknown to the world at large, which will be

useful to their descendants. All may not be able to show a direct line of descent from those historical names which have done so much for the British nation; but when we come to consider that ancestors increase in geometrical progression—that is, the first generation has two ancestors, when it finds it is a second generation it has four, a third generation eight, a fourth has sixteen, the twentieth may have 1,048,576, and so on, we see how it spreads out, and if amongst these many ancestors we find some who have done good work, let us search out their work; it will influence us for good. But in our search for ancestors all of us must drop across some whose work is bad. How are we to cut that out? First, let us cover up a failing of our ancestors as did Shem and Japhet when their righteous father fell. Second, if the failing has been publicly exposed, let us turn it into a lesson to watch against that particular failing, as we may have a predisposition to fall in the same way. In electrical language, short-circuit it, or pass it through a commutator. Now, what have we in Electricity that helps us to fix these ideas in our minds and is a true parallel to it?

I have already ("Creation with Development") alluded to the magnetism imparted to like bars of iron by two magnets as a symbol of the faculties imparted to the child by the parent. This deals only with that particular couple, and takes little account of their potentiality. But when we come to deal with these we find the voltaic cell a better symbol. In the voltaic cell one metal must be + the other-, which corresponds with male and female brought together in one house. In the voltaic cell there is a stimulating fluid which, when the metals are united externally as well as through the fluid, produces the electric current, which the maker or owner of the cell turns to his own uses. In the human race the stimulator to action is the sense of duty, knowledge of the work to be done, and desire to do it. So husband and wife, joined together by the Creator and owner of the human cell, and desiring to do His work, do the work allotted to them, and pass on to their descendants a predisposition to do the same. But these descendants have wills of their own, a thing I at present find no parallel for in Electricity; and if they will not accept the will of the Creator as their stimulator, all their potentialities may be misdirected, neutralised, or reversed, if they will put themselves in positions which bring them under the influence of Satan.

As Electricians find many stimulating fluids, some suitable to one set of elements, another suitable to another set, so the Creator finds many different kinds of work, one or more of which it may be our duty to do, beginning with gardening and care of trees, proceeding to care of cattle and sheep, study of sun, moon, and stars, metal working, brick making and building, commerce, fighting, navigating, working for Church and State, &c., &c.; but, amidst all these, there has been one fixed duty common to all—the care of the children whom they have brought into the world. The workings of the human cells have been vitiated by introductions of foreign elements into the original cell, as [constructed by the Creator. Where there were many wives or many husbands it reduced the sense of responsibility to the children, and either husband or wife neglect that duty, and pass on a vitiated tendency to their children.

Now, where the same line of duty has been carried on (or many generations, they are apt to forget their dependance on those who are doing other duties: and, if continued too far, would draw out into the long thin wire produced by Indian caste, which can work only in one direction. So to build up a strong family there must be roots which have extracted mental nourishment from many different classes of labour, just as the roots of a tree spread out all round, and draw food from all sides. Too many generations of thinkers sprung from clerical, legal, and medical professions may produce thinkers of high potentiality, but if they have not made practical use of their thoughts they are of little use to mankind: theory and practice must go together. Again, thinkers may not be doing sufficient bodily work, so the body becomes too weak for the mind. I do not know if electricians will back me up in the idea this leads to. They generally use elements of like electric difference, with a stimulator of the same kind for the particular work they are doing. Thus they do not, as far as I know, take a battery of Daniel's cells and join that up to another of Leclanché's, and that to Bunsen's, but they only use a battery for two or three classes of work, whereas the human cell has to be capable of taking its place in the huge battery called a nation, and be ready to do any class of work. So if we take Daniel's cells as representative of clerical workers and their descendants—Bunsen's=Military,—Leclanché=Legal, &c.—we shall find the human being who draws his or her predisposition from these sources will very soon settle down and do good work in any of these professions, especially if stimulated by knowledge of good work the ancestor has done in the particular line the descendant finds himself in.

We find a very good check on any family getting too prepotent in any one direction, and so getting out of touch with their neighbours, is the repelling action that like magnetisms have for each other. Thus a very intensely clerical father has a certain repelling effect on his son, which only a very strong sense of duty helps them to overcome; and it is only by the use of thought (the electric induction coil) this is overcome. This shows us why, as a rule, parents are not good teachers of their own children. Their predispositions are too much alike. The military man is at first rather taken aback when he finds his own commanding tone of voice or dictatorial manner reflected back by his son. If he, through experience and knowledge, has not found the reason, there may be squalls when Greek meets Greek. So these sons may be drawn into other professions. I have taken the stimulating fluid in a cell as a symbol of the sense of duty husband and wife have towards their Maker, and the

offspring he causes them to bring forth. Many have a very slight sense of duty to the Maker, and a few have little or no sense of duty to their offspring; but those who have are set working to do their duty. The working of the liquid is confined to the cell. It is composed of water combined with various acids; but water is common to all wet cells, so water may be taken as a symbol of the love to the children; whilst the acids resemble hunger, thirst, and want of money, which stir up parents to supply that which the children require. The external work done by the cell for its Maker is the work done from a sense of duty, and is proportional to the love and labour expended on the children. Those who have little sense of duty to their Maker have allowed the stimulating fluid of love and labour to fall low in their cells.

But what about the dry cells, or dry trees, as Abraham thought himself? They have no children to call forth their love and labour, but in other ways they can do the Maker's work. Not engrossed with their own children, they may be more free to work for others.

Now, let us leave for awhile our couples in their cells, which, like brood cells in a beehive, bring forth in time, it may be workers, it may be drones, but all with potentialities which might fit them for office of King, Queen, or priest, if their services are required as such, and they can get the necessary mental food and training. But human beings do not require, like bees, to kill off all who are fit to be Queens. We must not carry our symbols or analogies too far, but remember that human beings are endowed with one faculty superior to any possessed by lower creatures, and in lower creatures we can find no symbol for the working of that faculty. So the human being, though qualified by birth for a high position, from a sense of duty and submission to the will of his Maker, is content to remain in the station of life where He has placed him but if an emergency arises he is found fit for the higher position. There may be thousands in Britain who can show descent from Royalty, and perhaps millions who have it without knowing it. These look upon the Queen as head of their family, whom they are bound to uphold at all costs. These do it from the innate *conductive* hereditary influence; but there may be others who have no such hereditary predisposition, they have acquired it through the *inductive* influence of serving in Army and Navy, who are Her Majesty's servants, or in a Church which is still joined to State, and therefore feels it a duty to uphold head of the State, and all who derive authority from her, remembering that the powers that be are ordained of God.

We must here take up the celibates, and those who from duty are called out of their cell to live for a time as celibates. Can Magnetism or Electricity produce a symbol for them?

Our original symbol of a steel bar magnetised by friction with two magnets helps us here. Some of these units may become like the needle of the compass pointing steadily to the pole, so that all who look at them learn how they should walk. Their influence does not extend far, I like a couple in the cell, but they may be good guides to those who come within that influence. This need not be the limit of their influence if they will be content to be bound together in associations. The magneto-electric machine gives us a model of a machine through which the unit magnet may, when combined with others, produce the same effects as the greatest series of couples in cells. Any number of magnets may be placed round the circumference of a wheel or cylinder which, revolving rapidly in front of numerous coils of copper wire, produces in them currents, which can be used in the same way as the intense currents produced by a large number of cells in series; the rapid revolution of the wheel or cylinder changes the statical Electricity of the magnet into dynamical electricity. To apply this to human beings: we find single men or women bound together by the framework of discipline, and kept continually on the move, may produce many effects, just as the magneto-electric machine may be used to give light. So single men or women, like Roman Ecclesiastics, bound together for the purposes of teaching, may be quite as efficient, and more ready for moving about the world to any place their light is required. So also as the magneto-electric machine current may be used in a metal girdle found a spot we wish to keep intruders from, by charging it with electricity which will give a deadly shock to an intruder, so soldiers or sailors, which form parts of the machines called Armies and Navies, guard nations. But as we cannot make a complete girdle of them, by their mobility as magnetic units we can readily set up the death-dealing, or protective machinery, in any part of our dominions, provided a stronger or better machine does not destroy ours. It is thus the British Army is kept efficient, by service in all parts of the world. The Navy is always on the move, but has not of late had so much fighting to do as the Army. It is rather like the protective girdle round British dominions, which warns intruders with its "*Noli me tangere*." Nations of old have felt the deadly shock, and at present none seem inclined to try another. But we must not live on tradition. Keep watching and ready, the discipline and work is good for the units; and when they may fairly claim the comforts of the cell—not the celibate cells of Rome, but of happy married life—their offspring will be the better men for the training their parents have had. If soldiers, sailors, and ecclesiastic always remained celibates there would be something wanting in a nation bred without their characteristics. Probably the clerical element is as strong as any in producing the dogged, persevering determination, which never knows when it is beaten, so characteristic of the Northern Protestant nations, and which is missing in the softer pleasure-loving Roman Catholic.

I must say a few words about Resistance, one of the troubles of the Electrician, in addition to the repelling

force of like magnetisms, internal resistance in the all where the two elements are not suited, or the acidulated water not of the right strength. There is no difficulty in applying this to ill-assorted couples, or insufficient sense of duty to the children; external resistance in the conducting wire, which may be too slight for the work or bad conducting material: so the human being may have a mind too small to take in his instructor's thoughts, or be of such bad materials that he won't try to take them in. And one word for the Commutator, which changes the direction of currents, and makes the—current do the same work as the +. There is One who controls the thoughts of men, if they will but give their thoughts to His work,; and experience gained in doing works of ignorance and carelessness may be changed into knowledge and carefulness about His work.

Where there are so many parallels as I have here cited between the workings of Electricity and of human beings, one is led to think the human actions are a consequence of Electricity in the matter composing their bodies. At present we cannot measure it in volts, ohms, or farads; more probably it is in the blood, but the chemists cannot find it; that is one of the problems for the future. Now, can any practical use be made of these symbols and parallels as shown here? I think they will be of great utility to those engaged in education and training of men and youths. It will account for outbursts of temper and resistance, and so lead to other methods being adopted. But Electricity will not account for all that we do not yet understand about the human race. There remain the spiritual influences. What part our departed ancestors have in these I dare not say, but I believe it is pretty large, especially when it is in union with the will of the Creator. We must add a little about Electricity as a transmitter of sympathetic vibrations. The great beauty of Electricity is the speed with which it acts, enabling it to record the faintest and speediest vibrations of sound or light. This is utilised in telephone, graphophone, and kinematograph. If two people want to exchange thoughts, no matter how far apart, let them go to nearest end of a telegraph wire which is connected up, and they can exchange thoughts. At present they must give money to pay for the labour employed, but that has nothing to do with the electric current, which is capable of carrying the I most heart-rending or most cheering intelligence, and so plunging the receivers into grief, or cheering them up. A good example of the latter, on a national scale, was Her Majesty's thanksgiving service and procession on Jubilee days. Those who knew London, and a London crowd, by the help of the telegraph, were inspired with a like enthusiasm at almost the same instant, though they may have been at the Antipodes. Fear of Anarchists, or rain to mar the procession and service, was in their minds. These were dispelled through Electricity, and we may well thank God for the gift.

I will now endeavour to summarise some of my results in what, I hope, may prove to be standard equation through which others may be solved.

Where we have so many parallels the question rises,; Is this a consequence of the influence of Electricity on the human being? Is it a part of the divine spiritual influence our great Teacher taught us to expect? Electricity, in its most intense forms of thunder and lightning, was by all nations considered a symbol of divine presence or interference, This has been neglected of late, as we do not now study the works of God as our ancestors did, before they had the Word of God. We trust entirely to the latter and our own interpretations of it, forgetting that the best interpreters of His Word are His works.

If electricity causes or modifies actions in the human races, we by study of it come one step nearer solution of the problems. Who and what were our ancestors? By what processes have we arrived at the state of development we are in now? And what further development has own Creator in store for us, so that we may join heartily in it? Not as the Mohammedan, who waits passively for what Allah sends him, but as intelligent children win wish to forward their Father's work, and whose wills are thus blended with His.

The induction coil I have already utilised as a symbol in "Creation with Development," which, perhaps, beginning at the wrong end, as so few know much about the working of Electricity and Magnetism; they are content to use it without studying the working. I hope this may simplify it, and enable people to take more interest in the working of this marvellous force so recently made known to us; and which brings us very close to the works of God and how He carries out His great designs, all known and planned beforehand by Him, and not the result of a chance called evolution.

If Electricity is not the force working in human beings it runs so closely parallel to it that it is quite worth studying in these days that we are so anxious to remove the stumbling-blocks which lead to dissension about Religion and disputes between nations.

Whitcomb and Tombs Ltd.

Front Cover

New Zealand Hemp.

New Zealand Department of Agriculture.

John D. Ritchie, Secretary.

Report by MR. JOHN HOLMES.

Also

Particulars Relating to Bonuses Now Offered.

coat of arms Wellington, N.Z. By Authority: John Mackay. Government Printer. 1899.

New Zealand Hemp, Kauri-Gum, Dairy Produce. Frozen Meat and other Industries

Wellington, New Zealand,

26th March, 1899.

DEAR SIR,—

It will be within your recollection that I had several pleasant interviews with you when visiting your city during my tour through Australia, South Africa, Europe, America, Canada, and British Columbia, in the order named, as special Commissioner of this colony to investigate the various markets of the world as affecting the produce exported from New Zealand.

Whilst placing on record the appreciation of the Government and my own personal thanks for the valuable assistance rendered to me by your good self, I now beg respectfully herewith to hand you copy of my official reports dated 30th March and 13th December, 1898, which I trust will be of interest to you. My letter of appointment from the Government, bearing date the 5th June 1897, is as follows:—

Premier's Office (Department of Agriculture), Wellington, N.Z.,

5th June, 1897.

THE bearer, Mr. John Holmes, has been appointed a special Fibre Commissioner to inquire into the fibre trade of the world as affecting this colony.

Any assistance rendered him will be received as a favour to the colony.

JOHN MCKENZIE, Acting Premier.

I also subjoin copy of letter dated 21st December, from the Minister, acknowledging my report, as follows:—

Department of Agriculture, Wellington, N.Z.,

21st December, 1898.

SIR,—

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 13th instant, covering your very interesting report on the New Zealand hemp and other industries.

I have carefully perused it, and with pleasure note that you have taken every opportunity in your travels of making the colony known. I trust, and indeed believe, that your mission will be productive of good to the colony, and, on behalf of my colleagues and myself, tender you our thanks. The report and other papers I have handed on to the Right Hon. the Premier for consideration by the Government.

I have, &c.,
JOHN MCKENZIE,
John Holmes, Esq.,

Wellington.

Minister for Agriculture.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION.

For upwards of sixteen months I was engaged in the special work intrusted to my care by the Government, and soon after my return to the colony in November, 1898, I was astonished to find there was a

misapprehension as to the special work in which I was engaged by the Government of this colony, this having been caused through a proof copy of *Hansard* No. 11, dated 5th August, 1898, not having undergone the usual revision. This copy of *Hansard* contained a reply of the Hon. the Minister for Agriculture to a question put by a member of the Opposition, the real meaning of such reply is contained in letter hereunder. This document may possibly have conveyed a wrong impression, for which purpose I regret to learn that many copies have been specially marked and freely circulated amongst many of my correspondents and friends throughout Australia, South Africa, Europe, America, Canada, and British Columbia, with the evident intention of discrediting my representation, and otherwise injuring me, although the full nature and intent of my appointment by the Government was universally known, and reported in every paper published in the colony.

As I have already received undoubted proof of the serious injury inflicted upon me owing to the false impression already conveyed by the malicious circulation of *Hansard*, I applied to the Hon. John McKenzie, Minister for Agriculture, for an explanation of his answer in the House of Representatives on the occasion referred to.

It is with pleasure that I now bear testimony to the prompt and generous response made by the Minister, who writes to me under date the 18th March, as follows:—

Office of the Minister of Lands, Wellington,

18th March, 1899.

DEAR SIR,—

Adverting to mine of the 21st December last, acknowledging the receipt of your valuable report on the hemp, kauri-gum, and other industries of the colony, I regret to learn that a false and manifestly unfair impression is sought to be made out of the answer given by me in the House of Representatives on the 5th August last, in reply to a question asked by Mr. Buchanan.

My reply meant to convey that you did not hold the position of a Civil servant under the Crown, or that you could in any way commit the colony to any engagement. It was, however, made quite clear that you were appointed a Special Commissioner by the Government for a specific purpose, *vide* letter of 5th June, 1897, wherein your position is clearly defined.

Recognising the good work so ably carried out by you, the Government has since your return supplemented by the substantial sum of £300 the amount originally paid towards your expenses.

Your report is now in the hands of the Government Printer, and will be ready for distribution next week.

I am cabling to the Agent-General asking him to correct as far as possible the wrong interpretation which has been placed on my reply.

Yours very truly,

JOHN MCKENZIE,
John Holmes, Esq.,

Wellington.

Minister for Agriculture.

I also attach copy of letter dated the 22nd March instant, addressed to me by the Secretary to the Department of Agriculture, as follows

Department of Agriculture, SIR,—
Wellington, N.Z.,

22nd March, 1899.

Adverting to the question asked in the House of Representatives on the 5th August last, whether any report had been received from you, and the Hon. the Minister's reply thereto: I have to say that he made the statement in good faith, as when he asked if any communication had come to hand the receipt of your report of the 30th March, 1898, was overlooked. As explained to you later, a summary of the report appeared in the *New Zealand Times* of the 16th May, and was widely circulated. It will be seen that this was nearly three months before the statement was made in the House.

I have, &c.,

JOHN D. RITCHIE, Secretary.
John Holmes, Esq.,

Wellington.

If any evidence were wanting to prove the validity of my appointment, no stronger testimony could be produced than the letters above quoted.

It is much to be regretted that petty trade jealousies and personal animosity should have so far outweighed the good taste of a certain representative of a competing firm as to warp his judgment to such an extent that he wilfully took this un-English and unfair advantage in the distribution and postage of a misleading *Hansard* report, which he scattered broadcast not only among the clients of his own firm but also specially singled out my correspondents, *with whom he had no connection whatever* carefully marking one paragraph which he knew would convey an impression *contrary to facts*, which latter were within his own knowledge.

I am, &c.,

JOHN HOLMES.

500/3/99–1995]

Bonuses for Encouragement of New Zealand Hemp (*Phormium Tenax*) Industry.—Notice No. 535.

[Extract from *New Zealand Gazette*, 23rd February, 1899.]

Department of Agriculture, Wellington,

13th February, 1899.

BONUS No. 1.

A Bonus of £1,750 is offered for a machine or process for dressing New Zealand hemp (*Phormium tenax*) which shall be an improvement on the machines or processes now in use, and which shall, after trial, be found to materially reduce the cost of production, improve the product, or increase the quantity of dressed fibre.

The following are the conditions:—

- All applications for the bonus must be addressed to the Hon. the Minister for Agriculture, Wellington, and must reach him not later than the 31st March, 1900. Each application must be accompanied by a description of the machine or process particularly stating improvements on present machines or processes, and also the cost at which the machine or process can be supplied.
- The applicants must be prepared to submit their machines or processes to examination at such time and place as the Government may direct.
- The Government shall appoint a committee of three or more experts, to whom all applications shall be submitted. Such committee shall, after perusal, state what machines or processes they deem worthy of consideration, and may inspect the same at any place within the colony; and, having so inspected the whole or any of them, may direct that the whole or any of them be brought for further trial to such place as they may think fit.

The cost of bringing the machines or appliances on to the ground, from within the colony, supplying the necessary shafting, motive-power, and buildings, to be defrayed by the Government. If any machine sent from beyond the colony is awarded the bonus or part thereof, then the cost of bringing such machine shall be borne by the Government.

The following shall be the basis of the test:—

The committee shall supply a sufficient and equal quantity of green hemp to each machine or process as a test.

The committee shall take into consideration—

- The time occupied by each machine or process in the operation;
- The cost of labour and time required after the fibre has left the machine or process before it is ready for bailing;
- The percentage of dressed fibre and tow produced by each machine or process;
- The cost of producing the same;
- The cost of the machine, and the simplicity and durability of the working parts.

On completion of the tests the committee shall furnish a report to the Minister on all the machines or processes which they have examined or tested, and shall state,—

- The machine or process which they consider on the whole the most efficient and economic.
- Whether they consider that any machine or process tested so materially reduces the cost of production, or improves the product, as to be worthy of the whole bonus or of a part only.
- Whether, in the event of no one machine or process being entitled to the whole bonus, they deem any machine or process worthy of a part of the bonus, and, if so, how much.

BONUS No. 2.

A bonus of £250 is offered for a process of utilising the waste products of the hemp.

The first three conditions of bonus No. 1 to apply to this also.

The committee shall supply a sufficient and equal quantity of the waste products to each process as a test.

On completion of the tests the committee shall report to the Minister, and shall give the following particulars of each process: (*a.*) The nature of the article made. (*b.*) The quantity produced, and the cost of production, (*c.*) The value of the product. (*d.*) Whether any of the processes are of sufficient importance to warrant the Minister in giving (1) the whole, or (2) any part, of the bonus; (3) if a part only, how much.

John McKenzie,
Minister for Agriculture.

New Zealand Hemp.

Report By Mr. John Holmes.

London,

30th March, 1898.

SIR,—

I have the honour to herewith hand you the accompanying preliminary reports upon the New Zealand hemp and kauri-gum trades.

It is within your knowledge that the completion of the authority intrusted to my care had its origin in the numerous petitions sent to Government during the months of May, June, and July, 1896. These were signed by the leading mercantile gentlemen throughout New Zealand, who were supported by many of the chambers of commerce, industrial associations, and agricultural societies in the colony, to all of whom I desire to express my appreciation for the confidence reposed in me.

In view of the fact that I shall have further evidence for the Government concerning the hemp industry, I have abstained from making any recommendations thereon at the present time.

Travelling through New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, and South Africa, it has been my good fortune to meet with the most cordial kindness from the various Ministers upon whom I called, and I always received a ready and willing help from the Government officials to whom I applied for information.

In London and the provinces I found the same generous feeling existing. I am specially indebted to Messrs. W. F. Malcolm and Co., Robinson, Fleming, and Co., John Haddon and Co., James Morrison and Co., Devitt and Hett, Lewis and Peat, Hoare, Marr, and Co., William Bennie and Co., with many other merchants and brokers in London, and also to Mr. Thomas J. W. Buckley, proprietor of the *Post* magazine, who devoted several articles in his valuable magazine to the advantages British insurance companies would gain by the investment of their accumulated funds in New Zealand mortgage and other securities. To the Lord Mayor of

Manchester, Mr. Bythel (chairman of the Ship-canal Company), and Mr. Matthew Wells (merchant) I am also indebted for many acts of courtesy extended to me during my visit to Lancashire.

I cannot conclude this letter without placing on record my best thanks for the kind assistance extended to me by your good self, as well as by your efficient staff, in the prosecution of my work during my stay in London.

I have, &c.,
Hon. W. P. Reeves,
JNO. HOLMES.
Agent-General for

New Zealand, London.

London,

30th March, 1898.

SIR,—

New Zealand Hemp.

I have the honour to place before you the result of my investigations concerning the New Zealand hemp industry. Under authority dated the 5th June, 1897, from the Hon. John McKenzie, Minister of Lands, I left Wellington on the 22nd July, 1897, proceeding by way of Auckland to Sydney, where I had the pleasure of waiting upon the Hon. the Minister of Agriculture, who kindly extended to me special facilities for inquiring into the development of fibre plants at the Hawkesbury College Farm. I found that only a limited area of ground was allotted to the cultivation of ramie, and, although the Principal of the college and Professor Musson expressed a special interest in that department of their work, they could not afford any reliable information as to the commercial value of ramie fibre. Professor Musson very kindly procured for me a few plants grown on the farm. These I immediately forwarded to the Secretary of the Agricultural Department, at Wellington. Returning to Sydney, I visited all the rope-and cordage-makers in the city and surrounding districts. Many of the manufacturers complained of the lack of uniformity in our hemp.

To Messrs. A. Forsyth and Co., rope-makers, of Sydney, I am indebted for some valuable information. Mr. Forsyth accompanied me to his works, and explained the difficulties his firm experienced in ordering certain classes of New Zealand hemp. As an illustration of these difficulties he pointed to several brands varying in colour and preparation, although bought under the same classification, and shipped from the one port. He strongly urged the importance of a general grading system, and the advantages to be gained by the adoption of a standard size of bale, as in the case of manila, which is always packed in two piculs, each bale weighing 2½ cwt., and universally accepted at eight bales to the ton, thereby avoiding the cost of handling and reweighing. He, however, advocated an increased weight for New Zealand hemp, stating that 3½cwt. bales would be a most suitable size. This opinion was confirmed by the other rope-and cordage-makers, all of whom evinced the deepest interest in my work, and promised extended orders for New Zealand fibre.

Going overland to Melbourne, I called upon the Acting-Premier, the Hon. I. A. Isaacs, who expressed a wish to assist my investigations. To the Hon. Minister for Agriculture I am indebted for special facility in travelling throughout the colony. Mr. Martin, Secretary of the department, offered every assistance he could, and informed me of the experiments made by the Agricultural Department in its endeavours to raise ramie, for which he thought the climate and soil of Victoria was suitable. He is, however, of opinion that only two crops can be obtained in a year, as against four crops in India. Mr. Martin referred to the difficulty of getting suitable machinery for decorticating the fibre and preparing it for market. I was able to show him the varied samples of manufactured material made from ramie-fibre prepared by the Rhea Fibre Treatment Company (Limited), under what is known as the "Gomess process."

Visiting the works of James Miller and Co., Melbourne, and Messrs. Donaghy and Sons, of Geelong, I had the advantage of seeing and hearing the objections raised by practical men to our hemp. These were chiefly based on the same lines as expressed by Messrs. Forsyth and Co. Messrs. Donaghy and Sons, however, informed me that it was their desire to use as much as possible of New Zealand fibre, providing they could in future depend upon a continuity of a standard quality, especially as to colour and preparation. They informed me that, wherever introduced, the binder-twine made from New Zealand hemp gave the utmost satisfaction;

other difficulties, however, existed in increasing its consumption. Here it is instructive to learn that manufacturers sell to merchants binder-twine made from manila and New Zealand hemp. Such sales are made on a basis of 10 per cent, discount or commission. Manila being the dearer of the two, preference is given to push its sale with the consumer, for the obvious reason that 10 per cent, on manila at 5¹/₄d. per pound is better than the same commission on New Zealand hemp at 3³/₄d. per pound. Notwithstanding the fact that manila is longer to the pound weight, still there is a large saving in favour of the use of New Zealand hemp twine. The smaller rope-makers in Victoria expressed a wish to have a standard bale and a more uniform colour, which latter is essential to the successful manufacture of clothes-lines, halters, and plough-reins.

Continuing my overland journey to South Australia, I visited Adelaide, where I was cordially received by the Hon. Dr. Cockburn, Minister for Agriculture, who generously assisted me in every possible way. Upon inquiry I found that no fibre was raised in that colony for export or manufacturing purposes. Visiting the rope-works in the city, I ascertained that the objection raised by the mill-managers was directed towards the "towy" appearance of the fibre, due to want of care in "stripping" the green blade. Complaints were also made of the lack of uniformity in colour and preparation. As an instance of this, they pointed to two lots of the same brand of hemp bought at the same time, but shipped from New Zealand at intervals of one month. Both parcels varied considerably in stripping, scutching, and bleaching.

Learning that South Africa was importing American binder-twine and other cordage, and that there was a prospect of extending trade with that colony, on the principle that "the path of duty is the path of safety," I altered my plans, and took passage in the s.s. "Culgoa," the first steamer sailing for Cape Town. Upon my arrival I called upon the principal ironmongers in the city, who, although they had never previously heard of binder-twine made from New Zealand hemp, promised to send some trial orders to the colony for the following season's supplies. I have reason to believe that these have since gone forward to the colony.

Arriving in London on the 28th October, I immediately set to work prosecuting my inquiries anent the hemp industry. I found no little difficulty in obtaining reliable information, and experienced some opposition in my endeavours to procure the best evidence. While there appeared to be a desire to assist me in eliciting the information I sought, at the outset there existed some doubt as to how far it was wise to disclose fuller details. I had very many interviews before my would-be helpers felt Assured that I had no desire to upset or interfere in any way with the present system of conducting the fibre trade.

In my earlier visits to gentlemen interested in the imports I was astonished to hear nothing but eulogiums about the excellent quality of New Zealand hemp. For some time these praises were bestowed upon our fibre; but when I ventured to suggest that the diminishing demand—apart altogether from the falling prices—did not exhibit that appreciation of the improved quality referred to, I was met with the instructive answer that if New Zealand would send regular standard qualities, and would sell subject to the usual arbitration clause upon which manila and sisal fibres were bought, there would be a largely increasing demand for New Zealand hemp.

I had the pleasure of interviewing several rope-makers, urging the claims of New Zealand hemp. I elicited various recommendations, and I many promises that future orders would embrace the colony, notwithstanding the fact that the "spot stocks" had decreased from 1,500 tons on the 30th September, 1896, to 1,073 tons on the 30th September, 1897, which were still further reduced to 926 tons on the 30th November, 1897, There was little or no sale for several months prior to my arrival, the nominal market values ranging from £13 10s. to £14, c.i.f., London.

It is with pleasure I point to the improved prices that have since taken place. Messrs. W. F. Malcolm and Co., reporting upon New Zealand, under date the 21st March, says, *inter alia*, "The market is exceedingly firm, and holders are asking £20 for parcels on spot." It will I am sure be a matter of satisfaction to you to know that cash-buying orders for many hundreds of tons of hemp have been cabled to New Zealand during the present year, the prices offered being in excess of quotations prevailing for a long period before.

Manufacturers' and Brokers' Reports.

The many manufacturers and brokers upon whom I waited from time to time expressed the opinion that by the adoption of a grading system, and, if possible, a standard weight of bale, greater confidence would be gained in the more general use of the fibre, and increased trade would follow. I enclose letters from Messrs. W. F. Malcolm and Co., Frost Brothers (Limited), and Messrs. Hawkins and Tipson and Hoare, Marr, and Co., which speak for themselves, and require no further comment from me.

Bonuses of £1,750 and £250.

In the hope that a wider circulation of the terms on which the above bonuses were offered for an improved process of preparing New Zealand hemp would increase the number of competitors, I made known, through the

medium of the Press, in every city and town I reached the conditions attaching thereto. This involved heavy correspondence, and a very large number of interviews with engineers, machinists, and chemists, several of whom are now experimenting on the green leaf. Many of them were quite enthusiastic, and regretted that they were not in possession of the information before. At their own expense they obtained samples of *Phormium tenax* from Cornwall and other places. Mr. William Parkinson writes as per letter of 6th January (enclosed).

Gomess Process.

So much has been written upon this process that I felt it my duty to make a special effort to attend at the experimental works outside London. After several interviews with the Rhea Fibre Treatment Company (Limited), I visited the works with the secretary of the company, who introduced me to Dr. Gomess. This gentleman informed me that he had already made several unsuccessful experiments with New Zealand flax (as he described it), the true nature of which he frankly admitted he did not quite understand. On explaining to him that New Zealand hemp was *Phormium tenax* he became very interested, and, having exhibited a small sample of Native-dressed fibre (for which I am indebted to Mr. Hone Heke, M.H.R.), he expressed the opinion that there was a great future for an improved and extended use of the plant. He thereupon promised to make further experiments, and report the result. I strongly recommended his perusal of Dr. Hector's excellent work on *Phormium tenax*. Notwithstanding several efforts and special letters written on the subject, I have not yet received any report as to the result of his experiments. His letter of the 25th January, 1898, is attached hereto, which gives the reason for the delay.

Provinces.

Having many inquiries from Lancashire, at the first available moment I visited Manchester, Accrington, Stockport, Warrington, and surrounding districts, where I made known as widely as possible the objects of my mission.

At the special invitation of his Lordship the Mayor of Manchester, I had the pleasure of attending a semi-public lunch in the Town Hall, where, in response to an invitation, I had the privilege and pleasure of briefly reviewing the history of the colony, pointing to the many advantages New Zealand offered to Britain's sons seeking a home beyond the seas. A suggestion was made by Mr. Bythel, the chairman of the Shipcanal Company, that New Zealand might, with advantage to its export trade in wool, frozen meat, tinned meats, butter, and cheese, consider the advisableness of developing closer trade relations with Lancashire and surrounding districts by way of the Ship-canal, which he claimed could serve the growing population (now numbering eight millions of people) more effectively than by the present system of shipment *viâ* London. Replying to this, I assured the meeting that the Government were always ready and willing to assist the settlers in New Zealand to find profitable outlets for their produce, and I ventured to recommend that whenever the Manchester people could place before you some definite workable scheme for submission to the Government you would be found ready and willing to assist in any movement that had for its object the improvement of the colony generally. I humbly suggested that if the advantages of the Ship-canal, so ably set forth by the various speakers, were placed before the trading communities in the outer world, such information would assist in accomplishing the end so much desired. The example already set by the Wholesale Co-operative Society of Manchester in sending their delegates to New Zealand might be followed in the joint interests of the Ship-canal and Corporation.

I assured the meeting that, as New Zealand had chosen a Lancashire man as Premier of the colony, they could rest assured the Right Hon. E. J. Seddon would have the fullest sympathy with any proposal from his native land.

It is with pleasure I refer to the accompanying cutting from the *Manchester Guardian* of the 23rd instant, referring to the appointment of a special committee now visiting Canada in the joint interests of the Manchester Corporation and the Ship-canal Company. I also understand that it is not improbable that a similar committee will be appointed to visit New Zealand.

General Produce.

My long association with and interest in the export of New Zealand produce must be my excuse for devoting a portion of my time in advocating the excellence of our increasing shipments of wool, frozen meat, and dairy produce. Knowing that the ravages of the rinderpest in South Africa was diminishing the meat-supply of that country, and learning that Cape Town had just begun to import frozen meat, I called upon the principal importers of frozen meat and dairy produce in that city. After a very lengthy interview, I was surprised to hear that Victorian shippers were supplying merino mutton at 3d. per pound, c.i.f., and that an offer of 2¾d. per

pound had then been made by cable for future supplies. The duty of 2d. per pound limited the consumption in Cape Town, but heavy consignments were going forward under bond to Johannesburg, where the duty was only 7½ per cent, *ad valorem*.

New cold-storage was then being erected at Durban, Natal, for the reception of frozen meat landed at that port.

The shipping facilities extended by the Government in Victoria have assisted shippers in availing themselves of the new outlet in South Africa, the freight contracts for frozen meat and dairy produce to London embracing delivery at all ports of call without extra charge.

General Remarks.

While conducting inquiries and supplying information as to the New Zealand hemp trade generally, I never failed to seize every opportunity I could of advancing the interests of New Zealand amongst the many financial, shipping, insurance, and commercial men I had the pleasure of meeting.

Conclusion.

Such, in general outline, is a brief report of my humble efforts, put forth with all the zeal and earnestness I could command, to carry out the mission intrusted to me by the Government.

I have, &c.,
Hon. W. P. Reeves,
JOHN HOLMES.
Agent-General for

New Zealand, London.

33, Drayton Gardens, South Kensington,

25th January, 1898.

DEAR SIR,—

I am in receipt of yours of the 12th instant. I must apologize for not having answered it before, but I have been suffering from an attack of influenza, and have only just recovered.

I am surprised to learn that Mr. Collins has not sent you the promised samples yet. I will take an early opportunity to see him about it, and have them sent on without further delay.

I have begun the experiments with the New Zealand hemp, but cannot let you know the results definitely till they are completed. It is rather a long affair, and will take a little time.

Many thanks for letting me know where I can obtain the raw material,

Yours, &c.,

J. Holmes, Esq.
A. F. BILDERBECK GOMESS.

31A, Spring Gardens, Manchester,

6th January, 1898.

DEAR SIR,—

Enclosed please find sample of ramie treated under our process. The sample is very fine and soft, and procured from the raw bark with a loss of about 30 per cent., and at a very small cost in treatment. It can be produced with a longer staple and not quite so fine a count at a loss of about 20 percent.—that is, from the raw to the heckled. Kindly compare this with other processes, under which you will find a loss of from 50 per cent, to 75 per cent., and the fibre left not so soft and pliable.

The advantages claimed for this treatment of ramie and rhea are—(1) Cheapness; (2) the non-injury to the fibre; (3) the procuring of a longer staple after heckling, and the adaptability to flax and other long-staple

machinery; (4) after decortication, when in the ribbon state, it can be prepared for the market on the plantation, where water is convenient.

Other stalks and leaf-fibres can be prepared for the market by this method.

Yours, &c.,

J. Holmes, Esq.
WILLIAM PARKINSON.

36, Leadenhall Street, London, E.C.,

4th April, 1898.

DEAR SIR,—

We have received your letter of the 1st instant regarding New Zealand hemp, and have pleasure in giving you the following replies:—

- It would certainly be advantageous to have a general system of grading in New Zealand. Of course, the hemp would still continue to be distinguished by the place of its production, as, for example, Auckland and Wellington, which we have generally found to be hemp of two distinct characters.
- We would recommend the following classes: Fine, good, good fair, and fair. These, we think, should be sufficient for all practical purposes.
- The advantages of a uniform size for bales would be that buyers and sellers could deal for the hemp in bales instead of tons, a system which is found very convenient in hemp business with Manila, Mexico, Bombay, &c. Moreover, if the bales were all of one uniform weight, or nearly so, expenses might be spared in landing and weighing at the port of discharge, as is the case with manila hemp, where only 10 per cent, of the parcel is weighed for average, and the invoice based upon the result. This saves the cost of landing and weighing, and enables 90 per cent, of the hemp to be put overside into a lighter and transhipped at a cost of only 2s. 6d. a ton.
- We have no very well defined opinion regarding the size of hanks and the number of these in each bale. We would only say that on the whole we prefer hanks to be of only medium size, and certainly dislike large hanks.
- There would be no objection to bales of cwt. each.; in fact, we think that would be a very good size. If this size is adopted it would be desirable that the bales should be all of one form and the same length and breadth, so that freight from London to continental ports and elsewhere could be easily arranged with the ship-brokers, just as is the case with manila hemp, jute, &c., which are favourite articles with steamer people here, because they know exactly how they would stow.
- The advantage to the New Zealand shipper in selling on the London arbitration clause would probably be that he would get a better price. No one can sell New Zealand hemp on the market here without giving a guarantee with London arbitration. If a corresponding guarantee is not obtainable from the New Zealand shipper the seller here has naturally to add something to the price to compensate him for his risk.

We hope you will find the above sufficient for your purposes. If there are any other points upon which you wish our opinion we shall be very glad to furnish the same on hearing from you.

We note from a remark outside of your envelope that our market report of the 1st November is missing. We have the pleasure to enclose another copy.

Yours, &c.,

John Holmes, Esq.
W. F. MALCOLM AND CO.

11, London Street, Fenchurch Street, B.C.,

1st April, 1898.

DEAR SIR,—

In reply to your favour of the 29th ultimo, we have examined the sample of New Zealand hemp, and consider it of excellent quality. Kindly let us know the price, and who would be the best people to procure it from.

With reference to your inquiry, we would suggest that the bales should weigh 2½ cwt. each, the measurement of which is about 2 ft. 5 in. by 2ft. 3 in. by 2 ft., and put up in hanks similar to the one sent us.

Our trade with New Zealand is not at present a large one, so if you could give us any information as to the names of some of the leading rope-buyers we should be much obliged.

We are, &c.,

Frost Brothers (Limited),

John Holmes, Esq.
H. BELL.

48-51, Minories, London, E.C.,

16th March, 1898.

DEAR SIR,—

We have your letter of yesterday, as also the sample of hemp referred to therein. We have carefully examined it, and consider it very good quality indeed, being of nice length, good colour, and fair strength, while, above all, it is well cleaned.

We should recommend two grades as being sufficient, and that the bales be made up of a uniform weight of 2½cwt., or eight to the ton, as in the case of manila hemp, but the size of the hanks is immaterial.

Yours, &c.,

John Holmes, Esq.
HAWKINS and TIPSON.

26 and 27, Budge Row, Cannon Street, E.C.,

31st March, 1898.

DEAR SIR,—

New Zealand Hemp.

We are in receipt of your favour of the 28th instant, also sample of New Zealand hemp, the quality of which is most excellent, leaving little to be desired, and the same would always command a ready sale.

In reply to your queries,—

- A grading system of quality would, we think, be advantageous—say, fine, bright colour, fine, soft, and clean; good, good colour, clean, and free from seed; fair, fair colour, and as clean as possible—upon which contracts might be made and guarantees given.
- Special size of bales: The size lately shipped—say, 3 cwt. to 4 cwt.—is found generally convenient, but it would be an advantage if the system were adopted of packing all bales of uniform size and weight. I would suggest that 400 lb. (3 cwt. 2 qr. 8 lb.), same as jute, would be the most convenient size for handling and stowing.
- Size of hanks is not of much importance, that now in general use being quite convenient.
- Style of packing: Press-packed bales, such as have lately been imported, are quite satisfactory.

We consider that New Zealand hemp is a most valuable fibre, and, although its use has been somewhat restricted of late, owing to the unprecedentedly low price of manila, there will always be a fair demand for it a few pounds below that of manila.

The preparation of the fibre has of late years been much improved to what it formerly was, and we would still urge the importance of cleaning the fibre as well as possible, as the better it is cleaned the higher will be the price realised.

If we can afford you any further information we shall be most happy to do so.

Yours, &c.,

Hoare, Marr, and Co.,
John Holmes, Esq.
J. HUTCHINSON.

Final Report.

Wellington,

13th December, 1898.

SIR,—

I have the honour to forward herewith my final report on New Zealand hemp and other industries.

In accordance with the instructions contained in your letter of authority, dated the 5th June, 1897, I made an extensive tour of Australia, South Africa, England, Ireland, Scotland, America, Canada, and British Columbia.

The result of my investigations will be found in the report dated the 30th March last, furnished to the Agent-General in London for transmission to the Government, and now supplemented in the accompanying document, which completes sixteen months of very arduous work undertaken by me on behalf of the colony.

My official investigations of the hemp and kauri-gum industries, together with the general publicity of statistics regarding the exports and imports of New Zealand which I caused to be inserted in all the leading newspapers published in the many cities throughout the world, entailed lengthy correspondence, considerable outlay in postages and telegrams, and other disbursements incidental to the numerous interviews I had with leading business-men.

The continuous travelling by land and sea involved me in heavy expense, far beyond my original estimate. Apart from the time and service which I freely gave in proclaiming the many advantages possessed by this colony I find that the cash outlay for bare expenses has exceeded by £750 the small allowance already extended to me.

In further evidence of the completeness of the work carried out by me, I have pleasure in quoting the following extract from Mr. Kennaway's letter, dated the 3rd September, 1898: "I feel sure that the active and energetic manner in which you have endeavoured to advance the interests of the colony has, and will, bear good fruit."

I also beg to subjoin copy of letter of even date herewith just received from Mr. Harold Beauchamp, senior partner in the well-known firm of Messrs. W. M. Bannatyne and Co., of this city:—

Wellington,

13th December, 1898.

DEAR SIR,—

As one who did not advocate your appointment as New Zealand Commissioner empowered by the Government to visit various countries and report upon the possibilities that exist in respect to trade in hemp (*Phormium tenax*) manufactured in this colony—believing no tangible good would accrue from such a mission—I nevertheless cheerfully bear testimony to the extraordinary zeal and energy you displayed in the performance of your duties in England, Scotland, Ireland, the United States, and Canada, in all of which countries I happened to be travelling concurrently with you.

In the numerous and lengthy speeches you delivered (all very fully reported in the newspapers) you did not confine your remarks to hemp, but dealt with the whole of the colony's products, its resources, its field as an investment for capital, and the opportunities that present themselves for an interchange of commodities. In fact, I do not hesitate to say that no one could have been more active or intelligent in advertising New Zealand than yourself.

—I am, &c.,

HAROLD BEAUCHAMP.

John Holmes, Esq., City.

I have, &c.,

JOHN HOLMES.

Hon. John McKenzie, Minister of Lands,

Wellington.

Wellington,

20th November, 1898.

SIR—

New Zealand Hemp.

Supplementing my report of the 30th March last, I have now the honour to place before you the results of my further investigations throughout Scotland, Ireland, America, Canada, and British Columbia.

Visiting Edinburgh early in July, I called upon several rope and twine dealers. The leading manufacturers are established at Leith. The Roperie Company (Limited), of that city, suggested the advisableness of regular grading, classification, and the establishment of a standard weight for each bale. I subsequently visited Dundee, and while there I inspected various jute and other mills, and, in discussion with many of the proprietors, suggested the use of New Zealand hemp as warps for carpets. A few of the manufacturers expressed the opinion that tow might be utilised for this purpose, and promised to make experiments therewith.

The rope- and cordage-makers of Dundee complained of the variation in the quality of our fibre, which I was assured would have continued in demand had there been any reasonable standard maintained by the millers in the colony. As a consequence, the rope-makers turned their attention to other fibres the quality of which was more uniform. Through the special kindness of Mr. James Williams, of Messrs. William Williams and Sons, distillers, of Aberdeen, I had favourable opportunities of supplying the larger importers and exporters of the Granite City with the fullest information concerning New Zealand trade generally.

Woolsacks, Cornsacks, and Gunny-bags.

I had several pleasant interviews with Mr. N. Lockhart, of Edinburgh, who referred at some length to the experiments made about twenty-eight years ago in the successful manufacture at Dundee of woolpacks, grain-bags, coal-bags, canvas, hammocking, damask, sheeting, towelling, gaskin, sail-twine and yarn, all of which were made from New Zealand hemp. In response to my request, Mr. Lockhart wrote me the following letter, which I feel sure will be read with great interest:—

Ettrick Tower, Spylaw Road, Edinburgh,

9th July, 1898.

DEAR SIR,—

Re *New Zealand Phormium Tenax*.

Referring to our conversation of to-day, I beg to state that about twenty-eight years ago the New Zealand Government appointed a Commission to proceed to the different centres of flax industries. They visited several of the most important ones, and also consulted the Chamber of Commerce of Dundee, who reported to them that *Phormium tenax* was unfit for textile fabrics, and only suitable for rope and twine, and there the matter dropped.

Notwithstanding this unfavourable report, I was convinced in my own mind that *Phormium tenax* could be utilised for textile fabrics, and wrote to the late Dr. Featherston, Agent-General of New Zealand, who sent me 15 bales of Native-dressed fibre. The same were distributed amongst the following spinners and manufacturers—namely, Messrs. Edwards and Co.; Small and Boase, of Dundee; Findlayson and Bousfield, of Johnston; Forbes, of Arbroath; and N. and N. Lockhart, of Kirkcaldy, who successfully manufactured the following articles: Woolpacks, grain-bags, coal-bags, canvas, hammocking, damask, sheeting, towelling, gaskin, sale-twine and yarn, from 2¼lb. to 30lb. per spindle; also stuff for two dresses for Lady Ferguson, wife of Sir James Ferguson, Governor of New Zealand. The warp was silk and cotton, the weft *Phormium tenax*. The above articles were exhibited at the Dundee Albert Institute, and afterwards transferred to the Colonial Institute, London, where they are still to be seen.

I may mention that Sir John Leng, William Martin (chairman of the Dundee Chamber of Commerce), and other gentlemen interested in the flax industry, expressed their surprise and satisfaction that such progress had

been made in the utilising of *Phormium tenax*.

The yield of New Zealand flax is 80 per cent, of line and 15 per cent. tow. The tow is more valuable than line for spinning purposes. The yield of one leaf of New Zealand flax is from 1 oz. to 5 oz.

I believe I am correct in stating that your importations of Dundee and Calcutta goods amount to £200,000 annually, and that of Australia double, and that you export annually about 3,000 tons of flax. Why not manufacture these articles yourselves, which will benefit your country generally?

Should you require any more information in connection with this matter I shall be only too pleased to assist you.

I am, &c.,

John Holmes, Esq.,

Edinburgh.

NINIAN LOCKHART.

At Glasgow I called upon the leading rope-makers, whose large mills are situated some distance from the city. I regret to say that there seems to be a strong prejudice against the use of New Zealand hemp, owing to some previous unsatisfactory experience in the purchase of our fibre, which upon examination proved to be very inferior, and below the standard purchased. Notwithstanding my assurance that the general preparation of hemp had much improved during the last few years, I could not induce the manufacturers to promise any orders, although they admitted that for many purposes New Zealand hemp of good quality was just as useful as manila, and had the advantage of being cheaper.

Belfast.

I visited the Belfast Rope-works, but I regret to say that I had not an opportunity of meeting the manager, Mr. Smiles, to whom, however, I subsequently wrote asking for information. His reply is attached hereto. To the Lord Mayor of this enterprising city, as well as to Mr. S. McCausland, seed-merchant, and many other gentlemen, I owe my acknowledgements for valuable assistance and many acts of kindness.

Neither Dublin nor Cork had any rope-and cordage-factories of any magnitude. To the Lord Mayor of Dublin—Sir Reginald Guinness, Bart.—Sir John Power and Son, and to Mr. Alfred Barnard, of Glenalmond, South Norwood, who was visiting Ireland at the time, I am indebted for valuable information and great kindness.

New York.

During my visit to New York I called upon the Mayor of the city Mr. Van Wyck, who advised the leading newspapers of the object of my mission. He also took some trouble to acquaint manufacturers, engineers, and merchants, several of whom called upon me to obtain information as to the trade of New Zealand.

Many inventors exhibited the keenest interest in obtaining from me the terms and conditions of the bonuses of £1,750 and £250 respectively offered by the New Zealand Government in connection with a better preparation of *Phormium tenax*. As evidence of the special interest displayed by many engineers, chemists, and inventors, I select a few out of the many letters addressed to me relating to hemp. From these you will gather that there are quite a number willing to devote their time, money, and skill in evolving a process that would be worthy of the Government prizes of £2,000.

Washington.

This beautiful city was reached on Saturday evening, the 24th September. Armed with your kind letter of introduction, I called upon Mr. Wilson, Secretary of the Department of Agriculture, who expressed great pleasure on hearing of the general prosperity of New Zealand. In answer to my inquiries as to the results of the department's progress in the cultivation of various fibre plants, I was astonished to learn that the experimental operations were discontinued in Washington, but the Department of Agriculture were assisting in similar operations in California.

From the printed reports kindly furnished by Mr. Wilson I find that *Phormium tenax* has been grown in California for several years, and thrives in many localities; in some cases its green leaves are used instead of rope for tying vines. This, however, is of limited extent, and, so far-as I could understand, the cultivation of the plant is on a very restricted scale.

Among other uses to which New Zealand dressed fibre has been put, Mr. Charles Richard Dodge, in reporting, on the 9th February, 1893, to the United States Department of Agriculture, states, "The New Zealand flax fibre has been used in the construction of the 'staff' or outer covering of the principal World's Fair Buildings at Chicago. It is used to toughen and hold together the plaster and other materials which, when combined, form this building material."

The cultivation in America of *Phormium tenax* is not likely to develop into any commercial value, and no competition in that direction need be considered.

Kentucky Hemp.

Several unsuccessful attempts have been made to revive the cultivation of Kentucky hemp. About forty years ago nearly 75,000 tons were produced. This has steadily diminished, until, in 1895, something under 5,000 tons were raised.

Manila and Sisal Fibres.

It was difficult to obtain any reliable figures as to the lowest cost at which these fibres can be profitably produced, but it is instructive to peruse Mr. Stuart's report to the Bahamian Government, which is contained in Report No. 5 of the United States Department of Agriculture. Referring to sisal, it reads as follows: "The yield of fibre per acre is from 1,000lb. to 1,470 lb. per annum. The number of plants usually set out in an acts is 750, giving an average of 33 leaves for each plant, and from 50lb. to 70 lb. of clean fibre for each 1,000 leaves. Making an average calculation of 650 plants to the acre, 33 leaves from each plant, yielding 60lb. of fibre, to the 1,000 leaves, the return would be as follows: $33 \times 650 = 21,450$ leaves, yielding $60 \times 21\ 450/1000 = 1,287$ lb. clean fibre per annum."

In view of the small percentage of clean fibre obtained from the sisal-plant, and the length of time occupied in its preparation, together with the heavy outlay for machinery and plant, I see no reason why New Zealand hemp should not be able to successfully compete with sisal in supplying the requirements of binder-twine and cordage manufacturers. Notwithstanding the fact that both fibres were occasionally sold at very low figures, it was contended that producers must net the following figures, c.i.f., London: Fair current manila, £23 per ton; sisal, £16 per ton: and if these figures were maintained no large supply could be depended on. Like our own hemp, the increased production depends largely upon the improved prices obtained therefor.

I also found that, although the supply of the two fibres had increased during the past ten years, the extension of trade in the manufacture of rope, cordage, and binder-twine had kept pace with the supply.

Relative Strength of Fibres.

To Messrs. Frost Brothers, rope-manufacturers and yarn-spinners, of London, I am indebted for the following tabulated statement, showing the relative strength of five different fibres:—

TESTS of the following FIBERS, Fifty Yams of each Fibre, all spun 25-thread, and by the same Machinery, showing the Average of each Ten Yarns.

Summary.

President McKinley.

At the special invitation of Mr. Wilson, Secretary to the Department of Agriculture, I had the distinguished honour of being presented to the President of the United States of America. Mr. McKinley was gracious enough to extend to me a warm welcome, as the representative of a British colony. He expressed the hope that the result of my visit would lead to a more extended trade between the United States and New Zealand, and added that the colony has shown great enterprise in sending a Trade Commissioner round the world to disseminate and gather useful and valuable information.

Boston.

I arrived in this city on the 30th September, and soon after called upon the Mayor, Mr. Josiah Quincy, to whom I am indebted for many acts of kindness during my stay in the city.

I also paid a visit to the Plymouth Cordage Company, and interviewed Mr. E. D. Yer Planck, a large broker in the trade. He has written me as follows, viz.:—

Boston, Mass.,

8th October, 1898.

DEAR SIR,—

I take the liberty of addressing you in regard to New Zealand hemp, and outlining my views as to the measures I think producers should take to make the hemp a permanently saleable article in the fibre markets of America.

We have suffered from irregular quality; and, while allowances have been made for imperfections, such allowances do not reimburse manufacturers when, owing to the great distance of the place of production, they cannot replace poor parcels of hemp with good quality in time for their needs.

New Zealand hemp will never replace manila for cordage purposes, as the strength of the latter will always be in its favour; but it might easily take a better position in twice manufactures, where only a certain strength is required, and in doing so it might easily offset or replace a large quantity of sisal hemp.

In making twine the chief object is to obtain a free-running clean fibre. Sisal is particularly so, and New Zealand fibre must be the same. New Zealand fibre will always be at some disadvantage over sisal owing to the great distance of the producing country, and, to offset this and other objections to New Zealand fibre, I think the following are the main points to be observed: First, a uniform, reliable, and responsible grading of the hemp, so that buyers can always count upon getting what they buy; second, the production in large quantities of a hemp of good colour, free from straw, and perfectly free from tow.

The above points, if rigidly observed by the manufacturers of hemp, would produce confidence in this country, and allow the manufacturers to go to the trouble and expense of introducing and establishing brands of rope and twine for which they could always be certain of having a reliable and abundant supply of raw material.

New Zealand is now a secondary fibre, used only when other fibres are scarce and high. It has always disappeared when sisal and manila were low. It should be able to remain in the markets at any and all prices. To-day, when all fibres are high, is the time for New Zealand producers to step forward and, with a superior grade of hemp, command attention. The world is now using about all the sisal and manila produced in normal times, resulting in high prices. The war has shut off a large part of the manila production, and the time is most opportune for New Zealand to again enter the American market. It depends upon the New Zealand hemp-grower whether or not his product is to again disappear entirely from the market with the return of low prices for sisal and manila.

In working New Zealand hemp tow is the greatest objection. The method of decortication, as described by you, seems to me to be one that would create tow. The fibre is too soft to warrant the scutching process as applied to manila hemp in our mills, and we must therefore look to the producer to make the scutching here unnecessary.

Trusting the above will be of some service to you in your efforts,

I am, &c.,

Mr. John Holmes,
Government Commissioner of

New Zealand, Montreal, Canada.

E. D. VER PLANCK.

I also received the following letter from him:—

Boston, Mass.,

14th October, 1898.

DEAR SIR,—

Your favour of the 10th instant at hand.

The imports of manila into America last year were about 457,000 bales. Of sisal there were imported, during 1898, 439,000 bales, and exported 11,000, leaving a balance in this country of 427,000 bales.

During last summer I think about 83/94,000 tons of binder-twine were made.

I trust the above is what you want. The answer to your letter has been delayed owing to my absence in New York.

I am, &c.,
Mr. John Holmes,
E. D. VER PLANCK.
Government Commissioner of

New Zealand, Montreal, Canada.

This information is most valuable. Read in conjunction with the other opinions expressed by competent authorities, it clearly demonstrates the necessity for the compulsory grading of our hemp.

Bonuses of £1,750 and £250.

Many machinists and engineers called upon me to obtain full particulars of the conditions set forth in the *Gazette* notice, and information in regard to the export of fibre, value thereof, area under hemp, average yield per annum, and generally all the information I could supply.

General Imports and Exports.

Many gentlemen sought information concerning our exports in kauri-gum, hemp, rabbit-skins, and other produce, while a much larger number invited me to supply figures as to the volume of our general imports.

Canada—Montreal.

Arriving at Montreal on the 7th October, I waited upon his Worship the Mayor, and visited several manufacturers, brokers, and shippers. I also met a large number of the leading business-men at the Board of Trade, and discussed with them the general prospects of commerce with New Zealand.

Many manufacturers expressed a wish to ship their goods to New Zealand. With this object in view I supplied the names of the principal importers of their respective manufactures throughout the colony. I was assured that Canada was able to compete with other manufacturing countries in the supply of cotton goods, boots and shoes, all classes of printing paper, office furniture, agricultural implements, lumber of all kinds, doors, sashes, &c.; while from British Columbia canned and frozen salmon would form an increasing export to this colony.

New Zealand Hemp.

In company with Mr. J. A. Kohol, resident partner of Messrs. B. S. Thompson and Co., general merchants, of Montreal, I waited upon the Cordage Company of that city. The manager received us very graciously, and he expressed the hope that the result of my visit would remove the prejudice that existed against the purchase of New Zealand hemp. He frankly admitted that our fibre was very suitable for many purposes, especially for binder-twine. I was gratified to hear from such an excellent authority that New Zealand could always rely upon a regular outlet for its fibre at market rates, providing that a continuity of a reliable article could be assured. He also gave me to understand that rope-and cordage-makers throughout America and Canada were for many reasons desirous of buying New Zealand hemp, not the least important being that a fuller supply of *Phormium tenax* enabled manufacturers to control the prices of sisal, while at the same time it assisted them in fixing contracts with vendors of binder-twine, thereby insuring the full employment of their own mills.

Upon my suggestion that he should send a trial order to the colony, he replied that his previous experience of some seven years ago was so unsatisfactory that he did not care to venture until he could be positively assured that supplies equal to the sample I submitted could be guaranteed. Notwithstanding the fact that New Zealand hemp had just been offered at 5¾ cents per pound, c.i.f., as against sisal at 8 cents per pound, he would not again venture to order our fibre until he was positively assured that a uniform quality would be supplied.

Rates of Freight.

I am personally indebted to Mr. P. G. Shaughnessy, vice-president of the Canadian Pacific Railway, for special facilities extended to me in the furtherance of my mission.

Attached hereto is a copy of a letter, dated the 12th October, from the Freight Traffic Manager, covering a memorandum of goods exported, and the rates of freight thereon. I also attach a summarised memorandum of the freights per "Warrimoo," which exhibits the steady development of the trade since the inauguration of the

Vancouver service.

Our Exports to Canada.

My investigation on this subject led me to the conclusion that there was a good outlet for kauri-gum, New Zealand hemp, wool, woollen goods, butter, frozen mutton and lamb, and preserved meats of all kinds.

British Columbia.

At the special invitation of Mr. G. A. Kirk, President of the Board of Trade at Victoria, B.C., I addressed a full attendance of members at the quarterly meeting of that institution. I set forth certain facts and figures concerning the imports and exports of New Zealand. At the conclusion of my address a long discussion followed, with the result that several merchants promised definite orders for New Zealand produce. The Chairman was good enough to convey to me a special vote of thanks from the members of the Board, as per letter attached.

The several interviews I had with many of the merchants and brokers, both here and at Vancouver, demonstrated the fact that there was an excellent market for New Zealand binder-twine, kauri-gum, tinned meats, frozen meat, butter, seed oats, cocksfoot, and other grass-seeds.

Frozen Meat.

With reference to the outlet for frozen meat, I would specially direct attention to the advantages New South Wales shippers enjoy over consignors from this colony.

The preferential tariff recently adopted by Canada gives 25 per cent, reduction on the present duty of 35 per cent, in favour of New South Wales exports. This is a heavy handicap on New Zealand produce, and some agreement might with advantage be effected by which this embargo could be removed.

The superior quality of New Zealand frozen meat is generally admitted, and buyers are willing to purchase regular shipments of crossbred mutton and lamb, also ox-tongues and sheeps' kidneys.

One wholesale butcher at Vancouver offered to take ten thousand carcasses of frozen mutton and lamb in five months, deliverable in shipments of two thousand each, providing the prices, c.i.f., Vancouver, duty paid, did not exceed 3½d. per pound for mutton (carcasses weighing 55 lb. to 60 lb. each); lamb, 5d. per pound (carcasses weighing about 30 lb. to 35 lb. each).

Butter.

As a result of several long conferences, I found that there was a fair market for first-quality butter, providing the cost did not exceed 10d. to 10½d., c.i.f., Vancouver. The trade prefers high colour, and a little more salt in the butter than is to be found in shipments which now find their way to British Columbia from New South Wales.

Canadian-Australian Steamship Line.

The establishment of the Canadian-Australian Steamship Company has been of incalculable benefit in working up reciprocal and increasing trade between Canada and the Australasian Colonies, in which New Zealand is participating.

My attention was directed to the limited cold-storage capacity on the steamers "Miowera," "Aorangi," and "Warrimoo," now in the trade. This I represented to the company at Vancouver, and I was informed that instructions had already been given to increase the cold-storage on the "Aorangi" from 2,500 to 7,000 carcasses. It is also confidently expected that a better class of steamers will soon replace the present fleet.

Cold-storage on Shore.

The present limited cold-storage accommodation at Vancouver can easily be increased when required. I was credibly informed that a comprehensive scheme is at present under consideration for the erection of large cold-stores throughout the country, which will include Vancouver, Victoria, and several inland cities and towns.

Exports from British Columbia.

These comprise canned salmon, lumber, and frozen salmon. Some experimental shipments will soon be

made of frozen salmon to Australia and New Zealand.

Correspondence.

I attach copies of a number of letters from the Board of Trade, merchants, brokers, and others who communicated with me during my recent visit to British Columbia.

Montreal Imports and Exports.

The subjoined statistics for the year ending the 31st December, 1896, supplied to me by the Board of Trade at Montreal, exhibit the volume of trade for that port:—

Improved Preparation of Hemp.

Feeling assured that an improved system of preparation would not only reduce the cost, but would materially add to the value of the fibre, I took special pains to make widely known the conditions of the bonuses of £1,750 and £250 respectively. For this extended circulation, and many other advantages, I am indebted to the leading newspapers published in all the cities visited by me. I attach hereto a copy of the *Gazette* notice, No. 478, and I respectfully suggest that the time should be further extended, to enable many chemists, machinists, engineers, and inventors to prosecute their experiments, thereby insuring for the colony the investigations of a wider range of skilled persons. I am encouraged to make this recommendation from the fact that the greatest enthusiasm prevailed among those who sought information from me.

Dr. Gomess, of the Rhea Fibre Treatment Company (Limited), of London, upon examination of the samples I exhibited, pronounced the fibre to be useful for many purposes beyond that of rope, cordage, or binder-twine. His first experiments with the plant were conducted under many disadvantages, but he promised to make a complete test, in the belief that there was a great future for the hemp. His special interest in the Rhea Fibre Company (Limited) occupied all his time, and, although I made repeated efforts to induce him to proceed with his experiments, I could not prevail. Just at the time when he decided to proceed with the work he was, unfortunately, laid up with a severe illness. He has, however, promised to make a complete test.

Several gentlemen throughout England, as well as many in America and Canada, promised to give the subject every attention. Experiments are now being conducted by very competent men, in the hope that they will be able to discover a new process for the better treatment of the raw material.

Boards of Trade.

At the invitation of several Chambers of Commerce, Boards of Trade, and Corporations of the leading cities of Britain, America, and Canada, I had the distinguished privilege of addressing large meetings connected with these several institutions, where I briefly set forth the many advantages of New Zealand, particularly referring to the colony as a place—(1) for the safe investment of capital; (2) as a country suitable for enterprising farmers and agriculturists; (3) as a land of climatic excellence and great natural beauty; and (4) as a country of large natural resources and unrivalled productiveness. The discussions which followed these various meetings led to many inquiries as to the extent of our exports and imports, many manufacturers desiring particulars in regard to the value of the special lines in which they were interested. Were it not for the very valuable information contained in the Registrar-General's Year-book—a supply of which I always carried for distribution—I doubt very much if I could have answered a tithe of the questions submitted for my replies. And here let me add that a wider distribution of these valuable statistics would materially assist in advertising the colony, and well repay the outlay.

Extension of Trade with Canada.

To this subject I have referred in another part of this report. I would now respectfully point to the advantages to this colony that must necessarily follow by closer trade relations with that vast dominion. With additional shipping facilities, new markets will open up for frozen mutton and lamb, preserved meats, grass-seeds, barley, butter, hemp, hides, and wool; while at the same time New Zealand importers would get the benefit of cheaper lines of goods now manufactured in Canada. With the present existing arrangements and tariff treaties New South Wales receives the benefit of 25 per cent, reduction on existing duties. Strenuous efforts are being made by exporters in our sister-colony to capture the trade which is now being developed in Vancouver and Victoria (B.C.).

While thanking many manufacturers, brokers, and merchants for the valuable assistance extended to me

during my investigations in Europe, America, and Canada, I would specially refer to the letters of Messrs. W F. Malcolm and Co., one of the best-known fibre-brokers in London. This firm spent a considerable time in discussing with me the fibre industry generally, and they have placed on record some valuable suggestions, which, if acted upon, would, in my opinion, insure for our product an increasing demand.

The several letters also attached from various merchants, manufacturers, and brokers in Britain, America, and Canada confirm the views expressed by Messrs. W. F. Malcolm and Co.

Other New Zealand Produce.

The systematic publicity I caused to be made with regard to New-Zealand products generally led to many written and personal inquiries by importers of frozen meats, butter, cheese, tallow, grass-seeds, kaurigum, &c. To all such inquirers I gave the very fullest information, and I am persuaded that I have interested many new importers who have never hitherto traded with the colony.

General Remarks.

After carefully considering all the evidence collected in my extended tour of Europe, America, Canada, and British Columbia, I am convinced that no permanent market for our hemp can be relied upon until compulsory grading is adopted throughout the colony. The disadvantage arising from the want of such a system cannot be overstated. All manufacturers to whom I spoke were unanimous upon this point, and strongly emphasized their objection to the existing *modus operandi* by stating that they would not renew their orders for New Zealand hemp until they were assured of the continued supply of a standard article of uniform quality. For my own part, I never could appreciate the objection to compulsory trading. By its adoption millers, merchants, brokers, and consumers would be benefited. It would at once check negligent preparation, give protection to the careful miller, and, above all, secure the confidence and approval of the purchasers—a desideratum of immense advantage in building up a safe and profitable export trade. Such a system should not only provide for the classification of quality into A, B, C, or D grades, but should, in my opinion, include instructions as to the best method of baling.

Objections were frequently made about the ever-varying size of bales and hanks, especially as to the twist in the latter. The heavy pressing and subsequent hydraulic dumping gives the fibre a permanent set involving extra expense in opening out the hanks before hackling is commenced by cordage-manufacturers. The uniform weight of each bale would, as in the case of manila, save considerable cost in receiving delivery, storage, and weighing. Manila hemp is universally accepted as eight bales to the ton, each bale weighing 2½ cwt., packed in what is known as piculs, two of which comprise a bale. The Ludlow Manufacturing Company, of Boston, not only recommends a grading system, but points out the advantage of a special size of package, such as is adopted by shippers of jute, which is packed in bales 4 ft. long by 20 in. by 18 in. The measurement of a ton of New Zealand hemp varies considerably sometimes averaging on a shipment about 110 ft. undumped, while that of manila runs about 100 ft. The freight to the United States is equal to about £1 10s. to £1 15s. per ton. We are to-day paying the following rates on New Zealand hemp shipped to London: Steamer—£3 10s. per ton, 10 per cent, primage; sailer—£3 per ton, 5 per cent, primage. An extra £1 per ton is charged on through freights to Boston and New York.

Newspaper Reviews.

A perusal of the accompanying newspaper cuttings will, I am sure, demonstrate the fact that I have utilised all the assistance extended to me throughout my tour. The varied experience gained has enabled me to make suggestions for the promotion of the colony's welfare in regard to the many natural resources of New Zealand.

London Office.

I cannot conclude this report without placing on record my appreciation of the valuable assistance rendered to me by the Hon. William Pember Reeves, who was ever ready and willing to assist me in my investigations.

After many months' residence in London, I am able to bear testimony to the care and zeal displayed by Mr. Kennaway and his obliging and efficient staff in the interests of the colony, and I am satisfied that few colonists fully appreciate the exceptionally good work ably carried on at the Agent-General's office.

Conclusion.

It will, I am sure, be a matter of satisfaction to you to learn that New Zealand produce is daily growing in

favour throughout Great Britain, and that the colony is everywhere well spoken of.

While at Edinburgh I had the privilege and pleasure of being invited by the Lord Provost to accompany some members of the Corporation and the officers of the Austrian man-of-war "Don" to inspect the historical scenes of interest of that charming city. Some of the gentlemen forming this party volunteered the information that, as members of a financial institution, they had just accepted a large loan proposal from New Zealand. Moreover, they had for many years sent regular sums of money for investment in mortgage securities, with which they were well satisfied. Notwithstanding their long and varied experience, they had never lost one penny in this colony. Another gentleman expressed the hope that the time was not far distant when greater latitude would be given to trustees in Britain to enable them to invest their funds in New Zealand securities.

With a full appreciation of the honour conferred upon me, and a lively recognition of the important work intrusted to my care, I entered on my official duties in a spirit of zeal and earnestness to enable me to place before you the very fullest information from every reliable source obtainable. While pursuing my investigations I had ever before me the responsibility of being in the service of 750,000 people, and I venture to hope that the Government of the country will recognise that I have contributed something towards the development and extension of the commerce and resources of this great and growing colony.

I have, &c.,

JOHN HOLMES.

The Hon. J. McKenzie, Minister of Lands,

Wellington.

ADDENDA.

Office of the Ludlow Manufacturing Co.,

DEAR SIR—

133, Essex Street, Boston,

6th October, 1898.

In reference to your inquiries as regards proper mode of marketing New Zealand hemp, I would recommend bales of about 300 lb. weight, and, if possible, put up in about the size of jute-bales—to wit, 4 ft. long by 20 in. by 18 in. All bales to be of uniform standard weight and size, approximating the above weights and measurements.

As regards colour, it would be best to keep as far as possible the colour of the best manila hemp.

We should be happy to give you any further advice if you can put any further questions to us.

We also recommend that you see the managers of the Plymouth Cordage Company, 5, Chatham Row, Boston, as they are the largest spinners of cordage hems in America.

Yours, &c.,

CHARLES W. HUBBARD, Treasurer.

Mr. John Holmes.

The Belfast Rope work Company (Limited), Belfast,

DEAR SIR,—

15th August, 1898.

We are in receipt of your favour of the 12th instant, and our managing director, Mr. Smiles, also regrets that he had not the pleasure of meeting you. Mr. Smiles's son is at present in New Zealand with our representative.

With regard to the purchase of New Zealand hemp, we are at all times open to purchase this fibre if the price is right.

Respecting your remarks as to "the several advantages to be gained by the colony in the general adoption of a grading system for all hemp," we really can say nothing, but the prices which will be paid for New Zealand hemp will no doubt, in the long run, be whatever the hemp is worth.

The question of a standard bale is of no importance so far as we are concerned.

With regard to the samples which you sent to us of unscutched hemp, we could hardly form an opinion as to whether this would be worth within £2 10s. per ton of scutched hemp without first working a few-tons.

If you wish to see Mr. Smiles at any time, all that is necessary is to make an appointment, and he will arrange to be at the office to meet you. If, however, he should happen to be in the works it would probably take a considerable time to find him.

Yours, &c.,
W. J. HOLLINWORTH,
For the company.

P.S.—We may mention that we were honoured with a visit from the Premier of New Zealand—the Hon. Richard J. Seddon—when he was in Ireland some little time ago.

John Holmes, Esq., Grand Central Hotel, Belfast.

STATEMENT of CARGO ex "WARRIMOO," landed at Wellington, New Zealand.

—Dec., 1897. March, 1898. May, 1898. Aug., 1898. Nov., 1898. Canned salmon cases 350 190 549
Domestic cotton bales 8 20 17 22 Bicycles cases 34 27 5 13 166 Fresh fish " 3 2 4 Paper " 16 "6 43 23 91
Newspaper rolls 90 48 216 359 110 " bales ... 3 116 102 Agricultural implements ... pkgs. 1,016 60 63 34 Drugs
... cases 64 67 64 7 7 Buggies ... 4 5 Machinery ... pkgs. 164 25 29 Sundries ... 12 1 6 3 6
Bananas ... bnchs. 4,783 3,610 3,722 2,832 1,913 " ... cases 979 325 3,292 300 1,446 Pines ... " 186 ... 749
Typewriters ... " 15 24 ... 5 ... Beer ... barrels 20 ... Advertising matter ... pkgs. 7 6 ...
Cocoanuts ... sacks 55 11 ... Canned fruits ... cases ... 260 ... 485 Dried " ... " 67 ... 100
Churns ... 24 Electric supplies ... cases ... 6 Castings ... 1 ... 14 Shades
... cases ... 2 ... Lathes ... 2 ... Phonographs ... cases ... 77 ... Boots and shoes ...
" ... 12 4 Spars ... 2 ... Lamp goods ... cases ... 2 15 Hardware ... " ... 1 141
Burners ... " 3 ... Bent wood ... pkgs. ... 9 ... Cotton prints ... bales ... 22 ... Organs ...
... 1 ... Coffee ... cases ... 22 Cotton duck ... bales ... 6 Granophones ...
cases ... 8 Books ... " ... 10 Whiskey ... " ... 25 Evaporated apples ... " ... 100
Pipes and fittings ... pkgs. ... 72 Kumatos ... sacks ... 26 Fanning-mills ... pkgs. ...
54 Stamped ware ... cases ... 18 Granadeltas ... " ... 13 Mummy apples ... " ... 10

F. E. BELLMAINE,

Purser.

British Columbia Board of Trade, Board of Trade Buildings,
MY DEAR SIR,—
Victoria, B.C.,

21st October, 1898.

The members of the British Columbia Board of Trade, in quarterly general meeting assembled this afternoon, were agreeably entertained and much enlightened by your very able representation of the natural resources of New Zealand and development of same.

Your remarks upon the gum and hemp industries were a revelation, but of particular interest to this Board was your reference to New Zealand as a market for British Columbia lumber and fish. In other lines, too, there appears a good market for the products of this province. New Zealand butter is not unknown here, and shipments of Australasian frozen meat have been received.

At the conclusion of your address this Board unanimously adopted a very hearty vote of thanks, which I have now much pleasure in tendering you.

Trusting that your voyage to New Zealand will be a very pleasant one, and that we may have the pleasure

of seeing you again,

I am, &c.,
G. A. KIRK, President.
John Holmes, Esq.,

Victoria, B.C.

[Extract from *New Zealand. Gazette*, 7th Nov., 1895.]

BONUSES FOR ENCOURAGEMENT OF NEW ZEALAND HEMP (*Phormium tenax*) INDUSTRY.—NOTICE No. 430.

Department of Agriculture, Wellington,

1st November, 1895.

Bonus No. 1.

A BONUS of £1,750 is offered for a machine or process for dressing New Zealand hemp (*Phormium tenax*) which shall be an improvement on the machines or processes now in use, and which shall, after trial, be found to materially reduce the cost of production, improve the product, or increase the quantity of dressed fibre.

The following are the conditions:—

- All applications for the bonus must be sent addressed to the Hon. the Minister for Agriculture, Wellington, and must reach him not later than the 31st March, 1897. Each application must be accompanied by a description of the machine or process, particularly stating improvements on present machines or processes, and also the cost at which the machine or process can be supplied.
- The applicants must be prepared to submit their machines or processes to examination at such time and place as the Government may direct.
- The Government shall appoint a committee of three or more experts, to whom all applications shall be submitted. Such committee shall, after perusal, state what machines or processes they deem worthy of consideration, and may inspect the same at any place within the colony; and, having so inspected the whole or any of them, may direct that the whole or any of them be brought for further trial to such place as they may think fit.

The cost of bringing the machines or appliances on to the ground, from within the colony, supplying the necessary shafting, motive-power, and buildings, to be defrayed by the Government. If any machine sent from beyond the colony is awarded the bonus or part thereof, then the cost of bringing such machine shall be borne by the Government.

The following shall be the basis of the test:—

The committee shall supply a sufficient and equal quantity of green hemp to each machine or process as a test.

The committee shall take into consideration—

- The time occupied by each machine or process in the operation;
- The cost of labour and time required after the fibre has left the machine or process before it is ready for baling;
- The percentage of dressed fibre and tow produced by each machine or process;
- The cost of producing the same;
- The cost of the machine, and the simplicity and durability of the working parts.

On completion of the tests the committee shall furnish a report to the Minister on all the machines or processes which they have examined or tested, and shall state,—

- The machine or process which they consider on the whole the most efficient and economic.
- Whether they consider that any machine or process tested so materially reduces the cost of production, or improves the product, as to be worthy of the whole bonus or of a part only.
- Whether, in the event of no one machine or process being entitled to the whole bonus, they deem any

machine or process] worthy of a part of the bonus, and, if so, how much.

Bonus No. 2.

A bonus of £250 is offered for a process of utilising the waste products of the hemp.

The first three conditions of Bonus No. 1 to apply to this also.

The committee shall supply a sufficient and equal quantity of the waste products to each process as a test.

On completion of the tests the committee shall report to the Minister I and shall give the following particulars of each process: (a.) The nature of the article made. (b.) The quantity produced, and the cost of production. (c.) The value of the product, (d.) Whether any of the processes are of sufficient importance to warrant the Minister in giving (1) the whole, or (2) any part, of the bonus; (3) if a part only, how much.

JOHN MCKENZIE,
Minister for Agriculture.

[NOTE.—Date of application for bonus has been extended to 31st March, 1900.]

[As a result of Mr. Holmes's mission, keen interest appears to have been aroused, and numerous inquiries for particulars of conditions under which the bonus is offered, and as to the hemp trade, have been received from many parts of the world.]

By Authority: JOHN MACKAY, Government Printer, Wellington.—1899.

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Front Cover

An Octogenarian's Recollections: Incidents in the Life of a Native of Dundee.

Reprinted from the Dundee Evening Telegraph.

Dundee PRINTED BY JOHN LENG & CO., BANK STREET. 1899.

An Octogenarian's Recollections.

I have often wished that some of my relatives of a previous generation who had taken part in the stirring scenes of warfare and the public service in the early days of this century had left a record of their lives for the information of those of us who came after them, and there-fore, as my own long life has been rather varied and eventful than monotonous, I will endeavour to set down such an account of it as may probably prove interesting to my relatives of later generations. My memory carries me back to the year 1820, when as a child I was placed at a window overlooking the High Street of Dundee, where I was born, and seeing the Magistrates and notables issue from under the arcades of its handsome Town Hall and ascend a platform to proclaim George IV. as King, amidst the loyal shouts of a vast crowd gathered in that capacious street, and the sound of trumpets pealing forth the National Anthem.

Dundee in 1820.

Dundee was then only a small seaport town, with a tidal harbour, one or two flax spinning mills, a shipbuilding and timber yard where the music hall at the foot of Castle Street now stands, and from which brigs and other vessels of moderate size were launched straight into the river, and the Greenland whale ships, as well as trading vessels and colliers, rested on the mud at low water. In winter most of the vessels, excepting colliers, belonging to the port were laid up, but in summer the river and the harbour formed a lively scene. Every tide brought brigs and brigantines, London smacks, and Newcastle colliers into the Tay, their white sails reflecting the sunshine as they sailed up or beat to windward from the river lights to the pierheads; and a daily stream of sloops and small craft bound for Newburgh and Perth passed up along the Fife shore. This was long before steamboats and railways carried goods and passengers on Scotland's lakes and rivers; but there was one little steamer, the Caledonia, which in fine weather plied between Dundee and Perth; and the river was further enlivened by the crossings of boats with picturesque latine sails belonging to the Tay Ferries, and barges carrying stones from the Invergowrie quarries to the works of the new Harbour and Docks in progress of construction. Woodhaven was then the principal pier and landing-place on the Fife side, whence mail and stage coaches started for Edinburgh; and Newport was quite a small village until steam ferryboats were introduced and the present landing-pier constructed. People from Dundee and Perth mostly took summer lodgings in cottages at Broughty Ferry; up to 1830 there were only a very few families who preferred the delightful change from the town to the pleasant fields, trees, gardens, and braes of Fife—the East and West Water, as Newport

and Woodhaven were then called by the boatmen and farming people, who on Sundays went all the way to Forgan Old Church, which was then the only place of worship in the district, with the exception of a small upstairs Independent Chapel, where a very worthy and devout minister, Mr Thomas Just, sen., preached, and children were taught by his brother, Mr George Just, at Sunday School. In those days Dundee, surrounded by green fields, meadows, and gardens, and but little clouded by smoke as the city usually is now, formed indeed a very pleasing picture when viewed from the river or the Fife side, well entitling it to its ancient renown as "Bonnie Dundee."

Tayport and Broughty Ferry

were little more than fishing villages without other landing places than the beach and rocks; the dangers to navigation at the entrance of the river were marked, buoyed, and lighted under the care of the office-bearers of the Seamen's Fraternity, but there was no floating lightship or pilot vessel, and accidents were more numerous and fatal than they are now. The seamen belonging to the port learned their business as apprentices, and were well up to their work. Large smacks carrying goods and passengers to London, and brigs trading to the Baltic ports and a few to America, were manned with efficient and hardy sailors. There were no merchant-ship midshipmen; young lads of respectable connections who did not get into the Royal Navy or the East India Company's service had to go to sea as sailor boys and get a good practical knowledge of their duties, which, united to the education afforded them at the schools of Dundee, enabled most steady fellows to become officers and commanders of merchant ships in various parts of the Empire at home and abroad. The Grammar School, the Parish School, and the Dundee Academy gave the means, at a very moderate cost, of obtaining some knowledge of mathematics, astronomy, mechanics, navigation, chemistry, and kindred sciences which were not usually taught at provincial schools, and least of all in English town schools of that period. The Academy stood in the Nethergate, opposite the foot of Tay Street; the buildings were not imposing, but the teachers and subjects taught were very good indeed, and fitted many young men for acting a useful part in life, and attaining positions of professional distinction. My father was for many years a much-respected member of the Town Council under the

Old System of Municipal Government.

Public order was supposed to be preserved by a very few Town's Officers, mostly elderly men, and at night by watchmen, who carried big lanterns and rattles, so that disturbers of the peace could always know how to avoid them. Any one wearing a beard in those days would have been looked upon as a strange animal, and smoking in public was not considered to be respectable. My eldest brother became Provost of Dundee under the present régime, and was much esteemed for his services to the town, to the Infirmary, and to other benevolent Institutions, as well as to the cause of temperance. I believe that I am the oldest on the list of Life Governors of the Dundee Infirmary now living. Like most lads leaving school, I had a strong wish to see something of the world, and, as will be seen afterwards, that desire was amply gratified. Two of my brothers had been successful as commanders of vessels in Indian seas, and I determined to try my fortune in the same lucrative direction—beginning, however, by voyages to the Baltic, the first being in what was called the fall of the year. I was placed as

A Sailor Boy On Board a Brig,

built of larch pine from the Duke of Atholl's plantations, and about to be launched at Perth. This vessel was named the Atholl, and the Duke of that period was a spectator at the launch. Soon after we sailed from Dundee for Cronstadt. A change from my comfortable room on shore to a hammock in the fore-castle, as well as other unpleasant conditions in life at sea, and the usual trying experience of sea sickness, had to be met and endured without complaint. Soon the sight of the shores of Sweden and Denmark as we passed through the Sound, and the work on deck and aloft, of which I had to take my full share, restored me to cheerfulness! At that time all merchant vessels had to stop at Elsinore and pay tribute for the maintenance of lighthouses in those seas, but the delay caused by this regulation has long since been abolished for compensation given to the Scandinavian Governments. Kronberg Castle, the town of Elsinore, and the city of Copenhagen, with other objects on both sides of the Sound, form a very pleasing and lively scene, specially interesting to myself as being my first sight of foreign lands. The island of Cronstadt, about 16 miles from St Petersburg, has an artificially constructed harbour, defended by heavy artillery on the mole, and batteries on smaller islands near. As the Neva was then only navigable for small vessels, Cronstadt was the principal naval port and the loading-place for merchant ships. There is little to be seen on the island, but on Sundays seamen of all nations met in crowds at public-houses, for in those days there were no Sailors' Homes, Missions to Seamen, or other Institutions for

their moral welfare in foreign ports. Sailors were left to their own resources, and these were neither salutary nor edifying.

Beginning of the Temperance Movement in Dundee.

In Scotland the beginning of a movement in favour of temperance had been made, and a Dundee carter named William Cruikshanks gave eloquent lectures on the subject; but he was derided as a fanatic, and whisky reigned supreme. Payment of wages and engagements were made at public-houses, small services were repaid by glasses of whisky, hard drinkers being regarded as good fellows by all classes of our countrymen. The religious teaching of the period was mostly Calvinistic, and the severe denunciations made by ministers seemed to make seamen reckless; for, although generally well behaved on Sundays when at home, they usually spent their leave ashore when abroad in drinking and dancing houses, not a good school for young lads beginning life away from friends and relatives. But even then there were some good, religious-minded men commanding vessels in the Baltic trade—one in particular, Captain David Jack, who set an excellent example, and looked after the men and boys under his care. He was much respected, lived to a great age, and had the honour of a public funeral.

A Visit to St Petersburg.

By the kindness of my dear father, I was furnished with the means of going from Cronstadt to spend a few days in the capital of Russia. I was indeed thankful to exchange hard work for a run on shore, and to visit the large and imposing city of St Petersburg. Although passport regulations were, as now, very strict, the police officers allowed me to go on board the steamer without question, treating me as of no importance, and some of the Russian ladies and gentlemen passengers amused themselves in putting questions to me in broken English. On arriving at the landing place of the city I took a droshky, but failed to make the driver understand where I wished to go, so he took me to the Imperial Exchange. At the portico of this grand edifice I waited with some anxiety to see if any English-looking person might come out. The darkness of an evening in November was coming on, and I was surrounded by a crowd of droshky drivers asking questions which I could not understand. At length an English captain appeared and kindly took me to a boarding-house, where I was taken care of, and thoroughly enjoyed the comforts of good food and a bed on shore. For several days I wandered along the wide, straight streets of the great city with the son of my host. At that time the Russian people were contented with the rule of the Czar Nicholas, grandfather of the reigning Emperor, who did not fear to be seen on foot watching the progress of the work on the Cathedral of St Isaac then in course of erection; and on one occasion I saw his tall and imposing figure on horseback, surrounded by a brilliant staff reviewing a large body of horse artillery. I also got admission to the Winter Palace and to the splendid collection of pictures in the Hermitage Palace of the Empress Catherine. I was, however, most impressed with the lofty magnificence of the Kazan Church, where the gorgeous decoration of the building, the robes of the priests burning incense at the High Altar behind the silver gates, and the charm of high-trained voices in the choir of male singers had a very striking effect upon the mind of a youth accustomed only to the simple worship of the Scottish Presbyterian Church. But from all these grand sights I had to return to the ship and to my work.

A Mishap at Sea.

Ice was already formed on the surface of the water at Cronstadt, and our brig was amongst the last to leave the port and sail down the Baltic towards home, where we were not destined to arrive that season, for after passing the coast of Sweden we overran our distance southwards, and at dawn one fine frosty morning low land was seen right ahead, to which we were running with all sails set. With a shock of surprise and dread, an attempt was made to bring the brig's head off shore, but it was too late; her keel had touched the ground, her helm was immovable, and soon she lay helplessly rolling and bumping on a lee shore. Fortunately for us the wind kept low and the sea smooth, so that we were able to get an anchor out to windward with the long-boat. Some fishermen came alongside and informed the captain that we were on the coast of Pomerania, not far from the town of Wolgast, whence a pilot was sent to us, and by discharging some of the cargo in the boats and keeping a heavy strain on the cable, we got the vessel afloat before evening, and away from the spot which, had the weather been boisterous, would most probably have proved fatal to all of us. It then became necessary to take the brig into the harbour of Wolgast for repairs. Winter set in, and there we had to remain until the ice broke up in the following spring; the crew were quartered on shore, and, by the considerate care of my relatives at home, I was soon sent by the British Consul to board in a country house, where the governess of the family spoke English, and kindly undertook to instruct me in her own German tongue, which she was well able to teach. As I was quite separated from English intercourse, I speedily found it necessary to acquire and make use

of the German colloquial language, which I found to be of great advantage to my enjoyment of life in Pomerania, as well as in after years.

Wintering in Pomerania.

When heavy falls of snow had covered the ground, both the frozen water and the land were alike white, and almost equally solid until spring mildness set them free again. Traffic and travelling were carried on by sleighs, and in the fine bright days of calm and sunshine it was delightfully exhilarating to scud along over land and sea to the accompaniment of sweet-toned bells on the harness of fleet horses; but on windy days such exposure was painful and dangerous. Indoors there was more warmth and comfort than in most British houses during winter, the handsome stoves in each room giving out great heat, but the pleasure of seeing the blaze was certainly wanting, and the air less fresh and healthy than it is with us. Domestic matters were well attended to by the ladies of the house, and the fare was simple and good. The servants of the farm dined at another table in the same hall, and in the evening they assembled and sang part-songs together, for a very friendly feeling seemed to exist between them and the family in the household of which they formed part. Sunday, after service at the village church, was kept as a kind of festival, visitors were received, and amusements introduced. I was, indeed, somewhat sorry to leave Pomerania and my kind friend the governess, when the ice began to break up and the time came to sail for home in the month of April. On the voyage we had some very stormy weather, but at length reached the Tay and found a hearty welcome at Dundee after an absence so much longer than had been expected. I then set myself to study navigation, but was prevailed upon to take to business on shore, which I tried, but soon gave up.

My Next Voyage

was to Riga, where my knowledge of German was very useful to me. On our return, as the cholera had appeared in Russia, we had to pass a fortnight in quarantine in the Firth of Forth, On our release the captain had to go on shore on business, taking me as one of his boat's crew. When he came back to the boat, late at night, the men were all away drinking in public-houses, so that he and I had to row off to the brig in the darkness, much to his vexation and displeasure. When we got on board I overheard him say to the mate, that whenever the boat was sent on shore I was to be sent in her. I mention this proof of his confidence in me because I think it had some good influence on the whole of my after life, for, without having any special ability, I have, under Providence, been led to success in filling several appointments of trust both at sea and in public office simply by endeavouring to do the duties of them with faithfulness, and with some amount of zeal, which I would recommend to young men as being the surest way to get on in the world, even when high mental attainments may be wanting. Being then something of a sailor I

Wished to Extend My Experience

to a longer range, and by the influence of a friend in London obtained a situation on board a ship bound for Calcutta. This ship was one of the class which succeeded the East India Company's ships in conveying goods and passengers to ports of India, long before steamers were thought of for such ocean voyages. They were well fitted up and well manned, the captains and officers were excellent seamen and navigators, from whose conduct and skill I learned much that was useful to me in after life. The voyage out was mostly very agreeable, especially to the passengers, who were well provided for, and had even the advantage of a good band to amuse them and to let them dance in fine evenings on deck. We had, however, a fearful cyclone or hurricane in the Bay of Bengal, which gave us a sharp taste of what may occasionally be met with in those usually placid tropical seas. A voyage to India at that time generally exceeded a hundred days, for English ships were not then such clippers as they are now. On arriving in the Hooghly branch of the River Ganges we sailed up the beautiful bend of the stream where the City of Palaces comes into view, every one enjoying the charming aspect of tropical scenery which Garden Reach presents, and were soon safely moored close to the fine embankment and noble Ghauts or landing-places which face Calcutta on the riverside. In that year, 1831, and for some years afterwards, hotels were almost unknown in British India; the houses of the merchants and officers of the Civil Service were large, servants numerous, and money abundant; so those advantages, united with kind feeling and liberal hospitality, especially on the part of Scotchmen to each other, made the arrival of strangers to be heartily welcomed on the slightest introduction. Then began my grateful experience of disinterested, and often unexpected, proofs of human kindness which have been happily continued to me more or less during a long life spent in various parts of the world, and for which, as for very many other blessings, I devoutly thank the Gracious and Merciful Being whose providential care bestows so great a source of consolation as that of friendship amidst all the vicissitudes and troubles of life which all have to bear, for there is "no discharge in that

war." My first friend in Calcutta was a gentleman from Fife at whose house I met other countrymen who rendered me kind and useful service. I was advised to get into what is called the "country trade" carried on by well-appointed vessels sailing between the different ports of India and China; their officers were usually well paid, and their crews of native seamen large in number and well disciplined. At the house of my hospitable friends in Calcutta I met a Captain Wallace who, after years of very active service in the China seas, returned to die and be buried in the grounds of the ancient Cathedral of St Andrews, his native place. This gentleman most kindly procured me

A Free Passage in a Ship to Singapore,

where I hoped to meet one of my brothers commanding a large vessel expected to be at that port. On the passage I was treated with the greatest kindness by Captain and Mrs Bell, and learned most of the nautical terms required to work a ship in the language used all over the Indian seas. My brother had left Singapore, but Captain Wallace had furnished me with a letter to Captain Scott, the Master Attendant at that port, a much respected gentleman, who had been in office since the formation of the settlement, and was beloved by all the European inhabitants of the Straits Settlements and by visitors to Singapore. This dear old gentleman took me at once under his roof, and treated me with almost parental care. In him I had a judicious and affectionate friend until his death, at the great age of 84 years, an unusual span of life in a tropical climate. The beautifully-situated settlement of Singapore, founded by Sir Stamford Raffles in the year 1819, was for many years confined to the riverside and seashore; but now it has spread inland, and every swelling hill is capped with pleasant villas and gardens, where tigers used to creep, and even now they are not very far off; and it is not very long since the waters of this now great emporium of Eastern commerce were haunted by rapacious Malay pirates, ready to pounce on defenceless native craft, pillage them, and carry their crews into slavery in Borneo. After remaining for a short time at Singapore, which I frequently revisited later on, I obtained a passage to Batavia, the elegant and extensive capital of Java, and the seat of Government of the Dutch possessions in the Indian Archipelago; but I was again disappointed in not meeting my brothers, both of whom had gone away from Batavia on long voyages to other parts of the East. I had, however, a letter of introduction from Singapore to a Dutch merchant, who received me very kindly; but in the course of a few hours Mr Thomas Wilson, who came from the neighbourhood of Dundee, and was then a successful merchant in Batavia, having heard of my arrival, said that he remembered me as a child in Scotland, and cordially invited me to stay at his finely situated house outside the city. This gentleman was to me a true friend, as well as a judicious adviser and ready helper. For years, in sickness and in health, his house was my home whenever I was at Batavia as an officer and commander of ships in those seas.

My First Appointment as an Officer

was to a barque going on a voyage to Sumatra, and thence across the Indian Ocean to Pondicherry, a pleasant little French settlement on the Coromandel Coast of India. The vessel was chartered by a French gentleman, who kindly helped me to make some use of the knowledge of his language which I acquired when at school. Pondicherry is nearly all that now remains to France of her former extensive possessions in Hindostan, and it is a well-ordered and inexpensive place to live at, but, like most of the French possessions abroad, is of very little practical advantage to the mother country. On our return to Batavia I had a very severe attack of malarial fever, which nearly proved fatal to me, as it has done to thousands of Europeans in that part of the world; but I was well cared for at Mr Wilson's house, and, under Providence, was brought through by the skill of a Scottish doctor residing at Batavia. During my illness my brother John arrived from China, but Patrick had gone to Europe, and I did not see him until long afterwards. For some years I continued to be employed as an officer, and later on as commander of vessels on voyages from Batavia to other ports of Java, to Singapore, and to more distant parts of the wide Eastern Archipelago, and enjoyed the society of kind friends at almost every place which I had to visit, at the same time taking advantage of every opportunity I had for seeing as much as possible of the interior of those beautiful islands and their inhabitants. Of all the numerous and extensive possessions of Holland in the East,

The Island of Java

is much the most valuable, the soil is rich, and the native people gentle and industrious. The varied scenery of mountains, valleys, and flat lands is very beautiful. In my time there were no railways, but excellent roads and well-managed posting and post hotels; so that an overland journey, which I made in the year 1835, from Batavia to Samarang and Sourabaya, about 500 miles, was most interesting and delightful. Java was taken by the English, and held from 1811 to 1817. My uncle, Mr John Brown, was then appointed Master Attendant of

the dockyard at Sourabaya; on his account I was well received and entertained by his friend, the Sultan of Madura, when I paid a visit to him at his palace on an island not far from Sourabaya. In the year 1837 I returned for a short time to Europe, and had the happiness of being once more amongst kindred and friends of my early days in Scotland; and of pleasing my dear father and mother by the testimonials I had received of my position in the East, as well as enjoying much kindness and hospitality from relatives and friends at Dundee and in other parts of Scotland; and then I went back to Java in a Dutch East Indiaman sailing from Rotterdam. In

Crossing the North Sea

we got on the dangerous "Knock" Sand near the English Coast, on a stormy November evening. The fine ship struck hard, and might soon have become a wreck, but for the skill and local knowledge of the master of an English fishing smack, the only vessel in sight, who came alongside and got us off the bank and out of danger before midnight, for which we were all devoutly thankful. My fellow-passengers were mostly Dutch; and I had thus a good chance to increase my knowledge of their language, which was of great service to me in dealing afterwards with officials, and mixing in society of the Dutch colonists. On arriving at Batavia I was most kindly received by my friends, and soon appointed to the command of a barque, in which I made several intercolonial voyages with fair success, and under pleasant circumstances, as regards society, at every port; but my health began to give way, and I suffered from severe attacks of nervous illness and depression, which inclined me to think of seeking a more temperate climate; and having accidentally, or rather providentially, met a gentleman who had come from Australia, and spoke in high terms of the prospects that colony afforded for the investment of a small capital, as well as for health and employment, I determined to go there as soon as my engagements in the East were completed.

Influence of the Moon on the Weather.

On one occasion when conveying a body of Dutch troops from Batavia to Padang, the seat of Government in Sumatra, a calm set in and lasted for nearly a whole week. We were about ten miles from the land, but a heavy swell from the Indian Ocean was rolling in toward the steep shore. We got the boats out and tried to tow the ship off, but it was unavailing, and at last I was obliged to anchor in fifty fathoms water. An old Malay fisherman came alongside, and when I asked him at what time we might expect a breeze he said confidently, "Bulon Barn" (new moon), and his prediction came true. With the hour of the moon's change came a wind which enabled us to get safe away from an unpleasant position, and proceed on our voyage. The expectation of changes of wind and weather at the principal phases of the moon seems to prevail amongst seafaring people in all parts of the world, and though discredited by some men of science, others of great practical experience believe in it, and my own careful observation leads me to look for the most marked alterations in the weather and the heaviest gales at full and change of the moon. Whilst we were at anchor on the coast of Sumatra I took the Dutch officers with me to visit an island not very far from us, and we were delighted with the aspect of a village embowered amongst shady groves of palms and other sheltering trees. The men were engaged in cultivating the fields, and the women in bearing jars of water on their heads from a spring on the highest part of the island. The Rajah of this apparently happy little community gave us a courteous reception, and when we spoke of returning to live amongst his people in that earthly paradise he seemed to take our proposal seriously, and promised a hearty welcome.

My Last Voyage

was from Java to Celebes, a large island of the Archipelago under Dutch rule, but little known to the world in general, although it is of great extent, exceedingly fertile, and possesses most picturesque and beautiful scenery. Macassar, at the south-west end of the island, is the seat of Government, but a considerable portion of the country is still held by native chiefs. I was bound through the Strait between Borneo and Celebes to the Bay of Menado, in the northern part of the island, where the shore is so steep and the water so deep that it is quite necessary to be very close before casting anchor. As we were running into the bay with a strong sea breeze, which soon became a gale, it was very difficult after dark to find the right place to anchor at near the fort; but a light was shown for my guidance, and, after much anxiety, we brought up within a cable's length of the shore. Most of the country in this part of Celebes is elevated, about 2000 feet above the sea, which renders the climate comparatively cool and pleasant. Whilst our cargo of cocoa was being prepared for shipment, I resided on shore with the only English merchant at Menado, and also made

An Excursion

of several days on horseback, with the Dutch Commandant, to some charming places in the interior, abounding in lakes, rivers, great waterfalls, and fruitful valleys of much picturesque beauty, almost entirely unknown to English travellers. We were hospitably entertained by the native chiefs, and I had the pleasure of making acquaintance with some worthy German missionaries, living in very simple style amongst the people whom they have converted from heathenism and useless lives to Christianity and civilised industry, by which means also the country produces considerable quantities of coffee, cocoa, sugar, and other tropical productions. Our cargo being completed, we sailed from Menado for Manila, capital of the Spanish possessions in the Philippine Islands, which the war between Spain and America lately has brought more prominently before the world. This city, with its fortifications, gloomy convents, monks, and religious orders seen in the streets, was more like some ancient town of Old Spain than a bright Colonial settlement. The Governor or Captain-General lived in a handsome palace, and there are other substantial public buildings in the city. As it was the stormy season of the year, I moored my ship in the sheltered port of Cavite, where the Spanish Fleet was destroyed by a United States squadron at the beginning of the late war, being safer than the open bay of Manila. Hearing that I had a Dutch officer on board, taking the voyage for the benefit of his health, the Spanish Colonel commanding the garrison at Cavite invited us both to dine at his house, had his regimental band to play to us in the courtyard, and gave us his carriage to drive round the town and suburbs—courteous acts of unexpected hospitality which we gratefully enjoyed and appreciated.

The Philippine Islands

produce great quantities of excellent tobacco, sugar, and hemp, and many thousands of men and women were employed at the time of my visit in manufacturing cigars in the great monopoly manufactory belonging to the Spanish Government. During my stay at Manila I lived very pleasantly at the house of my agent, an English merchant, and after taking in a cargo of the famous Manila cigars and sandal-wood sailed for Batavia. We had very stormy weather in the China Sea, which moderated, however, when we reached the coast of Borneo. Sailing into Batavia Roadstead through a large fleet of ships of all nations, I was glad to discern the trim and attractive appearance of the Tartar, my brother Patrick's own brig, with his wife and family on board, so that I had at length the pleasure of spending some days with them before they sailed away, and I never saw my brother again. As my health continued unsatisfactory, I resolved to carry out the idea I had been led to form of trying the effect of

A Visit to Australia,

and, although I never became free from attacks of nervous illness, I have had great cause for thankfulness that circumstances, under Providence, induced me to take the serious step of abandoning the position I had attained to in the Indian Archipelago for uncertain results in a new country where I would find myself quite unknown. But I was provided with most favourable letters of introduction from merchants who had correspondents in Sydney; and at Sourabaya, where I resigned my last command at sea, I met the captain of an English ship, who very kindly made arrangements for my passage in his vessel to Australia. My last days in Java were spent among dear friends, most of whom I never met again, but I have ever retained a sincere and deep sense of gratitude for their kindness and regard for their memory. Of course, during the years I spent in Indian seas I had my share of the usual anxieties and troubles of a responsible position in dangerous navigation, rendered all the more weighty by the precarious state of my health; but I like to speak and think chiefly of the many aids, friendships, and favouring circumstances which smoothed my path, and brought me through all the vicissitudes of a seaman's life. On board the ship in which I sailed for Sydney a gentleman of high position in the British East Indian Civil Service and his family were fellow-passengers. His friendship proved to be one more of the means given me for advancement in my career, especially advantageous to a beginning of life in a new sphere. In sailing southwards out of the tropical and into the temperate zone, the change of climate was invigorating and delightful. There were no lighthouses in Bass's Straits at that period, and we ran through them in a dark night before a gale with considerable anxiety; on the following day we were on the coast of Australia, arriving soon after at the fine harbour of Sydney, so much renowned for safety and for beauty. At that time the convict banishment system was still in force, but soon afterwards was terminated, leaving society very different from what it is now in New South Wales. Hard suspicious feelings seemed to pervade all classes, and although many of the convicts had attained positions of great wealth and independence, they were not received into the society of the free colonists. The colony of Victoria and the now great and prosperous city of Melbourne were then of small account, and Queensland almost unknown. It is most interesting to see these flourishing colonies now, and to notice the wonderful advances that wool and gold have enabled them to attain. My letters of introduction procured me some kind invitations and hospitality, but neither my fellow passengers nor myself

were much inclined to make our abode there, and, as the formation of

A British Colony in New Zealand

was then about to be commenced, and that so-called savage country was much praised for its fine climate and other advantages, Mr Elliot, my fellow-passenger, proposed that I should go there, and take up some land for both of us, and at the same time gave me a letter to Captain Hobson, R.N., the newly appointed Lieutenant-Governor of New Zealand, with whom he was on intimate terms when that officer was on the Indian station. I soon found a ship preparing to sail for the new colony, and took passage in her for the Bay of Islands. Amongst other passengers on board that vessel an Australian gentleman had em-barked, taking with him a large number of fine sheep and cattle; but falling sick he was unable to look after them, and I volunteered to take his place. It was hard work, for the men in charge were not up to their duties, but it was profitable as well as pleasing to myself to aid in preventing the loss of fine stock as well as money to the proprietor, who was very grateful for my services, and paid me the cost of my passage. On arriving at the Bay of Islands the captain kindly invited me to live on board while the ship remained in the harbour, for hotel quarters on shore were not then very attractive, and I was very glad to accept his friendly offer. We visited together most parts of the great bay, and before the ship sailed I had made the acquaintance of the medical missionary, Dr Ford, of the Church of England Mission Establishment, situated in a part of the bay at some distance from the place where European storekeepers and drink-sellers had set up their abode, and I thankfully accepted the good doctor's kind invitation to lodge at his house, where I passed some time enjoying the quiet of the beautiful settlement called "Pahia," and the interesting society of the missionaries and their families, the good Archdeacon Henry Williams being at the head of that little band. Lieutenant-Governor Hobson and several officers had found temporary quarters in the same pleasant locality. His Excellency received me kindly when I called to present my letter of introduction, and soon after was so good as to take me with him in the Revenue cutter Ranger to visit other parts of the island reported to be most suitable for the formation of the seat of Government, and at the same time to meet some of the native chiefs, and get them to sign the treaty of Waitangi, the treaty of ceding their authority made by the principal chiefs to the Queen of Great Britain, but retaining their rights of proprietorship in the soil and an agreement to sell their lands only to the Government. This treaty is called the "Treaty of Waitangi," because it was first signed by the chiefs of the north on a piece of land belonging to Mr Busby, who was previously British Consul, near to a great waterfall called in the native language the "Weeping Water" or "Waitangi."

Hoisting the British Flag at Auckland.

I was happily able to be of some assistance to Governor Hobson in selecting the best position for a settlement, as far as the harbour and navigation were concerned. We visited the Tamaki River and afterwards the Waitemate, a spacious harbour, well suited for communication with many parts of the country inland. On our return to the Bay of Islands His Excellency, in a very kind and flattering manner, offered me the appointment of Harbourmaster at the Waitemate, where he had determined the seat of Government, to be called Auckland, should be formed. Subsequently a Lieutenant of the Royal Navy came with a recommendation from high authority for his appointment to the office, but the Governor declined to make any change. Soon afterwards the Surveyor-General and myself were despatched and directed to fix the precise spot as most suitable for a settlement, and for a port of easy access and safe anchorage for shipping. We were accompanied by several officers of the Civil Service, and a body of mechanics and working men in a hired transport under my control. Our tents were pitched on a beautiful slope facing the entrance of the harbour, amidst trees adorned with fine parasite plants and hanging clematis flowers. On the 18th of September 1840 I had the honour and satisfaction of hoisting the first British flag after Captain W. Symonds, who had been appointed to the office of Resident Magistrate, had procured the necessary land from the natives to be the property of Her Majesty; and the ceremony was concluded by hearty cheers and a salute from the ship. Some weeks later the Governor came from the Bay of Islands in a ship of war, and expressed himself well pleased with the [spot selected. That spot is now the centre of a large city and district containing more than 60,000 inhabitants, and possessing churches of various denominations, fine public buildings, and institutions for education and public amusement, surrounded by beautiful villas and gardens with all modern improvements and conveniences for health and comfort. For many years afterwards it was a source of the highest interest and delight to see the surrounding country cleared, the plough at work, and human dwellings extending day by day in that delightful, agreeable, and healthy climate. My time was chiefly employed in marking and buoing the few dangers in the approaches to the harbour, and attending to the shipping arriving from the Australian colonies and the mother country with emigrants and merchandise. During my time of office no serious loss of any vessel took place, and the harbour

has proved to be one of the best in the Australian colonies. In the year 1844 we had some native troubles, and I was

Appointed to be a Captain of Militia,

with a small battery of artillery under my command; I was also for a time Immigration Officer and Superintendent of Public Works, and had the satisfaction of being of some service to many poor but energetic working people who had ventured to seek employment in that distant part of the world; to most of the industrious emigrants their life in New Zealand has been productive of great success and happiness.

A Brush with Pirates.

In the month of October 1843 I volunteered to go with my boat's crew and an officer and some soldiers of the 80th Regiment to look for a brigantine which had been stolen from a harbour in the "Chatham Islands" by some desperadoes, who, knowing that there was no ship of war on the coast, had boldly come to a small harbour of an island about 60 miles from Auckland, and were getting ready for a piratical cruise. Mr W. S. Grahame, an Auckland merchant, lent us the use of a schooner. Wind and other circumstances favoured us, so that by a little management we were alongside the abducted vessel early one morning before the intended pirates had any suspicion of our coming, and she was taken without bloodshed. I brought the brigantine to Auckland, the leader and his crew were severely punished, and the vessel was after a time given up to the agents of an Insurance Company, to which her owners had abandoned her. This check to lawless practices in those early days of the colony was very satisfactory to the Government, and brought me very pleasing public acknowledgments of our success, without claim for salvage. After 15 years' service at Auckland I was appointed head of Her Majesty's Customs at the very pleasant settlement of Nelson, in the Middle Island, and altogether I spent more than 30 years and served under five successive Governors with apparent success in the flourishing colony of New Zealand until I obtained my retiring pension in the year 1868.

Testimonials of Appreciation.

On retiring from the salaried service of New Zealand I had the great satisfaction to receive a very favourable letter from the Colonial Government regarding my services, and at a public meeting of the merchants of Nelson I was presented with an address and a handsome testimonial. I also received a large nugget of gold from a Young Men's Mutual Improvement Society as a souvenir of my having been their President. These testimonials have been a great source of gratification to me during the whole of my after life, as well as of thankful acknowledgment of the divine aid which enabled me to accomplish the services so kindly accepted and generously rewarded. For some years afterwards I was occupied as Visiting Magistrate to the gaol and asylum, and on the Board of Education and Hospital Committees, together with other unpaid offices, and the delightful recreation of cultivating my garden and orchard in the healthful climate of the picturesque and pleasing settlement of Nelson, where the ordinary fruits of Britain, as well as peaches and vines, grow luxuriantly. To those born in the colony, or who have relatives and old friends there, New Zealand affords perhaps the most desirable place of residence under the British flag. But the changeful circumstances of colonial life and the greatly reduced number of our friends and contemporaries made us feel a natural longing to spend our latter years amongst our relatives and friends in the old country. In the year 1875 we sailed for England. Much kind attention, both public and private, was shown to us at parting, and we carried with us a very grateful sense of the many blessings we had enjoyed during more than 30 years of life in New Zealand.

Past Colonial Officials.

It is said that in former years colonial appointments were made more for the exercise of official patronage rather than from fitness and capacity in the persons appointed. Certainly with regard to New Zealand it has not been so. Lord Stanley, Lord John Russell, Earl Grey, and other Secretaries of State for the Colonies appear to have endeavoured to find and to select the most eligible men for the services required; and it was a great boon to the new colony that Captain Hobson, Chief Justice Sir William Martin, the Attorney-General Mr Swainson, Bishop Selwyn, and Sir George Grey were all men of enlightenment and high integrity, as well as zeal for the advancement of the colony and the welfare of both races of the population, free from the taint of the convict system which prevailed in the formation of some of the Australian settlements. Governor Fitzroy was not successful; but he was an officer of high repute in the Royal Navy, and anxiously laboured to fulfil the duties of his important office, and to effect measures which he deemed most likely to overcome great difficulties that existed during his brief term of administration.

The Late Sir George Grey.

The death of Sir George Grey and the burial of his remains in St Paul's Cathedral have lately called public attention to the services of that distinguished Colonial Governor of Western Australia, the Cape Colony, and more especially to his brilliant career in New Zealand. From the day when I went out on duty to meet the ship in which he arrived I had the satisfaction of holding office under so able and wise a Governor, and the great privilege of having for many years the advantage of his private friendship and of enjoying his kind hospitality at his beautiful island home, to which he retired after ceasing to be Governor of the Colony. I had also pleasant meetings with Sir George in London after his final return to England. He was then full of designs for increasing the valuable collection of classic books and rare manuscripts which he had bestowed on the Public Library at Auckland, as he had previously done at the Cape, with the desire to render those collections available for reference and instruction to the inhabitants of South Africa and the Australasian colonies, until his memory failed, so that in subsequent visits I perceived with feelings of deep regret that his once keen intellect was no longer able to grasp such lofty and benevolent ideas, and at the last he was unable to converse with any of his friends. Before his death, in the room of a London hotel, the great Colonial Governor became touchingly weak and unconscious. His memory will be gratefully held by very many colonists and natives to whom he rendered such signal political and administrative services and so much private kindness. The influence of the men whose names I have mentioned, as well as that of many ministers of religion and others holding important offices, was of great benefit to the society of a young colony, and their intimacy and friendship, as well as that of the naval and military officers and their families, on the New Zealand station rendered our social position all that could be desired. Even now we cherish intercourse with the very few of those early friends who are still alive, and hold grateful recollections of by far the larger number who have passed away.

America and New Zealand in 1844.

At the time of the first rising of the natives against the small body of troops at the Bay of Islands in the year 1844, when the town of Russell was burned, the soldiers defeated, and the settlers scattered, there was an American ship of war, the *St Louis*, at anchor in the Bay of Islands. Captain M'Kiver told me afterwards that the principal native chief—Heke—asked him to take the place for America, but this was, of course, declined. Although at that period England and America were not on such friendly terms as they are at present, yet the now frequently revived saying that blood is thicker than water was then generously exemplified. Captain M'Kiver told Heke that although he could not interfere between the natives and the British soldiers, he would prevent any attempt to injure women and children. He also sent his boats to bring them away, took on board some of the mission families, and made a special visit to Auckland with the refugees who had placed themselves under his care, and generously landed a quantity of American biscuits towards their maintenance. When leaving Auckland to return to the Bay of Islands he gave me an American flag to be hoisted on any defenceless vessel bearing despatches and requiring protection at the Bay of Islands.

New Zealand in 1849.

In the beginning of the year 1849 I accompanied Sir George Grey in H.M. ship *Inflexible* on a visit to all the settlements already founded or projected by the powerful New Zealand Company, afterwards taken over by the Government. "Wellington," "Nelson," and "New Plymouth" had been established, and an excellent class of emigrants sent to them from England; but they were then comparatively small places, chiefly composed of wooden houses. The sites of Dunedin, in Otago Province, and of Christchurch, in the Province of Canterbury, were then unoccupied, excepting by a small tribe of natives and a few stock breeders; but the country gave promise of great facilities and scope for extensive farming, to which was soon added the discovery of gold in Otago, which attracted numerous miners and their followers, so that when I revisited the place in less than 20 years afterwards the wonderful energy and perseverance of the settlers had changed wide and desolate plains into cornfields, and formed towns at the seaports possessing fine stone-built churches and elegant public buildings in regular streets, with shops and warehouses, hotels, and other accommodations, more like those of an old country than one might expect to see in a colony so many thousand miles distant from the parent land in so short a space of time. Although very little of a botanist, in my rambles on the mountains of the Nelson Province I had the good fortune to discover some new varieties of plants, which I sent to the Royal Gardens at Kew, and found my name favourably mentioned as a collector in Dr Hooker's excellent book on the flora of New Zealand.

An Interesting Maori Encampment.

On one occasion when I was conveying the Governor in the large boat of my Department to the river Thames, about 40 miles from Auckland, we encamped for the night on a plain by the riverside, where a large body of fine-looking natives—chief and people, young and old—had assembled to meet his Excellency. They were seated on the grass amidst clumps of Asphodel palm trees, and arranged in wide circles. After much conversational intercourse with the chiefs, fires were lighted, prayer books produced, and many hymns were sung by the whole concourse, the Governor standing at our tent door taking part. Sir George was much moved, and said to me—"This scene exceeds the most romantic imaginations of my boyhood." It was indeed a remarkable scene, and might well form a striking subject for a painting—a British Pro-Consul joining in the worship of the Deity with people of a race but recently converted from barbarism to Christianity, and become subject to the Queen of Great Britain. The Governor went on to the interior, and I returned with the boat to Auckland, touching on my way at a small island with one little hut on it, which, to my surprise, I found tenanted by an aged Scotch gentleman, who had not been successful as a colonist, and had retired from the world to lead a kind of hermit life all alone and in miserably poor circumstances. I brought his case under the notice of some of his friends and countrymen, who kindly had the old man brought back to the settlement.

New Zealand at the Present Time.

In the present day almost any part of New Zealand can be reached by means of railways, good carriage roads, or well-appointed steamers on the coasts and on the lakes and rivers; but in earlier years, when I with a friend first made a journey far into the interior of the North Island, accompanied by a party of natives to carry our tents, provisions, and baggage, the travelling had to be done on foot, or by canoes on the waterways, and the paths through the dense but grand forests and over the mountains were very rugged and fatiguing. Yet it was delightful to be quite away from European life, amongst a race of people but recently brought out of a savage, and even cannibal, condition of life to a considerable advance in civilisation and Christianity by the zealous labours of missionaries sent by the Church of England and the Wesleyan Mission Societies, and to find oneself perfectly secure in life and property far from police protection. Every evening when our tent was pitched and the kettle on the fire by some pleasant stream or in a sheltering wood, the natives assembled to sing their hymns and join in prayer. This was repeated before starting on our pleasant way each morning of a journey of several weeks, during which time we visited the great central lake Taupo, overshadowed by the volcanic peaks of Tongariro Mountain. The unique and wonderful terraces on the mountain sides of lake Rotomahana were then existing in all their marvellous beauty. These terraces were formed by streams of clear, boiling water flowing from a lake on the mountain side, and depositing the sulphate of lime with which it was strongly impregnated in the form of wide and broad sets of steps, as if leading to some gigantic palace, and adorned by fantastic, arabesque-like formations on the outside, and into smooth-lined, marble-like baths on the inside, where it was delightful indeed to swim in spacious pools of refreshing and health-giving hot water. But alas! these singular formations, which would have drawn visitors from all parts of the world, have disappeared, smashed, broken up, and covered by the débris of a high neighbouring mountain shattered by an earthquake. It is to be hoped that the same stream may in the course of ages form again similar enticing and beautiful depositions. But there are still many interesting volcanic phenomena in that part of New Zealand, together with extensive natural hot baths, and excellent hotel accommodation, which attract many visitors to such a delightful and picturesque resort for health and enjoyment.

The South Sea Islands.

Before leaving the Far East I made a voyage to some of the islands which are scattered over the Pacific Ocean, or Great South Sea, as it was called by our early navigators; and I was courteously offered a free passage to Tahiti in a fine clipper schooner belonging to a cotton growing Company on that island. The mighty ocean between Asia and America was first seen by the Spaniards from the heights of the Isthmus of Darien, and they made discoveries of many islands which they did not make known to the rest of the world; but the Dutch navigator, Tasman, and our own illustrious navigator, Captain Cook, the most painstaking and accurate of explorers, gave such attractive descriptions of their formation, scenery, productions, and native inhabitants that they were at first regarded as romances rather than a sober account gained by knowledge and experience. Some of those Islands are nearly level with the water, mere coral reefs, on which cocoanut trees flourish; others are mountainous and of volcanic origin. Amongst others I visited Samoa, where Robert Louis Stevenson lived and died, and Rarotonga, lately taken under the British flag; but most of my time was spent at Tahiti, the largest island of the "Society Group," where I enjoyed the hospitality of the manager of a cotton plantation and of the

resident missionary of the London Missionary Society, which was the first to begin the good work amongst the natives in the year 1797. I was also kindly entertained by the native Queen Pomare and by the French Governor of the Protectorate of Oceané, who resides at Tahiti. Almost all the native inhabitants of these enchanting islands in the eastern part of the Pacific have become converts to Christianity through the noble efforts and arduous labours of the London, Wesleyan, and, later on, French Roman Catholic Missions. In the western part of the Pacific, New Guinea and other large islands are peopled by a fiercer race of negro-like natives, and their cause has been taken up by missions from Nova Scotia, the Scottish Presbyterian Missionary Society, and lastly by Bishop Selwyn, of New Zealand, and his amiable, martyred coadjutor, Bishop Paterson, who was killed by the natives at Santa Cruz, one of the Solomon Islands. I became deeply impressed by the wonderful results of these self-sacrificing efforts of all these missions on the character of the natives, and I retain a vivid and most pleasing recollection of the natural beauty of these islands, as well as of the hospitality and kindness that I met with from their true friends, the good and zealous Christian missionaries of all denominations.

The Samoan Islanders.

In approaching Samoa, or Navigators' Islands, a canoe full of fine-looking young natives came far out to meet us, eagerly desiring to purchase firearms and ammunition, for then, as now, fighting was going on between some of the tribes as to the Kingship. We anchored at Apia, and I was invited to stay at the house of the British Consul, Mr Williams. We visited together some of the rival chiefs, and in due courtesy had to taste the kava prepared by young women of high degree, who, after cleansing out their mouths very carefully, chew pieces of the root and spit the juice into a large bowl; it is then mixed with water and sifted before being handed round in cocoanut shells to each guest. Some Europeans like it; I did not, but on such ceremonial visits it must be tasted so as to avoid giving offence. I spent a few days also at the station of the London Missionary Society, at that time under the care of Dr Turner, who had a College for native men and women under his instructions to fit them for carrying Christian work amongst their fellow-islanders. The labours of these missionaries and those of the Wesleyan Society have been most successful in converting the gentle natives; but, unfortunately, each island has a few stray European castaways from the Australian Colonies and New Zealand, who are a hindrance to good work, and set a bad example to the converts. They manage to make a living by acting as agents for traders, who exchange articles of European manufacture for cocoanut kernel dried for exportation to Europe, or pressed for the oil by rude methods on the spot. The husks of the cocoanuts also form an article of commerce for making ropes and mats called coir. At the beautiful island of Raratonga, lately taken under the protection of the British flag, I passed some time with Mr Chalmers, the resident missionary, whose dwelling was situated behind a lawn dotted with tall oleanders, and sheltered by a fine grove of orange trees, in the principal of the five villages, connected by a good road round the shore, which form the dwellings of the whole population, each having its church, built of coral limestone by the people themselves, and there is a College for young people at the head station. In return for a simple address which I was asked to give them, a long procession of native men and women came to bring me gifts of fruits and other productions of the islands, with kindly wishes for my welfare. Yet the zealous desire of Mr Chalmers to extend his labours of love has induced him to leave that abode of peaceful success, and volunteer to work in New Guinea, where he has already been doing excellent service amongst a savage people in a very unhealthy climate, to which he was accompanied by some of the native teachers he had trained at Raratonga.

Settlement in England.

After arriving in England we tried several places on the southern coast, and finally settled and took a house at Bournemouth; and as the site was cut out of a plantation of pines I had to resume the work I was accustomed to in New Zealand, by planting trees and shrubs, and making flowers grow where they never grew before. We had some pleasant friends near us, and have had good reason to be satisfied with the years spent at that rapidly advancing waterside resort, where also I was able to take a humble part in hospital management and other charitable works, as well as to keep up a connection with several benevolent institutions in London. For many years I was attached to the Church of England, and enjoyed the friendship of many clergymen and ministers of this and of other orthodox Churches, and had good reason to very highly appreciate their noble efforts for the spiritual welfare of their flocks; and I well know how great has been the influence of Christianity on the laity belonging to orthodox Churches in all parts of the world, but I never felt quite satisfied with the creeds and Trinitarian doctrines held by these Churches.

Egypt and Palestine.

During the time I held office in New Zealand I obtained leave of absence at the close of each period of 10

years' service, and took those opportunities to visit parts of Europe and America, to be noticed more particularly farther on; and after my retirement from the colony I took every means afforded me for a few months in each year to become acquainted with the most interesting countries of all the great Continents. Having also been favoured by circumstances in acquiring considerable practical knowledge of the principal European languages, which enabled me to hold pleasant and profitable intercourse with fellow-travellers and inhabitants of places visited, I met with great success on most of my journeys. Next to the attachment felt to our native country and its history, probably most intelligent persons think of the land and the people from whom we have derived our religion, and are constantly brought to mind from our childhood onwards in reading the sacred Scriptures. I was, therefore, inclined to place the Holy Land of Palestine before all others, and I look back with satisfaction on having been able to visit the sacred and classic shores of the countries bordering the Levant (or "Sea of the Sunrise"), whilst they were, to a certain extent, really Oriental both as regards the aspect of the land and the manners and customs of the inhabitants, when railways and luxurious hotels were unknown, and travellers had to undergo fatigue, and at times to meet the risk of personal maltreatment; because in those days one seemed to be carried back to primitive times of Biblical history and ancient Story, together with a feeling of adventure and complete change of circumstances from those of ordinary Western life. Thirty years ago travellers in Egypt and Palestine were comparatively few in number, and usually went through the Holy Land in parties, headed by a dragoman, or interpreter and guide, who provided escorts, servants, and all things necessary for sight-seeing and encampments, but at great expense both of time and money. This costly mode of progression did not suit my purse nor the time at my disposal; and I contented myself with the services of one man to show me the way and take care of the horses, finding shelter and food in convents and in native khans, with sometimes kind hospitality at Protestant Mission stations; taking an escort, or guard only, on parts of the route which were beset with Bedouin Arabs, and somewhat dangerous. From Alexandria I went by a Russian steamer to Jaffa, the ancient Joppa, and spent the first evening on the flat housetop of my lodging, like St Peter, in view of the house of "Simon the Tanner," and over-looking the sea, where fishermen were casting their nets from the rocks. The next evening I spent in a convent on the Plain of Sharon, where I was hospitably received by the monks, and on the second day I came

In Sight of Jerusalem

from the hills of Judea. On entering the city I found a suitable simple lodging kept by a German. My little white-washed cell window looked towards the Mount of Olives, and the small number of my fellow lodgers were thoughtful and intelligent companions. During my stay in Jerusalem I had the good fortune to make the acquaintance of Bishop Gobat and the British Consul, both of whom showed me much kindness and hospitality. On my first Sunday morning I was up before the dawn and treading the long silent streets towards the Golden Gate. The Turkish guard at once opened the gate and let me out, so that I was able to get down into the Valley of Jehosaphat, across the channel of "the Brook Kedron," and to reach the summit of the Mount of Olives just as the sun was rising over the mountains of Moab, shining on the distant Dead Sea, and gilding the walls and towers of the Holy City. Such a comprehensive view of a scene, familiar in imagination to all readers of the Scriptures, viewed from a spot consecrated by having been the resort of Christ Himself in His visits to His dear friends at the little village of Bethany, still to be seen embowered amongst peach trees on the other side of the Mount, made a deep and solemn impression on my mind which can never be effaced. Returning to the city, I passed the enclosed clump of olive trees said to have been the Garden of Gethsemane, and was in time for morning service at the handsome modern Protestant church on Mount Sion, and dined with the good Bishop and his family, after which the ladies kindly entertained me by singing the Songs of Sion on Sion's Hill. In the evening I rode out to Bethlehem over hills adorned at this season by cyclamen and other beautiful wildflowers. The most prominent object at Bethlehem is a church built over the cave in the side of the rock, said to be the stable containing the manger in which Jesus Christ was born; but, like other remarkable localities fixed by tradition, the precise situation of the birthplace is very uncertain. The most imposing building in Jerusalem is the magnificent mosque of Omar, on Mount Moriah, held in great veneration by the Mahomedan population and by all pious believers in their Prophet. To Christians the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is most sacred; to it the pilgrims of the Roman, Greek, and Armenian Churches hasten to pay their vows, and lay down the burden of their sins, with tears and other touching signs of penance, at the marble tomb under the grand dome, and to join in processions, singing hymns and reciting prayers, as they move from one sacred spot to another in the immense edifice, said to cover Mount Calvary, which is more than doubtful, as the Crucifixion is related to have taken place "outside the city." The poor Jewish inhabitants and pilgrims have also their days of pathetic lamentation over the forlorn condition of their nation, and the departed glory of the Temple of Jehovah, at the spot where a few stones of that sacred edifice are believed to form part of the ancient city wall.

From Jerusalem to Jericho.

From Jerusalem I rode down to Jericho and the Dead Sea, accompanied by a Bedouin Chief, who for a moderate payment undertook to prevent my being robbed or maltreated by any of his tribe, many of whom we met fully armed in that region, known as the scene of the Good Samaritan's giving relief to the poor man "who fell among thieves." Although the shores of the famous Dead Sea are arid and sterile, the mountain scenery around it is imposing and picturesque. I tried to have a swim in the dense acrid water, but it is easier to float than to dive or to make progress; and afterwards I was glad to have a refreshing wash in the Jordan, which flows into the Dead Sea near its northern extremity, and passed the moonlit night in a tent on the Plain of Jericho in view of Mount Pisgah, from which Moses viewed the Promised Land. With one follower as groom and guide, I journeyed by old time-worn tracks through Samaria to Nablous, the ancient Sichem, and was most hospitably received into the house of a good missionary, who accompanied me to Mount Gerizim and to Jacob's Well, beside which we sat together talking of Scriptural events connected with this part of the land, which seemed to be in the same condition as when Jesus passed that way and held converse with the "Woman of Samaria." This indeed might be said of most parts of Palestine at that periods for the present Mahomedan inhabitants are devout worshippers of Jehovah (Allah), and many of the old men, with their long white beards and flowing Oriental garments, seen at their prayers, with gestures and expression of fervent devotion, seem to realise our idea of the Jewish Patriarchs, and the ordinary avocations of the sparse population seemed like those of Bible times, though since then the country has been often conquered and overrun by numerous invaders. My way onwards lay through the desolate plains of Esdraleon, by Gilboa, to Nazareth, which is even now an attractive and beautifully-situated village in a fruitful valley of Galilee; there I was again hospitably entertained by the resident missionary, Mr Zeller, and his amiable wife, a daughter of Bishop Gobat. Had I been travelling with a party I should probably not have had the great advantage I so much enjoyed, in being the guest of such worthy and intelligent friends, to whom I was indebted for much kindness and valuable information. From Nazareth I went on to the Lake of Tiberias, where I was lodged in the house of a Jew, and roamed about the scenes of Christ's most impressive and far-reaching teaching to all the world through the Sermon on the Mount, first given to the crowds who followed Him along the shore of that picturesque lake, whose towns and villages of those times, excepting Tiberias, have disappeared, and left only a sense of lonely but solemn and touching interest to Christian visitors and missionaries coming from regions then unknown, to bring back the Bible to its original home, where the Koran has so long usurped its place.

On the Way to Damascus.

From Tiberias I rode along the Brook Kishon, where Elijah slew the priests of Baal, to Mount Carmel, and was received at the Monastery near the summit overlooking the sea. I was also kindly entertained by the British Consul at Hephah, where a German settlement has been formed, whence I travelled along the shore by St Jean d'Acre to the ruins of Tyre and the still existing city of Sidon to Beyrout, which is the principal port on that part of the coast of Syria. Beyrout is a well kept and almost modern town, beautifully situated on the plain at the base of the Lebanon Mountains. It is the headquarters of American Christian Missions, where excellent schools are maintained. It is also the starting point for the very ancient and still important city of Damascus, to which a railway is now completed, but in my time a good horse and sufficient bodily strength were needed to bear the traveller over both ranges of the Lebanon Mountains to the rich plains of the "Rivers of Damascus." On my way I stopped to see the majestic ruins of the great Temple of Baalbee, and after many hours of hard riding through miles of deep snow on the summit of the mountains, I came in sight of the "Pearl amidst emeralds," to which this most ancient of cities has been figuratively likened. A refreshing Turkish bath enabled me to explore the streets, gardens, fountains, and architectural remains that tell of former grandeur and also of the present wealth and commerce of Damascus. On my return journey over the mountains to Beyrout the heavy snow had melted and revealed one of the most fertile and charming scenes of mountain life; for the slopes of the Lebanons are richly cultivated and peopled by industrious races of Maronites and Druses, who, after much warlike contention, are now living quietly under the shade of their vines and fig trees. The descent by a winding road towards Beyrout discloses the most enchanting views both of mountain scenery and the waters of the Levant, shining like gold under the setting sun.

Egypt.

Next to the Holy Land, a few weeks spent in Egypt in early spring afforded me great enjoyment, as well as benefit to my health. Cairo was then more of an Oriental city than it is now, but not so gay and luxurious as a British garrison and crowds of winter visitors have since made it. There was, however, good accommodation

for travellers, and means for sailing on the grand old Nile, which I ascended as far as the First Cataract, enjoying the delightful climate and temperature at that season, as well as exploring the temples and stupendous columns and obelisks at Luxor and other parts along the banks of the famous river. The enchanting ruins on the beautiful island of Philœ, the rocky mountains, the palm trees, the brilliant skies, and golden sunsets render a sail on the Nile a source of supreme pleasure, filling the mind with ineffaceable recollections, and profoundly solemn impressions of a visit to the land of the Pharaohs and Cleopatra, now greatly enhanced by the knowledge that to British statesmanlike noble enterprise and British valour the government of that ancient country has been changed from a condition of oppression and grinding taxation into one of comparative freedom, justice, and benevolent regard for the toiling dwellers along the banks, and amid the broad lands of the wide valley watered by the mighty stream. I was surprised to see even young Englishmen being helped to ascend the great Pyramid near Cairo, and I had the satisfaction of being able to reach the summit without any aid, but I had to give backsheesh to the Arabs for being allowed to climb alone.

The Isles of Greece.

At the dawn of a clear, shining winter morning, under the bright blue sky of ancient Greece, I landed at the Piræus, or harbour of Athens, and ascended the hill over Philerium, whence the Greek fleet of war-galleys commanded by Themistocles sallied forth to attack and destroy the Persian fleet at Salamis. From the eminence where I stood at sunrise a panoramic view of striking and highly classical historic scenery met my emotional gaze. The grand Temple of Minerva, on the massive rocky height of the Acropolis, dominating the once magnificent city of Athens, reflected the sun's brilliant rays; the encircling range of the Hymettus Mountains, the Island of Egina, and distant ruins of Corinth formed an imposing picture, vividly recalling scenes of ancient glory, and still possessing architectural re-mains and natural beauty delightful to look upon. A pleasant walk of four or five miles brought me to the city renowned of old as the seat of learning, art, and civilisation, now beginning again to possess some fine modern buildings and institutions. I spent some time viewing the noble ruins on the Acropolis—the grand columns of the Temple of Jupiter, a few of which still remain, and the well-preserved Temple of Theseus, together with other monuments of unrivalled Greek art, which have been copied so often in other parts of the world. Mars Hill, where St Paul delivered his brilliant address to the people of Athens, is a great rock standing in a plain near the base of the Acropolis, and remains in much the same condition as when it was used as the Court of the Areopagus. I also made an excursion on horseback to the nearest mountains in order to get a view of the Plains of Marathon and distant Pass of Thermopylae, lint this was rather a risky undertaking, as Greek brigands were then in the habit of capturing lonely travellers and holding them for ransom. I was, however, not molested, and got safely away from Attica to sail by the Plains of Troy, Mount Ida, the Dardanelles, and the Sea of Azoff to

Constantinople.

That famous Eastern city presents a glorious and exciting scene of splendid Turkish palaces, mosques, and minarets, built on undulating hills, with their domes and gilded minaret points reflecting the brilliant sunshine of that bright sky. When viewed from the sea it forms, perhaps, the most imposing sight presented by any city in the world. The Strait of the Bosphorus, and a curved inlet from it called the Golden Horn, are usually crowded with shipping of all nations, which enlivens the beauty of the charming scene; but on shore the enchantment vanishes, for the streets and bazaars are badly kept, and sanitary regulations are much needed in Stamboul. From Constantinople to the Black Sea the Bosphorus forms a combination of lake-like bends and narrow passages, where the clear blue water flows between verdant hills and wooded slopes, bedecked with palaces, villas, and villages of Oriental style, making a sail in a caique, or steamer, most delightful and enjoyable; but I was very ill and without friends, until I had the good fortune to meet an American missionary, who kindly invited me to stay at his station in the village of Bibeck, where I met with the most disinterested kindness and hospitality which soon restored me to health and strength for further travelling.

Scenery of the Crimea.

Few people know how beautiful are the shores of the Crimea to the eastward of Sevastopol. The Emperor of Russia and many wealthy Russian families make it their resort for the enjoyment of the climate and the scenery of the coast; and there is a good carriage road from Sevastopol to Yalta, a large seaport town possessing good hotels and lodging-houses. Various bays and sheltered valleys are occupied and adorned by elegant villas; and the Emperor's palace is a very tasteful resort amidst beautiful grounds at Livadia, where the flowers of South Europe and sub-tropical plants seem to flourish as they do on the Riviera. Many of the buildings of Sevastopol were still in ruins at the time of my visit. Balaclava Harbour, once crowded with ships of war and

transports, is now a mere fishing cove, and desolation reigns over all the open country, where British, French, and Italian armies were encamped during the memorable siege; but the graves of our officers and soldiers who fell in the battles of Inker-man and Balaclava, or were killed in the trenches, are enclosed by a high stone wall of a well-kept burying-ground on Cathcart's Hill, and suitable monuments have been erected to their memory. The graves of those who died in hospital, under the loving care of Miss Nightingale and her sister nurses at Scutari, opposite Constantinople, are equally well cared for at the expense of the British Government.

The Fascinations of Italy.

Turning to other parts of the Mediterranean shores, Italy is by far the most fascinating; but I would recommend intending visitors to that land, with the fatal gift of beauty, to enter it from the north, either by way of Switzerland or the Riviera. The passes from Switzerland, such as the St Gothard, the Splugen, and the Stelvio, from the Tyrol, are all replete with grand and romantic scenery, which is nearly entirely lost by travellers who pass under the Alps by railway. To see Italy in all its captivating beauty one must endure a little heat in May and June, when the vines and trees are in leaf, and flowers are in glorious profusion; for even in the south of Italy cold winds prevail in spring. In the month of March I have seen snow covering Mount Vesuvius and falling in the streets of Naples; but in April and May, when our country people who spend the winter there mostly leave Italy, excursions from Naples to the volcano, to the ruins of Pompeii and Herculaneum, Castel-a-Mare, Sorrento, and Amalfi afford the most interesting and enchanting views of land and water which can be found in all the world, and once seen can never be forgotten. The great cities of Italy and their monuments of ancient and modern architecture, the museums, palaces, and galleries of paintings and sculpture, so often described, are truly magnificent; and even those who, like myself, have little knowledge of the rules of art, the wonderful works of the great masters displayed in the collections at Rome, Florence, and other cities of Italy, as well as those of Madrid and Seville in Spain, the Louvre in Paris, and the Hermitage Palace at St Petersburg, are delightfully impressive and instructive. At the same time I do not by any means undervalue the pleasing and attractive works of our highly gifted British artists, which adorn the walls of South Kensington Museum, and those of the new and elegant building which Mr Tate has so munificently given to the nation, as well as the pictures by renowned Scottish artists to be seen in the galleries of Edinburgh.

Former Modes of Travel in Italy.

The romantic Corniche Road, constructed by the first Napoleon Bonaparte, passes along the heights over Cannes, Nice, Monte Carlo, and other resorts, which are now so full of attractions and luxurious conveniences to health seekers, were but small places, with little accommodation, when I first visited Italy; but I think that the drive was far more interesting than the present railway route by the shore front; and travellers through Italy, from Genoa to Milan, Florence, Rome, and Naples, who, like myself, could not afford to provide a special conveyance, usually took seats in a carriage—"vettura"—and placed themselves under the care of the vetturino, who, for a moderate price, engaged to provide hotel accommodation and food for the whole journey agreed upon. Such means of travelling made but slow progress—about 30 miles a day—but the roads lay through populous districts, by towns and villages, affording lively sights of the people, their dwellings, and their picturesque costumes, which last are now almost entirely abandoned. In those days political feelings ran high, stem, and determined; the despotic Governments of Austria in Lombardy, and Venice, the Papal States, and the two Sicilies were in full tyrannic power. Brave, outspoken patriots were languishing in prisons and fortresses; one felt as if treading on a volcano, which, indeed, soon burst forth. Count Cavour, Garibaldi, and Victor Emanuel have changed all that, and Italy is now a united nation; its people are full of energy, and in Genoa and other great cities improvements have been vigorously carried out. Grand arcades of wide and lofty dimensions have taken the place of narrow and crowded streets, so that many thousands of people find shelter and space for exercise under glass in all weathers.

An Audience of the Pope.

Whilst I was in Rome for the first time Pope Pius IX. was still the reigning Sovereign of the Papal States, and, as I was the bearer of a letter of introduction from the Roman Catholic Bishop of Auckland to the Cardinal at the head of the Propaganda, I was invited to an audience of the Pontiff. After ascending a noble flight of stairs lined with picturesque Swiss Guards, in the Palace of the Vatican, I was conducted through lofty halls, and amidst groups of officers of the noble Guard, to the cabinet of the Pope. The Secretary, who introduced me, clad in the rich old Italian costume, presented me kneeling, and retired, leaving me alone with the Pontiff. Although His Holiness knew that I did not belong to his Church, and did not pay him the usual marks of homage tendered by his subjects, yet he received me most affably and courteously. He was desirous of getting

information about missions in the Pacific, of which I could conscientiously give a very favourable report, and also talked on other matters of European interest with great freedom and kindly feeling. At parting he gave me his blessing, and asked me also to convey the same to my wife in a very tender manner, so that the interview left a very pleasing and interesting impression on my mind. In Sicily, during the year 1851, travelling was very difficult and life rather insecure. I travelled from Messina to Syracuse by way of Catania, and stopped for a day at Taormina, where there is the ruin of an ancient Greek theatre on a projecting high cliff overlooking the sea, and distant coast of Italy in front; and to the right the slopes and summit of Mount Etna, covered by rich cultivation, towns, villages, and farms, up to the snow-line, capped by the magnificent dome of that great volcano, rising 12,000 feet above the level of the sea. This view is looked upon by artists as one of the finest in the world. From Catania I ascended the mountain on foot as far as the snow would permit at that season, but did not reach the summit.

From Sardinia to Tunis.

From Italy I crossed by way of Sardinia to Tunis, passed a day amongst the few traces that yet remain of ancient Carthage, and then sailed along the north coast of Africa to the French possessions in Algeria, once the stronghold of pirates who beset that part of the Mediterranean. The squalid Moorish town, rising like a pyramid on the hills, has been cleansed and white-washed, and at its base a handsome city, in French style, has been created around a spacious harbour, once the old piratical port, which was cannonaded by the English Fleet under Lord Exmouth, and the Christian captives released in the year 1816. In the vicinity of the city there are beautiful villas and gardens; the French Governor's Palace, in Moorish style; an English Church, and good accommodation for invalids who pass the winter in that desirable climate. I went as far inland as "Constantine," a great Moorish city, and ancient Roman colonial city, nearly surrounded by the very deep channel of a river, which rendered it almost invulnerable; but it was taken by the French, and now contains a large garrison of French troops; for it is to France that the mercantile world owes the complete suppression of the barbarous and piratical government of that part of Africa.

The Rock of Gibraltar.

The mighty rock of Gibraltar looks like a gigantic ship of war, bristling with cannon, anchored close to the low-lying Spanish shore, to which it is attached; and every morning the roar of the British morning gun reverberates along that part of the coast of Spain—a sound not very agreeable to Spanish ears. I was permitted to visit every part of the galleries and fortifications cut in the rocks, and to walk along the highest ridge, about 1600 feet above the sea level. Now I believe no one is allowed to see the new works which have been constructed to render this great fortress impregnable by modern artillery. At the other great stronghold of British power in the Mediterranean—the island of Malta—I had the pleasure to renew acquaintance with some naval officers whom I had met in New Zealand, and to receive kind attentions at Government House and the Clubrooms, which were formerly the stately palaces of the Grand Master and Knights of Malta. The noble harbour of Valetta is the principal rendezvous of the British Fleet in the Mediterranean. The town is well kept, cheerful, and bright, and the country is made to produce cotton plants and vegetables by breaking up and pulverising the soft rock of which the island is formed. Returning to the European shores, I found a great part of Spain void of interest; but the cathedrals of Burgos, Toledo, and Seville, as well as the great mosque of many columns at Cordova, now a place of Christian worship, are magnificent edifices, which, together with the delightful climate of Andalusia and the southern provinces, well repay a visit to the land whose adventurous sons discovered and conquered a large portion of America, and has now, by a very remarkable change of fortune, been subdued and brought to terms of peace by powerful States in the Western Hemisphere, of which they were to a great extent masters and cruel oppressors a few hundred years ago. In every town of Spain there is an amphitheatre for the picturesque but really degrading bull-fights, in which the population, and especially the women, take a cruel delight; but amongst other amusements the national dances of the Spaniards are charmingly graceful, and far more pleasing than the pirouettes of French ballet dancers and German hop-waltzers.

Picturesque Spain.

There are many cities and towns in the world apparently clustered for protection at the base of rocky eminences on which strongholds have been built by some ruling Prince or feudal Lord. These have nearly all a very imposing and picturesque appearance, like Windsor Castle and Edinburgh Castle in Great Britain, Mount Sion at Jerusalem, and the Capitol at Rome; but the most remarkable of all that I have seen is the lofty and wide platform on which the wonderful Alhambra Palace, of Moorish architecture and fascinating beauty, still stands,

commanding an extensive view over the city of Grenada, the windings of the rivers Zañil and Darro, through the wide and fruitful plains in front, and behind to the towering range of the snow-clad Sierra Nevada Mountains, a sight that has made a deep impression on my memory. Before leaving Spain I made an excursion from Barcelona to the great monastery on Monserrat, and later on to that of the Grand Chartreuse, near Grenoble, in France. Both these monastic retreats are on mountain heights, their great halls, churches, and cells are extensive and securely walled round; but visitors are allowed to enter and to occupy small rooms prepared for them, so that they can attend the midnight services in a gallery of the church apart from the monks themselves. One of the financial resources of the "Chartreuse" is the profit derived from the sale of a very fine cordial made by the monks, who keep the mode and ingredients of the manufacture a profound secret. From Cadiz I went over to Tangiers, where there are one or two good hotels, affording accommodation to invalids for winter residence; and the castle of the Moorish Governor is worth a visit, but the condition of the narrow, ill-paved streets, or rather lanes, and the absence of good roads did not give me a favourable opinion of the place, or incline me to linger in the dominions of the Sultan of Morocco. After visiting Cadiz, Lisbon, Oporto, Gibraltar, Malaga, Barcelona, and other cities along the coasts of Spain and Portugal, I arrived at Marseilles and travelled to the Maritime Alps and the little town of Latour, where I made the acquaintance of some of the pastors of the Waldenses, and travelled on foot over the hills and amongst the valleys which that brave, free Christian people held so long and so courageously against the attacks of their Roman Catholic enemies, and who have again attained complete freedom, which they are using energetically to spread their simple Protestant doctrines in most of the towns of Italy.

Travelling Experiences.

In later years I have seen a good deal of countries in the northern parts of Europe, having travelled by way of the Rhine and the Danube to Vienna, Buda-Pesth, and other parts of Austria and the Styrian Alps to Warsaw and Moscow, which, in its way, is most interesting and original. In the centre of the city there is an elevated and wide, level, rocky platform, called by a Tartar name the "Kremlin," on which there is a Royal palace, a cathedral, and an arsenal with gilded domes. This eminence has a grand aspect viewed from below, and commands a magnificent panoramic view of the city and the windings of the river, together with a multitude of gilded towers and cupolas of churches in the streets, and a chain of hills in the distance. In Moscow Russian and Oriental customs are mingled, and there is much true piety as well as religious superstition to be seen in the devotional manners and customs of the half Oriental population. From Moscow I returned to St Petersburg, after an absence of more than half a century, by a railway admirably conducted, with most luxurious stations, in striking contrast to the humble dwellings of the Russian peasants in their villages. I made a pleasant trip from St Petersburg to Stockholm, touching at several places on the coast of Finland, situated on narrow, rocky inlets, covered by pine trees; whilst steaming down the Neva the last glimpse we had of Russia was a reflection of sunset on the immense gilded dome of St Isaac's Church, shining like a brilliant evening star. Stockholm is built partly on rocky islands and partly on the mainland of Sweden, connected by bridges; and passengers are also carried in elegant, open-air, little steamers to all parts of the handsome city, or to public gardens, where it is very pleasant to spend a summer evening, and enjoy good music, as well as the comforts of excellent cafés which abound in this gay and polished Scandinavian capital, from which it is easy to journey by lakes and canals to the wealthy commercial city of Gottenburg, on the shores of the Cattegat. In that northern climate, so severe in winter and so pleasant in summer, the working classes, who appear well-to-do, enjoy their summer festivals in picnic meetings amongst the stately pine woods that surround the city. In Sweden and Norway one is never disturbed by the importunities of beggars, so troublesome in Italy; and, although there is not any show of great wealth, there are few signs of abject poverty. Of Norway, so often and so well described by travellers, I can only say that a trip to its deep inlets or fjords, running far into the land, under the shadow of lofty snow-capped mountains, in one of the well-appointed steamers which go there and to the North Cape in summer from London, Hull, Leith, and Aberdeen, is a delightful way of passing a few weeks, where there is no darkness, only a brief twilight, and the air is warm without being oppressive.

Iceland and Its People.

It is a far cry from the verdant islands and genial climate of the sunny Pacific to the stern, stormy, and ice-bound shores of Iceland, in the Arctic Ocean; where, however, in the summer months there is really no hardship in travelling. It is true there are no graceful palm trees, or even pines, to give shelter to the rude turf-covered homes of the country people; but at Reykiavik, the chief town, there are fairly good houses, mostly constructed of timber, and simple hotels for accommodation to travellers. I journeyed on horseback over a great part of the country as far as Mount Hecla and the famous geysers, meeting with kind hospitality from the good

Lutheran pastors, who, like the doctors, have very wide districts to serve, and with very small remuneration; but they are intelligent and zealous for the welfare of the people under their care. There are some good elementary schools in the island, but most of the professional men are educated at Copenhagen. The Icelanders are an industrious and sober people, chiefly engaged in fishing and rearing small-sized horses and fine-wooled sheep, fed on the natural grass, which is cut in summer and stacked for winter use. Unfortunately, the ashes thrown up by Mount Hecla and other great volcanoes in the island are gradually lessening the area of the grass-producing lands, so that many of the Icelanders emigrate every year to America. Iceland possesses a literature of Sagas, or historic poems, of a very high order, and believed to record with great accuracy the heroic deeds of the chiefs who came from Norway to escape from despotic government and to establish a Republic, which, after long years, came through many vicissitudes, and has now become a Liberal Constitution, given to it by the present King of Denmark, their lawful Sovereign. The Icelanders claim that their ancestors were the first discoverers of the North-East Coast of America, and there planted small colonies whose history became lost in obscurity.

The Writer's Longest Journey.

The longest journey I ever made was from England to India, returning by way of China and Japan. I landed at Bombay, where I met some kind friends and visited the wonderful temple and admirable sculptures cut in the rocks of a great cave in the Island of Elephanta. Being on the shore of the Arabian Sea, and the scenery inland begirt by mountains, Bombay appeared to me to be a much more agreeable place to live at than the low-lying city of Calcutta, on the other side of Hindostan. The public buildings and institutions are of a high order and well maintained. A considerable section of the inhabitants are Parsees, descendants of the ancient fire worshippers of Persia, some of whom are rich merchants, highly respectable in character, and benevolent, public-spirited citizens. From Bombay I travelled by railway to Agra, where, like all other travellers, I was charmed by the sight of the glorious Tagh-Mahl, a magnificent edifice of pure white marble standing 'midst a beautiful and well-kept garden on one side of the city, along a wide promenade, overlooking the river Jumna. This exquisite monument, whose beautiful dome reaches far up towards the sky, was reared to the memory of an amiable wife by a Mogul Sultan. It is both externally and internally so adorned and delicately constructed as to be regarded as one of the finest specimens of ornamental architecture in the world; and there are also mosques and other monuments in Agra and at Delhi of great beauty and imposing grandeur. At Lucknow and Cawnpore the scenes of horror, suspense, and cruel death of so many of our countrymen and countrywomen during the Indian Mutiny have been changed into public gardens, adorned with becoming monuments to the memory of the victims. Of all the grand objects of natural scenery which I have seen the Himalaya Mountains are the most sublime and impressive. Viewed from Darjeeling, their peaks, rising to the height of 28,000 feet, covered with everlasting snow, on a base of green forest, appear like a celestial encampment, and impress the mind with a profound sense of awe and reverence for the Creator of the Universe, of whose power and glory those lofty and grandly shining mountains seem to be a magnificent and fitting emblem. From Darjeeling I travelled down to Calcutta by way of Benares, where I saw a good deal of the religious customs of the Hindoos at the temples of their sacred city and still more sacred River Ganges. Crowds of men and women are to be seen bathing in its waters or casting flowers and the ashes of their dead into the rapid stream. I sailed from Calcutta to Singapore, which I found much extended from what it was in my earlier visits, and from Singapore I went on to Hong Kong, from which flourishing English colony I made excursions to Macao and Canton.

China and Japan.

The neatness and care which the Chinese display in the cultivation of their fields and gardens is very pleasing; but the towns and villages, though curious to see, are dirty and detestable, even when quite near to the admirably laid-out English settlements of Hong Kong and Shanghai. Neither are the Chinese people so agreeable to deal with as the affable and amiable Japanese, who, still retaining some very strange customs in country places, were, in my time at least, very kind, gentle, and courteous. Their abodes are tidy, and the temples and public buildings are very imposing structures; the public roads on which I travelled in visiting some parts of the interior are shaded by handsome cryptomerias, and at some places by camellias, laden in the season with multitudes of large single flowers. The mode of travelling in Japan by a large kind of perambulator, called a jinricksha, drawn by two men, trotting at the rate of five or six miles an hour, is easy and pleasant, but will probably soon be superseded by carriages and railways already begun; for the inhabitants of this once rigorously exclusive country have within a few years' time adopted the habits of Europeans, and a system of government and armaments so powerful as to have astonished the world by a display of naval and military advancement so unlooked for as to appear almost miraculous. The scenery of Japan is varied and generally pleasing. The lake-like inland sea and the sacred Fuseh-Yamah Mountain are especially attractive

picturesque. The volcanic upheaval forming the mountain resembles those of other volcanic peaks found in various parts of the world which I have seen, such as the Peak of Teneriffe, Mount Egmont in New Zealand, Mount Hecla in Iceland, and Mount Hood in Oregon, all from 9000 to 12,000 feet in height, and clad with snow, like gigantic sugar-loaves, reflecting the splendour of the rising and setting sun.

The American Continent.

From Japan I crossed the Pacific Ocean once more, and this time in an American steamer, to San Francisco, a city which, within a period of about 50 years, has risen from a small Roman Catholic missionary establishment to become a handsome, populous city of fine public streets, elegant public buildings, churches, schools, and benevolent institutions, well-conducted places of amusement, and some of the best and most reasonable in prices of any hotels in the world, together with a very healthy and pleasant climate. I made excursions from San Francisco to the renowned Yosemite Valley, or rather sunken chasm, about 3000 feet deep by nine miles long and two in breadth, the precipices and peaks on either side being from 4000 to 5000 feet in height, some grand cascades flowing over their steep sides into the wooded base of the chasm. I also went to see the gigantic pine trees in the same district, which are truly wonderful natural productions. I measured one and found it 90 feet in circumference; and I walked along a fallen tree measuring about 300 feet in length up to the forking of the branches. Through one of the trees, still flourishing, we drove at a trotting pace in a coach with four horses, which the cutting freely admitted; and on the stump of a hewn tree we found the polished floor of a pavilion with room for four couples of quadrille dancers. Leaving San Francisco, I went by steamer to Vancouver's Island, British Columbia, and for nearly 200 miles up the Fraser and Columbia Rivers, where there are large Salmon Fishing Companies' settlements, and during the season immense quantities of fish are caught to be preserved and exported to all parts of the world. At that time the railway from Canada to Vancouver was in the course of construction, entailing very heavy work in cutting the line through the mountain regions on the west coast of the British possessions in North America. The auriferous discoveries at Klondyke were not then dreamt of.

In South America.

Returning to San Francisco I proceeded southwards along the coasts of California and Mexico, touching at Acapulco, in former years the port of departure of the Spanish galleons bearing the treasures of their possessions in America to Spain, I passed a little time at the ancient city of Lima, famous for the exploits of Pizarro, and his cruel dealings with the native inhabitants of Peru. The highest ascent which I have ever made was by a railway from Lima up the Andes Mountains to a height of 12,300 feet. This wonderful line was planned and completed by an American—Mr Meggs, I believe—in order to bring down the produce of the fertile country on the eastern side of the Andes, which formerly had to be conveyed on mules or alpacas. The rarity of the atmosphere at that elevation caused me great pain and uneasiness, so that I was very glad to get down again to about the height of 7000 feet, when the unpleasant symptoms passed away. Whilst waiting for the arrival of an English steamer at Panama I was kindly invited by the captain of the American steamer to stay on board, rather than to live on shore in that tropical climate; and so I had the advantage and enjoyment of the fresh sea breeze in the roadstead. This is only one of the many kind offices I have received from the Americans, both ashore and afloat. From Callao, the port of Lima, I sailed along the western coast of South America, getting grand views of the Andes Mountains, which are only a short distance back from the seashore. We stopped for a few days at Valparaiso, a very stirring seaport, from which it is easy to reach Santiago, the capital of Chili, a finely laid out city, not far from the base of the Andes. From Valparaiso, proceeding southward, we called at several places on the coast to take in copper ore, and, after encountering some very severe weather, at length ran into a narrow passage, between steep rocks, leading into the Straits of Magellan, through which we steamed, amidst high mountains and glaciers, to the wider part of the Straits between the coast of Patagonia on the one side and Terra del Fuego on the other. Thanks to the arduous labours of Christian missionaries, shipwrecked mariners on that fearful coast are no longer liable to be killed or ill-treated by the natives, but are now cared for by them and brought to the mission stations. Having cleared the Straits of Magellan, we sailed up the eastern coast of South America, stopping at Monte Video, and afterwards stayed for a few days at Rio Janeiro, the capital of Brazil. The harbour on which this city is built is one of the finest in the world, protected by high mountains, and well sheltered from all winds. From Rio Janeiro I made an excursion amongst the beautifully wooded hills inland, and I met with much kind hospitality from one of the leading merchants, Mr Steel, who had left Dundee in his early days and become a much respected citizen of Rio, where he had resided for more than half a century. The Botanic Gardens well merit the fame they hold for their remarkable natural beauty of situation, and the fine specimens of trees and plants of the country which they possess.

Remarks on America.

I have several times crossed the Atlantic on visits to the United States and Canada, seeing most of the cities and States. Although I am not disposed to make so much of Americans as some writers do at the present time, yet I can testify, with all my heart, that both in the United States and in Canada sensible travellers who conduct themselves with becoming regard for the peculiarities and views of the people they meet with are sure to find kind consideration and intelligent aid and information regarding the institutions of those countries. As regards hotels, railways, and passenger steamers in America, every accommodation is provided at moderate rates for those who are content with plain fare, but in the great cities of the Eastern States, the palatial and truly superb hotels—such as those of New York and Washington—are very expensive indeed. I sailed on the lakes and on the great rivers, and have spent a few days in most of the principal cities in America, which for regularity and spaciousness of streets and squares much resemble each other; therefore I do not wonder that so many Americans come every season to enjoy the instructive and abiding pleasure of visiting the picturesque and historical places to be seen in every country of the Old World. In Canada the cities of Quebec and Montreal, founded by the early French colonists, are more attractive and picturesque than most of those of the United States; and the scenery of the great St Lawrence River, the lakes and canals, and, above all, the Falls of Niagara, are truly magnificent and impressive. The manners and habits of the Canadians are naturally more in accord with those of English and Scottish folks, and I have good cause to cherish a most grateful recollection of friendship and hospitality enjoyed during more than one visit to that British colony, through which I travelled as far as Winnipeg, in Manitoba. The beauty and splendour of the foliage of the trees along the banks of the noble Rivers Hudson and St Lawrence, the lakes, and other parts of the United States and Canada in the fall of the year might well repay a lover of forest scenery for making a visit to America at that season.

Subterranean Experiences.

My underground wanderings began by a visit to the Catacombs at Syracuse, in Sicily, along subterranean passages in a limestone hill, into which a horseman may ride with spear erect, formerly used as a necropolis, and so extensive that without a guide one could not well get out of them again. Not far from Trieste, in Austria, there is a famous grotto, or Cavern of Adelberg, forming a suite of lofty chambers like palatial halls or cathedral naves, supported by columns of united stalactites and stalagmites, through which a silent river flows. When lighted up for visitors this great cavern forms a magnificent underground spectacle. The most remarkable and interesting mines that I have seen are near Cracow, from which rock salt has so long been quarried that the excavations extend to a great distance below the surface, and portions of the salt rocks are shaped into pillars and a chapel, as well as dwellings for the miners and stables for the horses employed to drag the blocks of salt to the shafts of the mine. It was a much more gloomy descent I made into the great Wallsend coal mine at Newcastle-on-Tyne. In a basket, and dressed as a miner, we were rapidly lowered down the shaft into perfect darkness. The sensation was more like that of ascending than of descending, until at the depth of, I think, as much as about three times the height that the dome of St Paul's is above ground, we were landed with a kind of shock on the floor of a black cavern, dimly lighted by flaring candles. I was provided with a safety lamp and led into exhausted passages of the mine where fire-damp was present, and also into active workings, where the half-clad miners were hewing and blasting out the precious product of countless bygone ages of vegetation, reserved by natural, or rather Providential, means to form the main source of the manufactures, wealth, and power of Great Britain, as well as the comfort of British homes. It is indeed wonderful to see how the vast number of men and boys employed in the low and narrow burrowings of mines, extending far under the North Sea, seem to retain bodily health and cheerfulness of mind, sustained by the same Providential care which renders conditions of life both above and below ground easily borne, and even enjoyed, which to others appear to be insupportable.

Chicago "World's Fair."

Of all the remarkable results of human imagination, artistic talent and skill, combined with natural fitness of situation, the wonderful "World's Fair" at Chicago has made the greatest impression on my mind. The extent, elegance, and diversified structure of the Exhibition buildings on the shores and on an inlet of Lake Michigan, as well as the wonderful, and previously unheard-of, collection of productions, manufacturers, and works of art drawn from all parts of the world, far exceeded my expectation of what could be accomplished by the citizens of Chicago and the principal States of the Union, aided by the Government of the United States, and liberally supported by the leading Powers of all the countries in Europe, parts of Asia, Africa, and South America. The wonderful

Passion Play at Oberammergau,

in the Highlands of Bavaria, was another combination of artistic talent and human skill which will most probably never be repeated. The representations of the principal scenes and events in the life of Christ were enacted with a grace, solemnity, piety, and pathos which touched the hearts and delighted the minds of nearly all who had the privilege of witnessing that unique effort to bring the Gospel narrative into a vivid form before the eyes of the many thousands who came from many lands to wonder at and admire the skill and taste of the performers, the excellence of the scenery, and the fitness of the costumes worn by the actors of this sacred drama, originally intended as a work of penitence and gratitude on the part of the villagers for having been relieved from suffering by pestilence or disease.

Mount Washington.

In one of my visits to the United States I passed some days amongst the White Mountains, and made an ascent to the summit of Mount Washington by a railway which goes straight up by a sharp angle from the base to the summit a height of 6000 feet. On the top there is an observatory, a printing office, and a good hotel, where we met with a comfortable reception, and enjoyed the warmth of a good stove, having changed the temperature from that of summer below to early winter on the summit. A very fine view of all the neighbouring country is obtained at sunrise from that elevation, a good deal like that of the view obtained from the "Brocken," or highest point of the Hartz Mountains in Germany.

Summing Up.

To those whose inclinations or circumstances do not admit of travelling far from home, the Highlands, islands, and romantic lochs of Scotland, the Wicklow mountains and lakes of Killarney in Ireland, the richly adorned shores of the placid lakes of Cumberland and Westmoreland, the lovely valleys of North Wales, the rocky coasts of North Devon and Cornwall, and many other places within easy distance of the great towns of the United Kingdom, display attractive and delightful scenes of nature, embellished by human art and taste, that gratify and charm even those who have seen her more sublime and grander features, as well as afford much healthful enjoyment to summer and autumn visitors. I might fill some pages with details of incidents and adventures, as well as difficulties and dangers, even with the comparatively easy means of foreign travel at the present day; but in all my journeyings, four times round the world by sea and land, I was so mercifully guided and guarded, that I never had to suffer from any very serious loss or injury; and I met with so many, often unexpected, helps and facilities, that in writing this simple narrative the retrospect fills my mind with a deep and heartfelt sense of gratitude to the Divine source of all our successes and enjoyments, as well as to the memory of many estimable and kind-hearted friends of many lauds and many conditions of life that a gracious Providence had inclined to help and cheer me on my way. During the past 70 years of my life I have had the privilege, in common with the very few of my contemporaries who still remain, of witnessing the wonderful advancement of scientific knowledge and discovery applied to the conveniences of life. Steam, gas, electricity have done their mighty and still increasing magical work, whilst the progressive influence of religion, education, and enlightenment have rendered social life, in Britain at least, so much purer and happier; greatly reduced both crime and the severity of its punishment; and rendered humanity almost free from some terrible diseases, such as smallpox and typhus, formerly so fatally prevalent; and have formed safeguards to health, public welfare, and security of life previously unknown; abolished degrading amusements as well as much of the intemperance and brutality of former years, and created benevolent institutions for the benefit of the young, the sick, and the aged, actively supported by the highest in social rank and the most learned and devoted ministers and laymen of all denominations of Christians, together with many other forward movements in civilisation, which ought to make us all devoutly and earnestly thankful that we have lived in such a remarkable period of the world's history.

I have written most of these notes during the course of my 86th year, whilst suffering a good deal of pain, which prevents me from moving about as I used to do, or from taking an active part at public meetings or social gatherings, but I hope I may still be of some little service to others, and I can still thankfully enjoy the charms of natural scenery, the beauty of trees and flowers, the sweetness of sacred or simple national melodies, and the writings of good authors, recreations which happily remain with us when our physical powers are weakened, and the mind finds its surest rest in higher aspirations, and in humble resignation to the Divine will.

Appendix.

The foregoing pages by Mr David Rough appeared in the *Dundee Evening Telegraphy* the final instalment being published on the 14th April 1899. Mr Rough died at Bourne-mouth three days thereafter, viz., on 17th April 1899. In the course of publication Mr Rough made various additions to the articles with a view to their appearance in pamphlet form, and these notes, on which he was engaged almost to the hour of his death, are herewith appended.

On returning from his second voyage (see page 14) he describes his first visit to Edinburgh as follows:—

"The cargo of the brig had to be landed at Kirkcaldy, and I got a chance of visiting Edinburgh for the first time. On reaching the top of Leith Walk I looked round me for the means of getting a meal, for there were no restaurants in those days, and with my pea-jacket in one hand, and a bundle in the other, I walked boldly into the nearest hotel, which at that time happened to be the finest in the city. The waiter, to whom with sailor-like carelessness I gave an order for a private sitting-room and dinner, first stared at me, and then became very obsequious, showed me into a handsome parlour, and soon after a dinner in courses was served up. What they took me for I don't know. The landlady came with some polite words; but I think only to have a look at me, and a bill was presented, the largest I have ever paid in all my life for a dinner, which made a great hole in my slender finances, but I made no remark. I gave the waiter his fee, smoked a cigar, and retired from my lofty beginnings to seek a humbler lodging, where I spent some days whilst seeing most parts of the city. Since that time I have visited all the capital cities of Europe, and some in Asia and America, and although possessing comparatively few very grand or imposing public buildings, Edinburgh and its environment of castle, crags, and prominent hills, commanding wide panoramic views of land and water scenery, presents so picturesque a combination of ancient and modern streets and edifices as to impress the mind with a sense of unique beauty of site and structure that once seen can never be forgotten or fail to recall most pleasant recollections. During later years I had the good fortune to make the acquaintance and to enjoy the hospitalities of kind friends there. Amongst others that of a gentleman and his family at that time well known in the large circle of literary and artistic men who have made Edinburgh famous, Mr Montague Stanley, next to Mr Murray the leading actor of the Theatre Royal, which stood where the General Post Office now stands. To his high talents as an actor Mr Stanley combined that of a distinguished painter, and in private life was a most religious and exemplary moral character. Declining health and other circumstances induced him to leave the stage and retire to the Isle of Bute, where he died, and was buried by the side of the church of Ascog, in which his fine voice used to lead the choir. Many years afterwards I had the pleasure of meeting Mrs Stanley in Queensland, Australia, where her sons are in high positions in the public service, and all held in much social respect."

Mr Rough, during his early voyages in the East (page 18) narrowly escaped being attacked by pirates. "One night," he writes, "in the Java Sea, I was called up to witness a very startling and disagreeable sight, a number of large Malay pirate praus bearing down upon us while we were becalmed. We made all the preparations that we could to repel them, and as these miscreants prefer to attack and plunder small native craft rather than attempt to board large vessels, they hesitated to come very near us, and kept beating their tum-tums in signals to each other, and they could hear the sound of our boatswain's pipe as we braced yards to catch the first breath of the land wind and probably took us to be more formidable than we really were, which gave us time to make use of the breeze that soon filled our sails, and to get away from such threatening company, for it is indeed a terrible fate to fall into their hands, either to be murdered or carried into hopeless slavery in Borneo or some other island of the Archipelago under native rulers. Steam Coastguard cruisers have now cleared them out of those seas."

The following interesting note refers to the visit to the Sultan of Madura, briefly alluded to on page 20:—

"Early one fine morning I arrived by boat at the landing-place of the island, and found a carriage and four horses waiting for me. We soon reached the Palace inland, enclosed by a high wall surrounding an extensive court planted with trees, on which the principal apartments have their openings, and in the middle a large pavilion where guests are received and entertained. An officer of the household accompanied by servants brought me tea and refreshments. All at once every one dropped on the floor pavement with their faces to the ground. I soon perceived that this lowly Oriental obeisance was caused by the appearance of a little, grey-haired old gentleman in native attire, His Highness the Sultan, who shook hands with me very affably, and asked to see the letter by which my uncle had expressed a wish for me to visit his old friend. Being satisfied on this point, he called for his Secretary, and caused him to write a courteous reply. A room was assigned to me, and a riding horse placed at my disposal. The hereditary Prince was very attentive to me—even he went on his knees when addressing his father. The principal meal was in the evening, when the Sultan and all his visitors met at supper. Some of these were Mahomedan missionaries from Arabia, and one or two Dutch officers. Animated conversation in the sweet-sounding Malay language was kept up until late in the refreshing coolness of the tropical night—somewhat like a scene of the Arabian Nights' tales. This visit to an Eastern Court left a pleasant impression on my mind. It is a privilege to which few are admitted, and I had to obtain special authority in writing from the Dutch authorities at Sourabaya before being permitted to make the excursion."

Madura, besides the usual tropical productions, possesses some rocky caverns or deep wells, in which a peculiar kind of swallows build their nests, composed of a glutinous substance, which, when carefully cleansed and prepared, are exported to China, and bear a very high price, the wealthy Chinese being very fond of eating them as a great delicacy."

Of his first passage home from the East (page 21), Mr Rough gives the following particulars:—

"I returned to Europe in an English ship, taking with me two of Mr Wilson's children to be placed under the care of his relatives in Scotland for their education. The voyage was a very lengthy one. When off the Cape of Good Hope we encountered a heavy westerly gale of wind and high sea. The vessel sprung a leak, and we put into Simon's Bay, the naval station of South Africa, which is connected with Cape Town by a pleasant road and drive of a few hours. At that time South Africa was not much before the public mind, and Cape Town was a quiet, agreeable place of resort for members of the East Indian Civil Service on furlough. There were no docks or harbour works, only landing jetties, and vessels had to ride at anchor in Table Bay, exposed to the fury of sudden storms coming down from the great flat-topped Table Mountain standing behind the town. In fine weather this mountain can be seen from a great distance at sea, long before the lower land comes into view, and it seems to rise above the surface of the water like a stupendous altar, which is frequently covered by a tablecloth of dark clouds foretelling coming tempests. Whilst the ship was in Simon's Bay the leak stopped, but soon after we put to sea it began again, keeping the crew hard at the pumps, which produced a very discordant lullaby to go to sleep with, and the outlook of having possibly to take to the boats was rather serious; but our fine, hardy English seamen worked with a will, only asking for an increase of their allowance of grog, and happily the weather kept fine, so that, with a pilot, we got the ship safely into the Solent during an autumn night. The clanking of the pumps was lessened, and we went to sleep with thankful hearts, to awake next morning and gaze with exquisite delight on one of England's brightest scenes—the pleasant shores of the Isle of Wight, the pretty town of Cowes, and the smooth surface of the Solent enlivened by numerous yachts and other sailing craft of many descriptions, with their white sails reflecting the brilliant sunshine. We soon reached Scotland, and had the happiness of being once more amongst kindred and friends of early days."

The next note deals with friendships formed with British and French naval officers (page 37):—

"I usually found the senior officers most agreeable to deal with both on duty and socially. Several in later years distinguished Admirals came on our station as Captains of Frigates, amongst others Sir Henry Keppel in the Meander, now in his 90th year, whose racy and amusing book, "A Sailor's Life under Four Sovereigns," has lately been published. The brave and courteous and cheery Admiral of the Fleet liked to talk of his exploits amongst the pirates of Borneo when he was in command of his favourite ship, the Dido, and as that ship was afterwards on the New Zealand station, and I had a short cruise in her with Captain Maxwell, Sir Henry kindly gave me a fine picture of the Dido running up Channel, which I cherish as a souvenir of those days. The French naval officers in ships that came to Auckland were, like our own, intelligent and gallant specimens of their countrymen. The first ship that called had a band of music on board, and Captain Berard, amongst other courtesies, allowed the musicians to be landed, so that we were able to get up a large ball in a room of the newly-built barracks. A very joyous assembly it was, and the presence of the lively French officers and mixture of gay uniforms made a striking contrast to the primitive condition of things outside. My knowledge of the French language was of good service to myself and others at such times. One French officer returned after five years in command of a corvette, La Brilliante; and in taking a ride with [me about the country near Auckland said none but Les Anglais could have made such advancement in so short a space of time."

The following incident occurred in connection with the visit to the Chartreuse Monastery (page 68):—

"Having been up early to traverse the mountain-top and obtain extensive views of the rich plains below, I returned to the Monastery with sharp appetite for breakfast, but found it was a fast-day, and nothing to eat could be had. This was rather hard lines; but fortunately I had observed in passing the open door of a religious Sisterhood not far from the Monastery that breakfast was being prepared by one of the Sisters, whilst the other ladies were at their morning devotions in the chapel. To my earnest appeal the good elderly Sister compassionately yielded; and, though contrary to all the rules of these Sisters, she kindly told me to slip in whilst no one was looking, and quickly supplied me with a bowl of hot coffee and excellent bread, which I greatly and gratefully enjoyed. Another instance of the kind hearts that are found in all countries and under all phases of faith."

Mr Rough leaves his testimony as to his views on religion in the succeeding paragraph:—

"There are, I believe, many earnest-minded Christians who think as I do, but are unwilling to leave the Church of their fathers and of the society in which they move; but I have felt it to be most consistent with my own convictions of what is nearest the truth as it is revealed in the Holy Scriptures, unmixed with human creeds and dogmas, to become attached to the Unitarian Christian Church, to which I have been led by reading the works of the Rev. Dr Channing, of America, and by the preaching and conversation of devout ministers whom I have met with at home and abroad, especially that of the late Rev. Mr Howe, of Essex-Church, London, so that

on coming to Bournemouth in the year 1882 I endeavoured, with others like-minded, to form a small congregation of Unitarians. For some years we had to meet in hired rooms and small halls, and had many changes of ministers and many hindrances to overcome, but at length, by the generous aid of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association in London, and of many friends to the cause in other parts of England, we succeeded in obtaining a suitable site, and in erecting a modest, but tasteful, place of worship which is now free from debt; and we are thankfully united in maintaining the service of the Church and in affording ample accommodation to visitors of our persuasion who come to Bournemouth."

These notes may be fitly concluded by the following sentences, in which Mr Rough speaks of the great happiness of his home life:—

"The success of my public career and happiness in private life have been greatly owing to the loving care and domestic management of my late dear wife. We were married at Government House, Auckland, before there was a church, in 1841, and lived together for more than fifty years, and had our golden wedding in England. The happiness we so long enjoyed has been much enhanced by the presence in our home of a dear friend who came to us, with her brother, when they were children. For many years she has been to us a source of comfort and consolation in seasons of health and in times of sickness and depression, like the best of daughters; which I regard as not the least of the many Heaven sent blessings which have been granted to us. Her brother gained the New Zealand Cross of Valour for excellent service during war with insurgent natives who had committed great outrages on European settlers."

Front Cover

Samuel Vaile.

Social Problems.

By Samuel Vaile,

Original Inventor of the System of Administering Railways by Stages or Zones.

Illustrated with Diagrams

Upton & Co., Publishers, Auckland, N.Z.

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Introduction to My Sixth Pamphlet.

IN presenting to the public my sixth pamphlet, I feel that I owe an explanation, if not an apology, for devoting so much space to the question of Railway Administration, but I do so because the more I think over it the more I am convinced of the supreme importance of the right management of the road.

Some, perhaps many, of my readers will be inclined to think that I have pressed with undue severity on the railway officials, but I am sure they will alter their opinion if they read me to the end. What we have lost through their sacrificing the public to their own private interests, is more than any one can tell. That I am justified in thus speaking of them is proved by the fact that for many months past they have been content to lie under what practically amounts to a charge of perjury. They dare not attempt to defend themselves, and appear to have banded together to brazen the matter out by a stubborn silence. Men in their position ought to have felt that their word was as sacred as their oath. They know well that they could not again go through the ordeal of an examination, and this is the reason why on all subsequent committees, it has been demanded of me that I should say what I have to say in writing. Well, at last I have said part of it. Will they be gratified with the result? I would willingly have avoided the scandal.

I ask the particular attention of my readers to the paragraph on Russian Railways.

I also ask attention to the scheme of narrow-gauge railway construction, which I hope will commend itself to the country.

Although my more than 16 years of continuous work has so far brought no real relief to this country, it is pleasant to remember that it has conferred vast benefits on millions of people in far away Europe—people who have never even heard my name. It is ever so. The worker must be content to cast his bread upon the waters, and those for whom he did the work are too often the last to reap the benefit. But why is this?

Those who take an interest in that propoganda, of deception, fraud, and robbery—the Single Tax—may possibly find some new ideas, some new illustrations of the wicked and mischievous nature of the proposal. I direct their particular attention to the tables towards the end of the article.

I had hoped to deal with the questions of co-operation and monopolies, but cannot at present find time.

The fact that I never have time to re-write anything I publish, must be my excuse for literary defects. Of these I am conscious. All my effort has been directed to making sure of my facts and figures, and in this I believe I have succeeded.

SAMUEL VAILE.
The Avenue,

Auckland, New Zealand,

April, 1899.

decorative feature

Railway Administration

Without Motion there is not, there cannot be, any life. On the Power to Move

the whole social and commercial fabric rests. Suspend motion, and the universe itself would fall to pieces.

Therefore, my theory is that the transit question underlies every other social question, and that if the transit system of a country is radically wrong, none of its other social conditions can be quite right.

If we would prosper, we must keep the channels of motion—the means of transit—as free as possible.

At present our railways are blocked by an invisible toll-bar at every mile! Can this be to the public advantage?

Introductory.

SINCE January, 1883, when I placed the Stage System of Railway Administration before the world, the following nations have adopted it, to a greater or less extent, and in a more or less modified form.

Commencing with Hungary in August, 1889, a year or two later Austria, followed with a still worse adaptation (our railway officials endorsed this as much the best), which gave little or no financial improvement. In 1895 Russia followed, with very as-tounding financial results. Next came Denmark and Switzerland last year, and now Prussia is following.

Of these six nations which have copied our idea, the one that has prospered most—financially and otherwise—is the one that has imitated us most closely—Hungary.

I ask my fellow colonists what would have been the position of New Zealand—what would have been their position this day—if the Stage System had been introduced here, as it ought to have been 12 or more years ago?

I claim no credit for myself. The idea came to me. I saw its vast importance, and have earnestly and honestly tried to do my duty in the matter. I ask my fellow colonists to do theirs, and see that a trial of the new system is made, while I am here to watch over it. If this is not done, then they will never reap its full benefits. Once let it fall into the hands of the departmental officers and all its best features will be ruined. A perusal of the following pages will show that the dishonest, I may say disreputable, way in which they have throughout dealt with this question fully justifies me in what I say.

I have felt that to draw prominent attention to the evidence given by the officers of the Department, at the inquiry of 1886, was to create a public scandal, which I have sought to avoid, but as I am driven to it, have in the following pages gone pretty fully into the matter. These officers know well that if the case were reheard, I would examine them on oath and compel them either to recant all their former evidence or else stand an action for perjury.

Petitions to Parliament, asking for a trial of the new system, have been sent almost every session. They are a mere farce. They are treated as so much waste paper; but if a few of the leading men in each electorate would send a joint letter to their representative, requesting him to see that this matter is attended to, it would soon be done, for they would be able to show these letters to the Ministry, who would soon see that votes depended on it.

The financial success of the new system is now assured. It is no longer a matter of my theory, but one of ascertained fact, proved by nearly ten years' trial. Its great advantages, from a land settlement and social intercourse point of view, have never been disputed, not, even by the railway officials, who have contented

themselves with asserting that it is impracticable, and if brought into force would lead to enormous loss of revenue. Both these assertions are now proved to be false. Why then should we not have it?

Someone ought to be sent to Jail.

IN the earlier stages of the railway controversy, an anonymous writer made use of the above words, and implied that it was I who ought to suffer for my unsparing strictures on our railway administration and administrators. Should this pamphlet meet the eye of that writer, I trust he will read it through, and then say if indisputable evidence has not proved that he was wrong in his judgment, and that it is not I who should suffer.

The fact that I have held my hand for so many years, should be taken as proof that I have had no wish to injure the officers of the Department, and I may ask, seeing what they have done, would they have treated me: in the same manner had the positions been reversed?

Seen by the light of events, the evidence given by these gentlemen in 1836, is, to say the least of it, ridiculous in its absurdity. We, however, have ourselves to blame. We called them "railway men," and jumped to the conclusion that because one of them knew-how to construct a railway, and the other had some little experience as a traffic manager, that therefore they must be fully qualified to dictate the financial and business policy that should control the railways. This is where we made our mistake, and we shall see it at once if we remember that the great railway boards of England and America are guided by the best known financial and commercial men, and not by railway managers.

When we pay great salaries, and grant enormous powers to men whom neither nature nor education has fitted to exercise them, we must suffer. At any rate, the following pages incontestably prove that our "railway men" have been a complete, utter, and most miserable failure. I venture to say that, if the accounts were correctly taken, our railways are not earning one (1) per cent, on the capital invested. The late Commissioners made them appear to earn three per cent., by the simple expedients of running the lines and rolling-stock to destruction, cutting off train services, and charging to capital account items that ought to have been charged to revenue account. These facts are undeniable, and can be easily proved from their own reports.

Leading railway officials occupy a very exalted position—a position which I fear the public does not sufficiently recognise, and perhaps does not sufficiently reward. Next to the judges of the Supreme Court, they occupy the most responsible positions in the Civil Service. No men have so much valuable property entrusted to their care; no men are responsible for so great a number of invaluable lives. Therefore they are entitled to be treated with the greatest consideration and respect.

All who will do me the honour to read the following pages will, I am sure, agree that the men who occupy this position on our railways, have, by their actions, forfeited all claim to the respect their position would otherwise have entitled them to. The facts have long been known to me, but I have hesitated to use them in this manner, and would have much preferred to bring them out through inquiry by a Parliamentary Committee. That opportunity has, however, been persistently denied me.

The evidence given by the railway officials in 1886 completely deceived and misled the committee.

While speaking of the railway officials, let me say that it is only two or three of the upper ones that are interested in maintaining the present position. All the rest are chiefly interested in finding out a system by which railways can be really made to pay, for it is only by doing this that they can be adequately rewarded. Many of them, as, for instance, the traffic managers and those immediately under them, are, in my opinion, very badly paid, considering the serious responsibilities they have to bear.

The opinion seems now to be pretty generally held that the final struggle for supremacy in the world will be between the Anglo-Saxons and the Slavs. I may be mistaken, but in my opinion the supremacy will remain with that race that knows best how to construct and administer roads. The road always has ruled the world, and always will. Did not the old Romans find this out, and have not we found it out? Where should we have been in the Crimea had it not been for Sir Morton Peto's railway, and would our position in Egypt have been what it is this day had the Sirdar not carried his railway along with him? England is the dominating Power in the world, because more than any other nation she controls the road over the seas.

More and more it becomes evident that the road—which now means the railway—is a prime necessity in modern warfare. The hold and government of any country will depend on its railways, and the more perfect these and their administration are, the more complete will be the control. The Slavs appear to have grasped this idea, and although the new system of administration was invented by an Anglo-Saxon, in this Anglo-Saxon community, the Slavs of Hungary and Russia have been the first to appropriate its leading ideas. The enormous development it is causing in these countries is well known, but we cannot have it here, because Messrs. Maxwell, Hannay, and Hudson have thought that it does not suit them, and because of their stupid professional jealousy.

It is therefore a duty we owe to ourselves, and those who come after us, to inquire what kind of men are

those who have so long effectually blocked the path of progress in this country.

Those who will do me the honour to read what follows, will, I am sure, be convinced that I am more than justified in saying that their statements in reference to the Stage System, and more especially the evidence they gave before the special Parliamentary Committee in 1886, were so diametrically opposed to the truth that it is impossible to believe that they gave it honestly, except on the assumption that they had not ordinary intelligence, and were absolutely ignorant of everything pertaining to railway policy and finance, and also a great deal of railway working.

The discontent with the present administration of our railways is universal, and I therefore earnestly ask a perusal of what follows.

Railway Committee, 1898.

My object in publishing the following correspondence and remarks upon it is to show how determined the Railway Department is, by every means, fair and unfair, to prevent any improvement in the administration of our railways, or any further inquiry into their working.

Early in the last session of Parliament, I again sent in a petition praying for a trial of the Stage System. This, of course, was referred to the Railways Committee, who not only refused to entertain it, but also declined to hear me in its support. In this respect my position is unique, as I believe I am the only man in New Zealand who has been refused a hearing in support of his own petition. If it had been on some private matter no doubt I should have been heard, but as it was a matter of great public interest, which I am known to have studied closely, the information I had to give was not wanted.

On ascertaining this, I addressed the following letter to the chairman of the committee:—

"Auckland,

23rd July, 1898.

"The Chairman Railway Committee, Wellington.

"Dear Sir,—So far as I am aware, your name has not been published here, and as you have not thought it necessary to officially advise that you decline to hear me, I have no means of knowing it, and am therefore obliged to address you thus.

"The impression left on my mind by the investigation of 1886 then was, and still is, that at any rate three out of the four departmental officers then examined had no wish to assist the committee to arrive at the truth. Their sole object appeared to be to prove me to be in the wrong. At any rate, subsequent events, and the evidence supplied by their own accountant, have placed me in a position to prove that the committee of 1886 was grossly misled by their evidence.

"One of two things is now quite apparent: either they gave evidence that they knew to be untrue, or they were so ignorant of their own business as to be quite unfit for the posts they occupied. My own belief is that they wilfully misrepresented.

"I regret very much that I should be forced to take up this position. I have had no wish to in any way injure any of the officers of the Department, but as I am driven to it I now say that I am in a position to prove that either through design or ignorance they grossly deceived and misled the committee of 1886. For twelve years I have patiently worked and waited, hoping that one of the numerous Railway Committees set up would do justice to the cause I represent; but I have waited in vain. One and all, they appear to have considered it their business to condemn me unheard.

"I trust you will not think that I wish to treat you or your committee with any disrespect; all I wish is to be placed in a position to elicit the truth. With that object in view I am coming to Wellington.

"I have the honour to be,

"Faithfully yours,

" (Signed) SAMUEL VAILE."

On arriving in Wellington I saw the chairman of committee, Mr. Fanner, who told me that nothing could be done with my petition. In the course of conversation he informed me that the Hon. Mr. Cadman had placed a notice on the order paper of the committee that he would move that Mr. Vaile be "invited" to Wellington to explain his system, to the committee, "but," he said, "someone, I do not know who, altered this notice by substituting the word 'allowed' for the word 'invited.' "

The object of this alteration is clear—the intention was, of course, to throw the expense on myself. Had the

motion been carried in its altered form I should, I presume, have been told that I could come to Wellington at my own charges. Had I done so no doubt delay upon delay would have been made, great expense piled up upon me, the time of the session got over, and nothing done.

Mr. Tanner also informed me that when the Hon. Mr. Cadman gave notice of his motion, he was careful to impress upon the committee that I was certain to occupy their undivided attention for at least three weeks.

Failing to accomplish anything in the Lower House, I petitioned the Upper. This committee reported against me. The Hon. Mr. McCullough thereupon, on the 18th August, gave notice that on the following Tuesday he would move that the report of the committee on S. Vaile's petition be referred back to the committee for the purpose of taking evidence.

The order paper in this case was also altered by substituting the word Friday for Tuesday, consequently the debate came on at half-a-day's instead of five days' notice. The result was that the Minister and his party were there in full force, the other side had a surprise sprung upon them, and Mr. McCullough's motion was defeated. The Speaker was pressed to say who had altered the notice paper, but of course nobody knew.

On the 3rd November, 1898, I posted the following letter to Messrs. Joseph Prime Maxwell, William Mowatt Hannay, Charles Hudson, and Alexander Grant. These were the departmental officers examined by the special Parliamentary Committee of 1886, ordered to investigate and report on the Stage System.

"Auckland,

2nd November, 1898.

"Dear Sir,—A gentleman deeply interested in the railway question asked me a few days ago if I had sent you and the other officials interested a copy of the letter I addressed to the Chairman of the Railways Committee on the 23rd July last. He drew my attention to the fact that some of these officials are not now in the service, and, further, he expressed his conviction that from some cause or other none of you could have seen the letter in question.

"In order that nothing may be wanting on my part, I now enclose for you, and shall forward to the others, a copy of the said letter, and shall forward a copy of this to the Minister for Rail-wars. It therefore will not be my fault if you remain under the imputation cast upon you in common with the others.

"I am,
"Faithfully yours,

"(Signed) SAMUEL VAILE."

The copy sent to the Minister was enclosed in the following letter:— "Auckland,

2nd November, 1898.

Hon. A. J. Cadman, Minister for Railways, Wellington.

"Dear Sir,—I herewith enclose copy of a letter I have sent to Messrs. J. P. Maxwell, W. M. Hannay, C. Hudson, and A. Grant.

"I think all honourable men will agree with me that if they are able to clear themselves of the imputation cast upon them, (or their own sakes, and the credit of the Department, they are bound to do so.

"The fact that the officers in question are content to lie under the accusation of giving false evidence, will no doubt be accepted by the, public generally as a proof that they know my contentions as to railway administration are just, right, and financially sound.

"I have the honour to be,
"Faithfully yours,"

(Signed) SAMUEL VAILE."

To not one of these letters have I received any reply, not even an acknowledgment of their receipt. This shows that the Department is working: on a concerted plan. The letter sent to the Chairman of the Railways Committee has been published in the "Post" of Wellington, the "Telegraph" of Napier, the "New Zealand Herald," and probably other papers. It has been commented on to my knowledge by the editors of the "New Zealand Herald," the "Telegraph," the "Post," and the "Lyttelton Times," but nothing shames the Railway Department.

The position of the Department then is this. Its chief officers are practically charged with perjury, and they dare not attempt to defend themselves. The Minister at their head dares not call upon them to do so, and the Premier does not dare to order his Minister for Railways to clear his Department of the accusation brought against it.

All New Zealand knows that if they were not certain that I could fully justify the position I have taken up, that they would long since have taken action against me, and would have been the first to demand an inquiry.

Unfortunately, in 1886 I did not know that I could demand to have the evidence taken on oath. Had this been done, it would not have been my fault if some of those concerned had not been called upon to answer a charge of perjury. This is strong language, but I am prepared to justify it. I will give just two instances of the utter disregard for the truth they displayed during this investigation.

Among other things, I claimed that under the Stage System two people could be carried where one is carried now, without appreciably increasing the cost of working. This the officers stoutly denied. Mr. Hannay (sub-manager) in particular gave strong evidence that it would cost £55,000 per annum extra to double the passenger traffic on the Hurunui-Bluff "main line only from Waikare to Bluff," without "any provision for increased trains on the branches, being nearly half of the whole section," and that they would require to run 312,000 extra train miles per annum.

This is Mr. Hannay's statement. See Parliamentary Paper, I., 9., 1886, Questions and Answers 515-519.

The following evidence given by Mr. Hannay is also worthy of note:—

601. Mr. Vaile (to Mr. Hannay): Do you consider that our rolling-stock is now fully employed?—Certainly not; that is to say, every waggon and every carriage is not run every day full.

602. Nor anything like full?—No.

603. Do you think they run half full, taking the rolling-stock all round?—It is fairly employed. In order to give a definite answer to this I might say that the average number of passengers which are carried on the Hurunui-Bluff line is seven to each carriage.

604. That shows they are not a quarter full?—Yes; but you must not entertain the idea, that I do not think the carriages are not fairly employed.

605. You say that the average is seven to a carriage?—Yes.

Most of these carriages are capable of seating 40 passengers, and Mr. Hannay thinks them "fairly employed" when only carrying seven.

Soon after giving this evidence he was appointed one of our Railway Commissioners, and then this is what happened:—

During their five years' term of office as Commissioners they actually did an extra business that was equal to carrying an average of five million one hundred and seventy-eight thousand (5,178,000) passengers per annum.

They also during this period worked on an average 200 more miles of railway per annum than was open during the previous five years.

To do this large amount of extra work they found it necessary to increase the working expenses only £28,878, and the train mileage only 22,457 miles per annum.

The actual average annual increase of work done was as follows:—300 miles more of railway were open and worked; 298,277 more passengers were carried; 325,292 more tons of goods and live stock were carried. The tonnage and extra passengers actually carried are equal to 5,177,657 extra passengers, and there were the 200 extra miles of railway to be worked in addition.

To repeat a little, as this is important:—

In 1885 the average cost of working each mile of railway was £480. Two hundred miles at £480 per mile is £96,000, but the Commissioners only spent £29,000 per annum extra, so we see that if their former expenditure was necessary, that while these gentlemen were irresponsible Commissioners, for the sake of making it appear that they earned a trifle more interest, they starved our railways to the extent of £70,000 per annum, and in addition they further pressed them to an extent equal to carrying 5,200,000 extra passengers per annum.

In 1885 the average number of train miles run on every mile of railway open was 1,951. This, for 200 extra miles, would involve 390,200 extra train miles per annum, but the Commissioners contrived to get through with only 22,457 extra miles, and also did the extra work mentioned above.

These, then, are the indisputable facts, and yet Mr. Hannay had the unblushing effrontery to tell the Railway Committee of 1886 that merely to carry another 1,500,000 passengers on the best-constructed line in the colony would cost £55,000, and necessitate running 312,000 extra train miles.

I ask, is it possible that, such evidence could have been given honestly?

At any rate, I may now without presumption claim that I, the "amateur," knew far better what could be done on a railway than the so-called "experts" did.

Before leaving this part of the subject, I may point out that the above statement clearly proves that the late

Commissioners are responsible for the present dilapidated state of our railways, only we were mad enough to make them irresponsible, so we must suffer without redress. I know enough of railway working to be aware that to work another 200 miles of railway, and to carry another 5,000,000 passengers, would add greatly more than £29,000 to the working expenses, if it were done honestly.

It would be interesting to know how Mr. Hannay reconciles actual work done as a Commissioner with his evidence given as a sub-manager, and it is to save him and others from having to answer awkward questions like this that I am not to be allowed to be again heard.

Which System is the Most Simple?

Another claim that I made for the Stage System is that it is much more simple, and would be more easily understood by the public than the present system. This the officers denied, and asserted that the existing system is far simpler and more easy to understand. As a specimen of what they said, I quote from Mr. C. Hudson's (the present submanager) evidence:—

376. Hon. Mr. Richardson (to Mr. Hudson): Is there sufficient information given in this scheme to enable you to form an opinion as to how the proposals with regard to passengers would work out in practice?—With regard to passengers, I think it would be necessary to make a rate-book for every station. We cannot ask the ticket-clerks to count up the number of stages to arrive at the fare: it would be necessary to give them a rate-book stating the rate from their station to every station they were allowed to book to.

377. Would that be a great simplification of the present system?—; it would not be so simple.

378. Hon. Major Atkinson: But the passengers would understand it more easily—would they not?—I do not think so, because we publish a mileage fare, and they have only got to refer to the time-table for the number of miles to calculate the fare to any station they wish to go to. Then, in addition, we post up in our stations a clear table, giving the passenger, parcels, and other rates to each point from that station. There would be no difference so far as the public is concerned.

379. Mr. Maxwell: How long do you suppose it would be before the rate-books could be got in order?—I do not think, on serious consideration, you could start in less than a year.

380. And a very large outlay would have to be incurred all over the system?—Yes, undoubtedly.

See also Questions and Answers 475-479, and four following, which for some reason have not been numbered.

Mr. W. M. Hannay also gave the following evidence to the same effect.

574. Mr. Macandrew (to Mr. Hannay): Assuming that the charges under Mr. Vaile's system were regulated to yield as much revenue, would you consider the system preferable?—No; I do not see any kind of advantage in it.

575. Would it not be simpler?—No; of course Mr. Vaile himself has said that he has not gone into details; but there is nothing I can see in the general plan to make it simpler.

576. I understand, then, that not only would there be no advantage from the change, but you are of opinion that there would be a decrease of revenue?—That would, of course, entirely depend upon what the rates were; but I think there would be a decrease of revenue.

608. Hon. Mr. Richardson (to Mr. Hannay): Comparing this Stage System with the present mileage system, which do you think would be more easily understood by the general public)—I do not think the Stage System would be any more intelligible. As a matter of fact, passenger fares are now posted up outside every booking-office, and the passenger has only to refer to it.

609. Mr. Grant

It was Mr. Hudson, not Mr. Grant, who made this statement.

stated that it would be absolutely necessary to have rate-books at every station?—That is so. Each station would require to be supplied, because the rates from every station would be different.

610. Mr. Macandrew: Would not the rates have to be posted up under the Stage System?—Yes, to be intelligible to the public.

611. Hon. Mr. Richardson: Then, under the present system, one scale of rates answers the purpose all over, and in the other case a special list would be required for each station.

When giving this evidence, Mr. Hannay forgot that he had already made the following awkward admission:—

541. Mr. Maxwell (to Mr. Hannay): Is not the English system made more extensive by more varied traffic?—Yes, that is so; and when I commenced in New Zealand our tariff was a very simple one—very nearly as simple as Mr. Vaile's—but additions were forced upon us from time to time. The demands of the public, and different kinds of traffic springing up, necessitated the making of regulations to guide our staff.

Mr. Hannay's statement that the stage rates from every station would be different, is absolutely untrue.

They are the same from every station, as the distance-table given will prove. In this instance, also, time has brought its revenge.

In August, 1888, a number of capitalists joined me

These were all well known as men of considerable, and most of them of large capital, and we were prepared to go into the matter thoroughly.

The correspondence with the Government in reference to this matter was published in the "New Zealand Herald," of the 11th February, 1889. It is also published among the Parliamentary Papers.

in making an offer to the Government to lease the Auckland section of railways for the purpose of trying the Stage System. We offered to give substantial security that we would maintain the lines and rolling-stock to the satisfaction of the Government, and under the supervision of their own officers; to give an increase of revenue to the Government, a decrease of charges to the public, and after the first year to hand back the lines on receiving a six-months' notice to do so. The Government refused our offer, but the Minister sent us a letter, evidently written by Mr. J. P. Maxwell, in which he requested us to send in a complete tariff of all our charges, also our working regulations, and to make these "accord" with the existing railway working.

Fancy the absurdity! If I would do this, then our proposals should have the "fullest consideration."

To enable us to carry out this very modest request, they sent us a copy of their tariff, their by-laws, and a distance-table.

I had never seen a distance-table before, but was very glad to get hold of this one, for I saw at a glance that it placed me in a position to prove the untruthfulness of the evidence given by Messrs. Hannay and Hudson. To show that I am fully justified in saying this, I have only to refer to the accompanying photograves of the distance-table referred to, the distance-table under the Stage System, and the diagrams of the Auckland, Napier, Wellington, New Plymouth, and Humnui-Bluff sections of railway.

A distance-table, I may explain, is a table which enables the officials to calculate the distance from any station to any other station on the section of railway to which the table

Railway Distance Table-Auckland Section. 1897.

Stage System Distance Table

applied to the Auckland Section as it was in September, 1887.

Stage Stations. And for following Intermediate Stations. 1 Helensville ...

Ohirangi—Paeroa—Woodhill—Rewiti—Waimauku 2 Waimauku ... Kumeu—Taupaki 3
Taupaki ... Waitakerei—Swan son—Henderson ... 4 Henderson ... Waikomiti—New Lynn—Avondale—Mount
Albert 5 Mt. Albert ... Morningside—Kingsland—Mount Eden—Auckland 6 Auckland ...
Newmarket—Remuera—Green lane—Ellerslie—Penrose 7 Penrose ... Te
Papapa—Onehunga—Westfield—Otahuhu—Papatoitoi—Ma nurewa 8 Manurewa
Papakura—Hunua—Drury 9 Drury ... Runciman—Paerata—Pukekohe 10 Pukekohe ...
Buckland—Tuakau—Whangarata—Pokeno—Mercer—Whangamarino—Wairangi—Rangiriri—Ohinewai—Huntly—
Rapa—Frankton 11 Frank ton Junc. Rukuhia—Ohaupo—Lake Road—Ngaroto—Te Awamutu—Te
Puhi—Kawa—Kiokio Otorohanga—Hangatiki—Te Kumi—Te Kuiti 12 Te Kuiti ... As above
... 13 Te Aroha ... Hamilton, E.&.—Ruakura
Junc.—Eureka—Motumaho—Morrinsville—Murray—Tatua—Waitoa—Waihou—Te Aroha ... 14 Oxford ...
Hamilton, E. & W.—Ruakura
Junc.—Eureka—Motumaoho—Morrinsville—Kiwitahi—Walton—Waharoa—Matamata—Manga-whara—Okoroire—
... .. 15 Cambridge ... Hamilton, E. & W.—Ruakura Junc.—New-stead—Tamahere—Fencourt—Cambridge

16 Lichfield ... Helensville NOTE.—In reading this Table for intermediate stations, when going from NORTH TO SOUTH, read from the STAGE STATIONS in the second column. When going from SOUTH TO NORTH read from the STAGE STATIONS in Italics in the third column. Remember the fare is to be calculated for each Stage Station you pass AND FOR THE STATION YOU ARRIVE AT. The figures used in this Table are of the same size and character as those used in the Distance Table, of which I give a photo-grave. 1 Waimauku

Taupaki 2 1 Henderson 3 2 1 Mount Albert 4 3 2 1 Auckland 5 4 3 2 1 6 5 4 3 2 1 Penrose Manurewa 7 6 5 4 3
2 1 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 Drury 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 Pukekohe 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 Frankton Junc. Te Kuiti 11 10 9 8 7 6
5 4 3 2 1 11 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 2 Te Aroha 11 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 2 1 11 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 2 1 12 11 10 9 8
7 6 5 4 3 2 3 2

TABLE OF PASSENGER FARES For the whole of the Auckland Section of Railways. All Goods Rates would be calculated in the same manner. No. of Stages. First-Class Fare. Second-Class Fare. 1 -/6
-/4 2 1/- -/8 3 1/6 1/- 4 2/- ¼ 5 2/6 1/8 6 3/- 2/- 7 3/6 2/4 8 4/- 2/8 9 4/6 3/- 10 5/- ¾ 11 5/6 3/8 12 6/- 4/- Oxford
Cambridge Lichfield 1 1 2

NOTE in explanation of Diagram of Stage System.—This is a, photo-engraving of A large-scale diagram, on which, the *proposed fares* were printed in red, unci the *present fares in black*. It will, however, bo understood by remembering that the *stage fares* are in every instance the *lowest prices*.

Vaile's Stage System

Auckland Section Railways stage fares

This Diagram not only shows the direction and length of every journey that can be taken on the Auckland lines, but also all the fares that can be charged. The Time-table could easily be published on the opposite page. To give the same information on the present system takes nine (9) pages of Bradshaw.

NOTE in explanation of Diagram of Stage System.—This is a photo engraving of a large-scale diagram, on which the *proposed fares* were printed in red, and the *present fares in black*. It will, however, be understood by remembering that the *stage fares* are in every instance the *lowest prices*.

Vaile's Stage System

New Plymouth and Wellington, Napier and Wellington

NOTE in explanation of Diagram of Stage System.—This is a photo engraving of a large-scale diagram, on which the *proposed fares* were printed in red, and the *present fares in black*. It will, however, be understood by remembering that the *stage fares* are in every instance the *lowest prices*.

Vaile's system for South Island

NOTE.—This Diagram was laid down in 1885. Since then the movement of population will no doubt have necessitated an alteration in the stages. It will, however, serve to show the system.

refers. The one of which I give a copy relates to the Auckland section, and the stations on it on the 12th September, 1887.

It contains 105 columns, comprising between them 22,930 figures, and rendering necessary the calculation of 11,025 different fares for each class of passengers. That is to say, taking first and second class single, and first and second return, 44,000 different tickets for only 236 miles of railway.

The distance-table under the Stage System, for the same section and stations, as will be seen, contains only fifteen (15) columns, comprising between them but 132 figures, and with only 144 possible charges to calculate, and if the use of distance tickets is discontinued, and stage tickets only used—which is what I should prefer—then there would be only two (2) different tickets for each class in use on the whole of the New Zealand lines. Yet Messrs. Hannay and Hudson deliberately gave evidence that the Stage System was the most complicated of the two.

I compiled this stage distance and fare table in one evening. All that would be required in actual working would be a printed copy or copies of it for each station; these could easily be sup plied in a day, and yet Mr. Hudson was not ashamed to give evidence that, "on serious consideration," he did not think this information could be supplied in less than a year. Wonderful "expert" evidence, truly! It is not possible for me to believe that he thought he was telling the truth. But perhaps I ought to be charitable, and remember that he might require to be "seriously considering," while a more intelligent man would do the work a dozen times over.

In reply to a leading question from Mr. Maxwell, he also stated that preparing these stage-rate tables would "undoubtedly" incur a "very large outlay all over the system."

As there can be no doubt that the present sub-manager of our railways has largely influenced them since his appointment, I shall only be performing a public duty if I again direct attention to some further proofs he has given of his utter inability to deal with them intelligently.

In Parliamentary Paper I.-9, 1886, at question and answer No. 422, the following occurs:—Question by Mr. Maxwell to Mr. Hudson: Do you think that these fares (Vaile's) would have the effect of largely encouraging the settlement of the country?—Answer: The view I take of that is, that if a man goes to settle in the country he makes one journey to the place he proposes to live at, and then the railway has done with him—that is, as far as long distances are concerned. Cheap fares would lead people to live in the suburbs and travel to and from their daily work in town; but I do not think that long-distance cheap fares will ever induce the settlement of the country, because the general expenses of moving about are so large that the difference in fares would not lead to more travelling, time always being the principal object with 'business men.'

Question No. 453: You assume that? (Mr. Hudson had been contending that the proposed reductions would not lead to increased traffic.)—I do, because I think the principal number of single short-distance fares issued are to people who travel to the ports to go away by sea. These people do not require return tickets. Therefore I take that as the basis of my calculation. Mr. Vaile's average ticket is 5d., ours is 7½d., for the same distance. I do not think that in New Zealand that difference would have any appreciable effect.

May I ask why they issue return tickets at a reduction of 25 per cent., if a reduction of 33? per cent, would not, increase the traffic?

What a muddle!

Is it any wonder that we suffer when a man like this controls our railways. He calls himself a "railway expert," and he tells us that when a settler has made his first journey to his farm that then the railway has practically "done with him," that a reduction of a third in passenger fares will not increase the traffic, and, most marvellous of all, he tells us that he takes as the basis of his calculation of what work can be done on a railway, his belief that the principal number of single short-distance fares are issued to those who go away by sea. Surely such a wonderfully firm "basis" as this was never heard of before. Experts! Oh, dear!

The Financial Outcome of the Stage System.

My contention has always been that if only two of my low-priced fares were taken, where one is taken at the present prices, that we should secure a much better financial result than we do now. This the officers of course denied. To them it no doubt seemed incredible that we could carry people from Waikare to the Bluff for 18s. 6d. or 12s. 8d., when they were charging £4 10s. 11d. or £3 9s.; yet this solid fact remains, that for now nine years people have been carried a greater distance every day in Europe for three shillings and fourpence (3s. 4d.).

In this instance again time has brought its revenge. Actual experience, and the evidence of the Railway Accountant—their own man—has proved my finance to be sound.

When the Hungarians commenced their adaptation of the Stage System, they did so by reducing fares exactly as I had proposed here six years before, that is, to an average of one-fifth of the former charge: They saw, as I had seen and asserted six years previously, that no less reduction would secure the desired financial result. The following table will show what has been done in Hungary:—

What has been done in Hungary.

It will be seen that the effect of adopting the Stage System, even in this faulty form, has been to quadruple the traffic, and double the revenue.

One of the most important results obtained in Hungary is the great extension in the average distance travelled by each passenger, which is from 71 to 130 kilometres, or over 83 per cent. It is easy to see what an influence this must have, not only on the railway revenue, but on other items of revenue, trade, commerce, and social conditions generally. My finance is based on the assumption that the average distance travelled will not be less than 15 miles, and the average fare not less than one shilling. It is obvious that, no matter what may be the system, the average fare paid must depend on the average distance travelled.

If, then, we secured an extension in the distance travelled equal to that obtained in Hungary, our distance would be 24 instead of 13 miles—the distance actually travelled,—and I should expect the average fare to be 1s. 8d. instead of the 1s. calculated upon.

Last year, 1897-8, the average fare paid by each traveller in New Zealand was 1s. 8½d., consequently, if we secure the same extension of distance that the Hungarians have, we should obtain the same revenue without carrying a single extra passenger: and if we increased the number of our travellers as they have increased theirs, and my estimate of the average fare should prove to be correct, then our passenger revenue for the year would be £1,597,000, instead of £399,000, as it was last year, and I believe there is every probability that we should realise this amount.

Startling and incredible as these figures may appear, they are not more so than was my proposition when made 16 years ago to carry people 436 miles for 12s. 8d., Our railway experts laughed me to scorn, but six years later in Europe they commenced to carry people 457 miles for 3s. 4d., and have done so ever since, with great profit to the State.

In order to discredit my finance, Mr. Maxwell gave evidence that my average fare for all distances not exceeding 10 miles "could not be more than 4½d, and that in the country districts the average fare is only 4½d. for 50 miles." His own accountant has since shown that my fare for 10 miles and under would be 5.66d., and for the country districts 1s. 5¾d., instead of the 4½d. Mr. Maxwell said it would be in both cases. Surely our great expert was far enough out in his calculations.

A reference to the accompanying table will show that all my averages were correctly and safely calculated, while those of the officers were wildly astray.

It is not necessary for me to point out the enormous relief it would be to the country, to say nothing of the cheapness of travelling, if we could only get out of our railways enough to pay interest and working expenses. I have never wavered in my belief that not only can this be done, but I am certain that we can also get from them

enough to go on with railway construction without further borrowing.

I wish to direct attention to the first column of the table. It shows that those who use the railways for distances of over 50 miles are less than six per cent, of the whole, but they have to pay nearly 37 per cent, of the revenue.

It will be seen that the country interest, under the present system has to pay 76 per cent, of the railway passenger revenue while the city interest only pays 24 per cent.; and this unjust and ruinous inequality will apply to a much greater extent to goods traffic revenue, of which the country interest probably pays nearly the whole. This it is that has taken the value out of country land. How is it possible for the country to be settled under these circumstances? This is the great blot in our transit system, and until it is removed it is useless to expect any real permanent prosperity in either town or country. The adoption of the Stage System would alter all this, and give both town and country an equal chance.

I wish to draw particular attention to the fact that I had no chance to use this table at the inquiry of 1886. The officers took good care that it should not be produced till after the work of the committee had been concluded. It completely proves my position.

I could say much more on the evidence given by the officials, but have said enough for the present.

From the above statement it will be readily understood why the officers of the Department have exerted themselves so much to prevent a trial of the new system or any further inquiry into it. The men who could descend to giving such evidence, certainly would not hesitate to waste public money in a trial, if they thought that trial would prove me to be wrong, and the Stage System a failure. They know it will be a great success, and that is the sole reason why it is not tried.

EVIDENCE PRODUCED at the Parliamentary Enquiry into Vaile's Stage System in 1886.

What the Government Railway Accountant Proves Would Be the Financial Result of Adopting Vaile's System of Railway Fares and Charges.

NEW ZEALAND RAILWAYS. Summary of Passengers carried on the Auckland Section, under different Stages (Helensville to Morrinsville), for the Twelve Months ended 31st March, 1886. STATEMENTS MADE As to what Mr. Vaile's average fare for the distances named would be. DISTANCES. Present percentage of travellers at these distances Percentage of revenue they now have to pay. Total Number of passengers carried at Government Fares. Total Revenue. . Number of Passengers computed to give the same Revenue at Mr. Vaile's Equal Numbers of each Class. Two First-class to one Second. What this Table says. Samuel Vaile's Statement. J. P. Maxwells Statement. Mr. Hannays Statement. * * £ S. d. * * * * Not exceeding 3 miles Travellers of these-distances are 68.8 of the whole. Per-centage 55,518½ 1,215 12 1 59,588 55,860 5.15d. not less than 5d. Average for 9 miles and under not more than 5d. Over 3 and not exceeding 5 miles 94,781 2,801 17 5 130,100 121,975 Over 5 and not exceeding 7 miles 24.1 96,604½ 3,435 2 0 157,176 147,356 Over 7 and not exceeding 10 miles 46,045½ 2,144 4 3 60,012 56,259 8.57d. not below 8d. for 8 to 10 mls. Total of 10 miles and under 292,949½ 9,596 15 9 406,876 381,450 5.66d. * Could not be more than 4½ d. Over 10 & not exceeding 30 miles These are 25.3 39.2 75,562½ 8,324 10 10 194,445 182,292 "In the country districts is only 4½ d for 50 miles." Over 30 & not exceeding 50 miles 31,640 7,322 17 6 81,842 76,731 1 Over 50 miles These are 5.9 36.7 24,762 14,665 13 1 134,291 125,900 "For all distances over 10 m. most unlikely to average 1s. 1½d." Gross Total 424,914 39,909 17 2 817,454 766,373 11¾d. 1s. "I do not think the average (for all dis-tances) will be 1s."

ACCOUNTANT'S OFFICE,

WELLINGTON.

A. C. Fife, Accountant.

All the columns marked thus have been added by S. V.

The fact is, that when the new system was first proposed, it appeared to them, as it did to most people, so utterly absurd that they condemned it, without the least investigation, and they did this in such a positive, vulgar, and untruthful way, that no course was left open to them but to try and brazen it out, and in this they have so far succeeded.

The New System Described.

In place of the present system, I propose to reckon all fares and rates by stages, in the following manner:— Starting from any capital town (for this purpose I treat any town having a population of not less than 6,000 as a capital town), I propose to place on every line running out of that town four stages, as near as may' be, seven miles apart, and then, should there be a stretch of country of fifty or more miles not having a town of 2,000 inhabitants, to make the stages 50 miles each. Outside each town of 2,000 inhabitants I propose to place one seven-mile stage on each line, and outside towns of 4,000 two seven-mile stages.

MEMORANDUM.—I do not propose to fix the stages arbitrarily at the distances mentioned, but at the best collecting and distributing points nearest to them.

That in place of the present tickets, railway stamps should be issued and sold by every licensed stamp-vendor.

That stamps of a different colour or description should be issued which would entitle the holder to pass from a station immediately preceding a stage station to the next station beyond it, and thus save him from paying a double fare for a very short journey. The same will apply to goods traffic.

When the lines become filled up with seven-mile stages, and the revenue will admit of it, then I propose that the out-side seven-mile stage from each capital town shall be removed, then the next stage, and so on, until the stages are only between towns of 6,000 or more inhabitants. By persistently following this plan, we may ultimately see our way, as regards passengers at any rate, to making one fare only for any distance within the Colony.

From time to time, as the revenue will stand it, the fares and rates from stage to stage to be reduced to the lowest possible limit.

NOTE.—The stages would be re-adjusted after each census is taken, and placed in accordance with the movement of the population. Thus should, say, Frankton be found to contain 2,000 inhabitants, one seven-mile stage would be placed on every line running out of that town. If it had increased to 4,000 souls, then two seven-mile stages, or if 6,000, then four stages. Thus Frankton would have to contribute its fair share of the burden of transit charges, and each town as it developed would be treated in a similar manner.

It may be objected that the interposition of these new stages will increase the through fare, but this need not be the case, for it is obvious that if the number of stages were increased, say 25 per cent., that the charge per stage could be reduced 20 per cent., and consequently the through fare would remain the same, while all the local rating would be reduced. It is easy to see what a development of trade this would lead to. If the stage rate was considered low enough, then the proper plan would be to place the new stages where required, and remove a corresponding number from those weaker districts which at the time stood most in need of assistance.

Under this system, if it was thought desirable to raise the through fare, new stages would be introduced without disturbing the local traffic, except in the immediate vicinity of these new stages. Thus, placing new stages at Mercer and Ngaruawahia would not in the least affect the local traffic round Auckland, Frankton, Helensville, etc.

That the Government should be relieved of their present responsibility as carriers.

That an Insurance Department should be established in connection with the Railway Department, where, by payment of a small fee, either life, limb, or goods could be insured.

Under the Stage System, the basis of rating is average cost of service and the density of population through which the service runs. At present the basis of rating is special cost of service and the mile.

Tariff of Fares and Rates for the Auckland Section.

All fares and rates are reckoned from stage station to stage station, and are payable for the whole or any intermediate portion of the distance.

To find your fare or your rate, count the number of stage stations you require to pass, and the station you wish to arrive at, and multiply the rate by that number.

Examples.

Passenger fares—6d. first-class, and 4d. second, for the whole or any portion of a stage.

Second-class passenger fare from Auckland to Pukekohe, four stages, four by 4d., 1s. 4d.

Helensville to Mercer, 10 stages, 10 by 1d., 3s 4d.

Class A, truck from Auckland to Taupiri, five stages, five by 4s., 20s.

Goods Rates.

Class A, 4s. per truck per stage.

Class B, 1s. per ton per stage.

Class C, 3d. per 100 feet per stage.

Class D, 2s. 6d. per ton per stage.

The goods classification would be reduced to four (4) classes only, with an additional class for dangerous goods.

- Live stock, agricultural produce of all kinds, and firewood, at per truck or per ton per stage.
- Minerals, bricks, clay, sand, coal, and manures, at per truck or ton per stage.
- Timber at per 100 feet per stage.
- Merchandise of every other kind at per ton per stage.
- Dangerous goods at per stage.

NOTE.—The prices quoted for goods are merely given to show the system of charging. It is my opinion that very much lower rates can be fixed.

Parcels Rates.

A, 1d. per stage; B, 2d.; C, 3d.; D, 4d.

The small lots tariff would be abolished, and the parcels tariff consist of four classes only—viz.: *a*, 14lb and under; *b*, 28lb; *c*, 56lb; *d*, 112lb. The charge in each case being at per stage.

The stage rate for passengers, goods, and parcels, to be the same in every district, no matter where or how it may be situated.

When fares and rates are once fixed, they are not to be raised for at least one year, and any alteration either up or down to be universal.

Under this system all mileage and differential rating is absolutely abolished.

Primary Objects of the Stage System.

The three chief objects I had in view when designing the Stage System, were: The promotion of land settlement (and thus relieving the congestion of the cities), enabling the great mass of labour to live on land, and the creation of a large body of small freeholders. That it will accomplish these objects a slight study of the diagrams given, and of the stage-distance table will, I think, convince anybody.

Take the Auckland section as an example, and it will be seen that in the districts around Frankton there are 49 railway stations (in other words, 49 districts), to which the passenger fare, or the goods rate, would be precisely the same. All these would also pay the same fare or rate to the port or other chief market town or towns. A glance at the diagrams given will show that there are similar districts on all the lines south of Auckland.

Let anybody imagine, if they can, what would be the effect a system like this would have on land settlement. The selector seeking a farm, a factory, or a residence site, would have an enormous area to select from, and he would be at full liberty to select the spot most suitable to his requirements, without having to ask the now all-important question—What are the railway charges? For within these districts they would all be the same, and would be enormously reduced on the present prices.

Then, as to Frankton and similar towns, the effect on them must be that they would rapidly increase in population and importance. They would be the receiving and distributing centres for these districts, and would soon make local markets for the surrounding farmers. The farmer asks for cheap transit to the market. The Stage System would not only give him this, but would also bring a market to his door.

Let me point out that the Stage System is the only system in the whole world that makes special provision for assisting distant country settlers and the poor districts. No other system makes even a pretence of doing this, but, on the contrary, do all they can to oppress them. I hold that this is thorough bad policy, both as regards these districts, the large centres, railway traffic, and social conditions generally.

If the country districts were assisted as they ought to be, the development of railway traffic and construction would soon be very great. If we could create inland towns, and I am sure the Stage System must do this, there would of necessity be a large transit traffic between them and the port, towns. Nothing pays a country like a large transit-traffic. I believe a very great portion of Auckland's prosperity is due to its large suburban transit traffic. Let anybody think what a number of tram-cars, omnibuses, drags, cabs, drays, carts, etc., this employs; of the number of men and women employed in building, maintaining, and driving these, the horses to be bred and fed, the harness to be made, the stables to be built, and the thousand other things it leads

up to, and they will then have a little idea of the importance of the suburban traffic of only one city. What, then, would be the result if you were to largely develop the transit traffic of the whole country? Let me repeat a little:—

My Object is:

- The distribution of population, and the settlement of a much larger proportion of people on the land.
- The creation of inland and internal trade.
- The development of inland towns, and a consequent creation of fresh trading centres and local markets for our farmers and manufacturers, and to enable manufactories to be established in these country towns.
- To enable the great mass of labour to live on land, and thus make the workers much less dependent on the sale of their daily labour for their daily bread.
- To secure equal treatment to all users of railways, and to place their beneficial use within the reach of the poorest citizens.
- To introduce a fixed system of fares, raws, and charges, under which every man and every district would be treated alike, and thus do away with the oppressive and injurious power now exercised by railway controllers.
- To remove the invisible, but really existent, turnpikes which the present system has placed at every mile along the great highways of the world, and which thus bar the flow of its trade, commerce, and social intercourse.
- To give temporary assistance to poor and thinly-populated districts, and thus enable them to gather strength, and ultimately to treat all districts alike.
- To restore the value to land and its products.
- To largely increase the railway and general revenue.
- To restore the social conditions that existed prior to the railway era, as regards the distribution of population and the existence of local markets, and at the same time to retain all the advantages of railway transit.

These are the results which I claim the adoption of this system would secure, and in this opinion I do not stand alone. Parliamentary Committees have carefully investigated it, and reported that it ought to be tried. Railway experts, Chambers of Commerce, and known business men have also investigated and reported in its favour, and none except a few railway officials have condemned it. What I have endeavoured to do is to lay down an expansive and adjustable system—one that will be good for all time.

Small Freeholders.

There is no need to say much on this point. Most political economists are agreed that the small freeholders are the backbone of every country where they exist. They create an enormous amount of wealth; they are the real conservators of liberty and the rights of property; but they are a very independent class, and their votes are not easily manipulated, therefore the political demagogue does not desire to increase their numbers.

If the Stage System would lead to increased land settlement, and enable our workers to live on the land, and no one now denies that this would be the case, then this very desirable class must be largely increased, and the political demagogue would soon lose his power. Probably it is because the leaders of the "Great Liberal Party" see this, that now they are in power they are so strongly opposed to the new system, although they have all voted that it ought to be tried.

The great distinctive features of the Stage System are its basis of rating, its extreme simplicity, and its great capacity for financial development.

As already stated, the present basis of rating is asserted to be the special cost of service rendered, and this is calculated at per mile through which the service runs. Thus it is evident that in a thinly-populated district, where trains must run comparatively empty, both as regards passengers and goods, the revenue per mile must be less than in the thickly-populated districts, and in many instances the whole of it is not sufficient to pay working expenses.

It was by taking advantage of this position that, prior to the inquiry of 1886, heavy differential rates were imposed against all the Auckland, Napier, Taranaki, Wellington, Nelson, Picton, and many of the branch lines in Canterbury and Otago, in fact, against every district in the colony except those served by the Hurunui-Bluff main line. So strongly was the injustice and bad policy of this rating brought out at that inquiry, that soon after the committee rose these differential rates were abolished, and for a time at least all districts were charged the same.

One of the main objects of this system of rating is so to confuse the rates that no one shall be able to

understand them. Railway men claim that they have the right to charge "what the traffic will bear," that is, to take from the user all they can by any means get; but they could not do this if the public knew what they were about, therefore they try by every possible means so to confuse the rates that no one can read them, but will be compelled to "apply at the station for his rate," and so give them the chance to charge what they like, without an opportunity of that charge being called in question. What I say sounds harsh, but I say it in sober, earnest truthfulness, and assert that my statement is correct.

Let me again direct attention to what the leading man among our late Railway Commissioners, Mr. J. P. Maxwell, had to say on this subject, and there is no doubt that he meant what he said:—

In his report for 1884 he says: "The system of rating differentially in this colony is not carried far enough, and the difficulty that stands in the way is the impatience of the public in submitting to different treatment in different cases, and the reluctance to place in the hands of the railway officers the power which would be necessary for carrying out the principle extensively. While retaining publicity by gazetting each rate, were such a principle more widely introduced the public would not be able to do what it now, to some extent, essays to do—read and interpret the rates generally: but the practice followed elsewhere would be necessary: the customer would appeal to the station each time he required a rate quoted: and, whether the railways were managed by a Minister or a Board, more power and freedom in respect to rating would have to be placed in the officers' hands."

This is pretty straight, and ought to convince anybody that there is no intention of dealing honestly with the public.

Under the Stage System, all this complication and mystery, all these differential and mileage rates, would be swept away at one stroke, and a system substituted that is so simple in its working that any ordinary child of 14 or 15 years could state the fare or the rate for any distance, and no official would have the power to alter this charge.

The Stage System basis of rating, instead of being special cost of service and the mile, is average cost of service and the density of the population through which the service runs. This is effected by making the length of the stages in proportion to the population located within their length, as described on page . . . As pointed out, the effect will be that in districts like those around Frankton, every settler within a radius of 50 miles will be treated exactly alike as regards transit charges, and every other district in accordance with the density of its population will be treated in the same manner.

As to simplicity, that is fully dealt with on pages 13 to 21.

The same remark applies to finance, which is dealt with pretty fully on pages 21 to 25.

I may, however, add that a system that would constantly increase the population of the country districts, towns, and villages, would also increase the railway revenue, for there must be an ever-increasing traffic between these and the port towns.

As bearing on this part of the subject, I may point out one great difference between our stage and the Hungarian zone systems. In Hungary what is called the first zone is from any station to the next accounting station, or to the flag station nearest the second station. The second zone is from any station to the second station, or to the flag station nearest the third station. It will be seen that this system greatly discourages the opening of new stations, for even new station erected would have the effect of shortening the distance that could be travelled for a given sum, therefore the users of the railways will be opposed to new stations, and consequently the railway revenue is not likely to be increased, nor the prosperity of the districts, nor the comfort and accommodation of passengers improved by any addition to their number.

This is not the case with the Stage System—under it the more stations the better. No matter how many are added, the length of the stage or zone remains the same. Take the stage from Pukekohe to Frankton as an example. On it there are now 15 stations, so that although the through fare is only 6d. or 4d., yet it is possible for each seat in a carriage to earn 7s. 6d. or 5s.; but suppose six new stations were added, the length of the stage would remain precisely the same, but each seat could then earn 10s. 6d. or 7s., while at the same time the public convenience would be greatly increased. I should expect very much better financial and social results from the Stage than from the Zone System.

What would a Trial of the Stage System Cost?

Say for one year, on the Auckland section—what would it amount to?

The number of passengers carried on this section during 1896-7 was 582,280, and they produced a revenue of £46,952. The same number at my average fare of one shilling (1s.) would yield £29,114. Thus, if through the enormous reductions in fares, we did not carry one extra passenger, or carry them one single mile further, the loss for a whole year, on the Department's own showing, would be only £17,838.

I ask if such a risk is not absolutely insignificant in view of the probable results.

It is now over 16 years since I designed this system. During that time many changes have taken place, and among them is the large increase in the population of our chief cities and their suburbs. If our railways are to be the chief agencies in dealing with the short-distance transit traffic of these centres, then it will be necessary to divide the two first stages from them into halves. Thus, between Auckland and Manurewa on the one hand, and Auckland and Henderson on the other, there would be four half-stages, and the passenger fare for each would be 3d. first class, and 2d. second-class. I do not recommend this plan—I doubt its wisdom. I feel certain that our railways can be fully, and far more profitably employed by developing long-distance traffic, leaving short-distance traffic to be dealt with by tramcars, omnibuses, and cabs. These are very important industries, employing large numbers of our people, and we ought not to use our railways for the purpose of crushing them.

Trams, omnibuses, and cabs can much more efficiently perform short-distance services than a railway can, because for one door a railway train can stop at, these could stop at a hundred. We ought to do everything we possibly can to develop this class of traffic. It is my opinion that all tramways ought to be owned by the municipalities, and that in connection with them a goods traffic ought to be developed. I can see no reason whatever why, at certain hours, goods-tramcars should not be run. It would probably be necessary to limit the weight of packages, but a goods service like this would be a great advantage to our cities, and more especially their suburbs, and would prove a large source of revenue.

It is scarcely possible to imagine the impulse that would be given to trade and commerce by the establishment of a really efficient system of railway working. I believe it would be fully equal to, and certainly much more lasting, than the impulse given by the introduction of railways. If we could make our railways pay five per cent., and I am certain we could make them pay more, it would not add to our burdens if we borrowed many more millions for their construction. What we have to do is so to administer our railways that they will be useable by the whole community, instead of as now, by a small portion, certainly not more than 25 per cent, of it. Then our railways would pay both directly and indirectly. Indeed, I am convinced that, by treating the public fairly and generously, they can be made to contribute large sums towards the reduction of general taxation, in addition to paying working expenses and interest.

What a surprising thing it is how little attention we pay to developing internal trade. At the inquiry of 1886 the railway officials were always talking about the export trade, the export trade, the export trade! Never once did they mention internal trade. Their idea seemed to be that everything, people included, should be sent "to the ports to go away by sea." Yet very little consideration will show how vastly important internal trade is to every community.

Internal trade is far more valuable than export trade, for it means better prices and a larger margin of profit. For instance, take our farmers who are fortunate enough to have a local market in our gold field or saw milling towns—do they not get much better prices than they could if they sent their produce to the port towns for export? Produce sent for export must be sold for the lowest possible price, because it has to compete with the cheap labour of India, Russia, Germany, America, etc.

China and Japan for thousands of years existed as great nations without any import or export trade whatever. Will they exist for thousands of years more now that they have opened their ports, and are developing an import and export trade? I doubt it. Internal trade fosters self-reliance, export trade fosters reliance on others. I am not saying that an import and export trade is an evil—probably it is a modern necessity—but I do say that an internal trade is far more valuable to a community, and that we do not pay enough attention to it. To assist in its development is one of the main objects of the Stage System.

Influence of the Stage System on Land Values.

That its adoption would have a very important influence on the value of land of every kind cannot be doubted, and the question arises: Will that influence be a disturbing one, or will it lie advantageous? Naturally, I have had to study this part of the subject very closely, and with the fullest confidence I reply Greatly advantageous in every respect, and in every district.

The popular idea is that it will greatly increase the value of distant country lands, and decrease the value of the chief cities and lands for, say, 15 miles round them. A little study will, however, show that this is not so.

As to our great cities, I cannot see how they can be injured by a much larger number of people being settled in the interior. These towns are all port towns, and the trade and commerce of the country must flow through, them. Suppose there was a population of 20,000 in and around Frankton, and 10,000 in and around Rotorua, could this injure Auckland? Most certainly it would do it a great deal of good, even though a considerable portion of that population came from Auckland. The trade between town and country would be enormously increased. There is no fear about the chief cities not growing quickly enough.

Then as to the lands for 15 miles round. These would quickly be subdivided into residence sites, and consequently they would be greatly raised in value instead of depreciated. Then, as to the next two stages, these

would be readily available for dairy farms, and even market-gardens for the supply of the cities, which must improve their value. In short, the effect must be to spread the population out, and thus increase the value of land in every direction. The rateable value of land would be raised all over the colony.

We often talk a great deal about spending large sums in advertising the colony, but I ask what would advertise it so well as introducing a really efficient reform in railway administration?

If it were known that in New Zealand you could travel first-class the whole length of the Hurunui-Bluff line for 18s. 6d., or from Auckland to Rotorua for 3s. 6d.—that you could do this every day in the year, break the journey as often as you pleased, and return for the same price, just when it suited you, and could purchase your tickets without the crush at the station, and use them on any day—would it not be a great attraction to tourists and others, and would it not develop that lucrative traffic more than anything else could?

It is not possible to estimate the loss this colony has sustained through allowing Hungary to forestall us by appropriating our idea. How many in a thousand ever heard of Hungary before it adopted the Zone System, and who has not heard of it since? This position ought to have been ours, and would have been, but for the selfishness and incapacity of our railway officials, for the Stage System was before the New Zealand public six years before the Hungarian adaptation of it came into force. We, however, still have a good deal left, for there is a very great difference between the Stage System and the Zone, and every other system.

The "Times," in reviewing our Agent-General's new hook, "The Long White Cloud," says:—"The existence of New Zealand has not yet modified the affairs of the world in any very appreciable degree, and the world in general is proportionately indifferent to the history of New Zealand."

Could the "Times" have written thus if the Stage System had been put in operation 12 years ago—as it ought to have been—and it had proved the success thousands beside myself believe it will be whenever it is tried.

When laying down the Stage System, and fighting the railway question, as I have done, I have looked far beyond New-Zealand, and have thought of the influence it would have in the world, but I should have been glad if New Zealand had led in this great reform.

How are we to secure a trial

Of the new system? For my part, I have done about all that is in my power. The theories in respect to railway administration and finance, which I put before the public in 1883, have now passed the theoretical phase. Actual practice has proved their soundness in every respect. Parliamentary Committees have reported that the new system ought to be tried. Every local governing body in the colony, with the exception of three or four, has petitioned that it may be tried, and so have many thousands of citizens. Wealthy Auckland men have offered to try it at their own risk and expense; but nothing can be done. Why? Simply this: The railway officials and the Government will not, until they are forced to do so, part with the power the present system gives them.

Every member of the present Government has voted that the new system ought to be tried, but now they have the power in their own hands they will not order a trial. Again I ask, why? For this reason: When they were private members they did not know the political power the present system gives to the Government: now they know it they will not part with it.

Let the Stage System come into force, and our railways could no longer be used for political purposes, any more than the Post Office can, for, as in the postal service, all the fares, rates, and charges would be fixed, and there could be no favouring political friends at the public expense. This is why the Government is opposed to the new system.

During the debate which took place in the House on the 15th August, 1890, on the motion of Mr. T. Thompson (now Minister for Justice) that the Report of the Railway Rates Committee be referred back for the purpose of taking my evidence, Mr. Cadman (now Minister for Railways) spoke as follows:—"I hope the result of this will be that at all events we shall have at least one line to give this system a fair trial. We can very easily take the Auckland-Waikato line, the New Plymouth-Wanganui line, or the Napier-Woodville line, and give the matter a fair trial; and that will perhaps end the whole question. We all know that no great reforms are made without being well fought out. This question the Auckland people are determined to fight for, and I hope they will continue to agitate until it has had a fair trial. I shall vote for the amendment that the report be referred back to the committee."

On the debate on the 8th September, 1891, on Mr. W. L. Rees' Bill giving me power to try the system on the Auckland lines, the Hon. Mr. Seddon (now Premier) said, "If they (the people) were wealthy, if they had the money, and could afford it, there was no doubt that the scheme as proposed by Mr. Vaile, as regarding colonisation and settling the lands far away from a market and from centres of population, and bringing sparsely settled districts within a near radius of the centres of population, would be complete."

The Hon. Mr. Seddon, in his Public Works Statement in 1892, said "The returns from the working do not

show at all a satisfactory condition of affairs, and the representations of Mr. Samuel Vaile, of Auckland, as to the working of the Zone System indicate that at no distant date—possibly on the expiry of the Commissioners' term of office—it might teas well that a trial of this system should be made on our railways."

From six to eight years have now pissed since these utterances were made by gentlemen who are now both Ministers, but no trial of the Stage System is ordered.

What can we do? many people ask me. There is no use in sending petitions to Parliament, they are simply treated with contempt, and so are the reports of their own committees, on those rare occasions when they are contrary to the wishes of the Government. The only plan is for the different constituencies to induce the member who represents their district to take the matter up, and bring pressure to bear on the Government. If in each district a few of the leading people were to send a joint letter to their member, requesting him to give special attention to this matter, it would soon ensure a trial, for the Government would find out that it meant votes.

What I ask is not much. I have repeatedly offered to lay down the Stage System on a section of our railways. I should prefer the Auckland section because it is more against me than any other one. It has more unprofitable ends than any other section. They have all large towns at each end of the system, and considerable towns intervening: Auckland has only one town, and no considerable towns intervening, therefore the financial results must, be much worse than from any other section. Still I am not afraid, and wish to put the new system to the severest test at once.

My Offer

is to work out and apply the Stage System to every detail, both of coaching and goods traffic; to do this in the least possible space of time, and then to resign my post; and all I will ask in the shape of remuneration is my actual expenses. I only ask such temporary powers and appointment as will enable me to see the work faithfully carried out; in fact, such powers over one section as the Minister for Railways exercises over the whole. It would be worse than madness to entrust this work to officials who have proved themselves so bitterly and unscrupulously hostile to the new system.

I know that, sooner or later, it must and will be tried, but, I am anxious that the first trial should take place while I am here to watch over it. No one else understands it, or could work out its details properly. Should it fall into the hands of the officials, I know well what will happen. They will seek to destroy it by pretended improvements. They hate its simplicity, and will seek to complicate it in every possible way. They detest its distinctive feature—the assistance it renders to the poor districts—and will destroy it by placing more stage stations on the long-distance stages, without regard to the location of population, which will thus largely curtail its value as a distributive and land-settlement system. The effect will be to raise all the fares and rates to the distant and least accessible lands, and, by thus compelling the most thinly populated districts to pay more than their fair share of the revenue, retard their settlement and progress.

Even in this mutilated form, they know that it would give greatly better financial results than the present system, and they would claim that these results were due to their "improvements," whereas they would only have secured a part, of the revenue that might have been obtained had the system not been tampered with, and its great distributive capabilities most seriously injured.

I have done my very best to help my fellowcitizens in this important matter, and I now ask them to help me by using all their influence with their various Parliamentary representatives to at once procure a trial of the new system. I think I may fairly ask for and expect this little help. It is not much, and there should be at least one man in each district able and willing to render it.

Some Proofs of my ability to deal with this subject.

Our railway officials having repeatedly asserted that I am incompetent to deal with this important matter, I respectfully, and with much deference, direct attention to the instances in which time and the course of events have proved my judgment to be right and that of the railway men wrong.

My first letter on the railway question appeared in the "New Zealand Herald," of the 3rd January, 1883.

On the 31st March following, the Department gazetted certain alterations and reductions in passenger fares.

Commenting on these in a printed circular letter sent to the various Chambers of Commerce, I said, "I am strongly of opinion that the concession made will simply mean so much loss so far as the revenue is concerned."

At the end of the year, passenger revenue had decreased £25,213, and the number of passengers carried was 10,734 less than in the previous year.

In March, 1884, what was known as the "Grain Rate Tariff" was gazetted. I analysed this, and stated that it

was more likely to produce £50,000 than the £150,000 estimated by the Department. The result showed a gross increase of £84,409, and a net increase of only £50,372.

It is clear that in these two instances our railway controllers were quite unable to estimate, even approximately, the result of their own work, and that my estimate was much nearer the truth than theirs.

In my first lecture on the railway question, I made the statement that passengers could be carried on a railway thirty (30) miles for one penny without loss. Mr. Maxwell quoted this as an instance of my "great ignorance." Several years later, the Chairman of the Railway Clearing House in London gave a lecture on railway transit before the London Institute. In it he made use of these words: "Given a train of the capacity to carry 500 passengers, and assuming that train to be only onehalf full, then the cost of carrying each passenger is one penny for every 30 miles." I think this may be taken as proof that I had calculated correctly, and that the "great ignorance" was not shown by me.

Speaking in the Auckland Chamber of Commerce soon after the appointment of the Victorian Railway Board, with Mr. Speight as chief, I used these words: "I venture to say that this Victorian Railway Board will make a complete financial failure, and that, the social effects will be still more disastrous. In Victoria will first be reproduced in these colonies all the worst social inequalities, miseries, and vices of the older countries of Europe and America. I expect that for some years the revenue will be considerably increased, but it will be done by the usual process—that is, by absorbing the country districts of Victoria into Melbourne."

At that time I was probably the only man in Australasia who held this opinion, for then success was apparently assured, and the other colonies were hastening to follow Victoria's example. Time, however, has proved that my judgment was again right.

In July, 1889, I received from London information that the Hungarians were to start their Zone System on the 1st August following. Without waiting for them to begin, I immediately wrote, and, among other things, said: "As to the financial outcome, for some years, probably many, it will be a great success, but, owing to the concentration in one centre, it will gradually wear itself out, and a better stage system will take its place." (See "New Zealand Herald," 20th July, 1889.) This was written on the information then supplied that the system was one of equal zones, all starting from the capital, hence the last clause of the paragraph quoted. The financial results have more than justified my anticipations.

Subsequent information showed that the system was not one of equal zones, still I thought their arrangement, very faulty, and again wrote, pointing out that the 11th, 12th, and 13th zones were likely to give poor financial results. The reports show that I was also right in this anticipation. (See "New Zealand Herald," 22nd August, 1889.)

After four years' working the increases in the various zones were as follows:—

The officers of the Department contended that under the Stage System there would be practically no increase on the shortest or the longest distances, but that any increase there might be would be on the mid-distance travelling. On the contrary, I maintained that the chief increases would be made, as they have been in Hungary, on the short and on the long distances.

It must be remembered that this evidence was given long before the Hungarian system was heard of.

In May, 1890, I received information, that the Austrians were to apply a "Zone" System to their railways on the 1st of June following. It was evident to me that this system had been worked out by the railway "experts," and that while professing to be a Zone System it was really a mileage one; consequently, in the "New Zealand Herald" of 28th May, 1890, I said: "My own opinion is that if there is any improvement in financial results that they will be exceedingly small." At the end of the year they had made a small loss, and I have never heard of any good coming from the Austrian system.

One of the objections urged to according the Stage System a trial, is that it would be dangerous to the country to give me control over a, small section of our railways.

If this is so, may I ask why a gentleman who never pretended to have the slightest knowledge of either railway policy or working was made Chief Commissioner of the whole of our railways, with irresponsible power to deal with them just, exactly as he pleased, and also power to over-ride his fellow Commissioners.

Mr. J. P. Maxwell, too, when he was appointed General Manager, on his own showing, had never had a day's training to qualify him for his post. (See Parliamentary Paper, I.—IX., 1886, Questions and Answers, 617 to 620.)

I think, too, Sir, that without presumption I may be permitted to say that my knowledge of the railway question is at any rate equal to that of any of the Ministers who have had charge of our railways during the last 15 years.

Russia.

Since writing the above paper, my attention has been directed to what Mr. Arnot Reid says in his recent

work on Russia, about the management of the Trans-Siberian Railway.

"The whole country traversed by the railway is divided into zones of a certain mileage, and the charge for travelling is so much within each zone, without regard to the actual distance the traveller may proceed. The zone system is by no means peculiar to Russia, but is, I think, carried out, unless my memory leads me wrong, in Austria and elsewhere with much success. It has been found to be an exceedingly useful system for developing the use of railways by populations that are new to railways, and, while I do not suggest that it is in any way applicable to Britain, it is a system that I should be inclined to recommend on any new railway in any new country."

As I understand this matter, on the 1st December, 1894, the Government of that country applied the Zone System to their railways for all distances exceeding 200 miles. For all shorter distances from their large centres the old system was retained.

The passenger revenue of the Russian lines for the previous year had been £8,061,754, but the Russian railway "experts" calculated that the introduction of the new system would reduce the year's revenue to £6,167,552; it, however, wound up with £9,183,333, or £1,121,579 more than the previous year, and £3,015,781 more than the railway experts calculated on.

I may mention that copies of my pamphlets were sent to the British Consul and Ambassador at St. Petersburg some years ago.

I hope my readers will take note that all this vast increase of revenue has been produced solely from the most thinly-populated districts of the vast Russian Empire. The same results took place in Hungary, where the largest increase also occurred in the most sparsely populated districts.

These indisputable facts prove incontestably that I am right in my oft-repeated statement that the Stage System does not require a dense population, but, on the contrary, will give the best results in a thinly-populated country. They fully dispose of the not sufficient population theory. I now say with the utmost confidence that if applied faithfully to our railways, it will increase the railway revenue by at least from £800,000 to £1,000,000 per annum, add very little to the working expenses, and give such an impetus to business and social development as we have never seen before.

It cannot be much longer now before this system extends itself to these colonies. Are we to be the first, or are we to be the last? I warn my fellow colonists, that if it is first applied in Australia, it will draw off a large proportion of our population, for a great demand for labour will speedily spring up wherever it is put in force.

Every member of the Seddon Ministry has endorsed this system, and it is now abundantly clear that they oppose it because they know that under it they cannot use the railways for political purposes, as they do now. For what the Right Hon. R. J. Seddon and the Hon. J. A. Cadman have said of the Stage System, see footnote to page 35.

Had this system been put in force, as it ought to have been, 12 or more years ago, how much of the curse of debt would this colony have been saved from, and how many broken fortunes and broken hearts would also have been saved. It is deplorable to think how much this country has suffered, through the selfishness and ignorance of its chief railway officials, the supineness, or worse, of its Government, and the apathy of its people.

Now that the position is fully proved, I again call upon my fellow colonists to do their duty in this matter, and see that, their Parliamentary representatives do their duty also, and insist upon a trial. I do not forget—I remember with feelings of deep gratitude—that many of our members have done their duty, and that on the last division the Government had to exert all their influence to prevent a trial of the new system being ordered, and they succeeded in securing a majority against it of only seven.

The Government of the "Great Liberal Party," although they have all vested that it ought to be tried, are the greatest enemies of the Stage System. They profess to be specially anxious for the welfare of the working man, but they take very good care they will not give him the chance of travelling the whole length of the Auckland section, from the extreme North to the South end for 4s, from New Plymouth to Wellington for 6s 1d, from Napier to Wellington for 6s, or the whole length of the Hurunui-Bluff section for 12s 8d.

This is what would really help the working man to obtain work, or a home; but he cannot have it, because for political reasons it does not suit the leaders of the "Great Liberal Party." Where the liberality comes in I fail to discover.

The Future Control of our Railways

It is now six years since the following paper was published in the "New Zealand Herald" of the 14th and 24th April, 1893, but time has strongly confirmed me in the views expressed.

To the Editor.

SIR,—One of your Southern contemporaries has recently sent to various prominent men, and also to me, a

circular letter, asking the following questions:—

- Are you in favour of the railways being managed by a non-political Board: and if so, state your reasons?
- Are you in favour of the railways being managed by a Board, the chairman of which is a member of the Ministry of the day; and if so, state your reasons?
- If you are in favour of some other form of control, state your views and your reasons therefor.

As this matter is of great public interest, and is sure to be keenly debated in the next session of Parliament, I shall feel obliged if you will afford me space for the following reply to the above questions:—

In considering the future of our railways, it is first of all necessary to have a clear understanding as to the meaning of certain terms employed.

In this country it is universal to confuse railway management with the policy that should govern that management. The two things are totally distinct.

Railway management may be divided into two departments—the engineers' and the traffic departments. The engineers deal with everything pertaining to the maintenance of the lines and rolling stock, and the traffic managers deal with the passengers and goods traffic. In countries where railways are privately owned, the policy that governs these engineers and managers is dictated by the various Boards of Directors, which are composed almost entirely of commercial and financial men.

It is because our legislators did not properly distinguish between these terms that they committed our railway policy to men who never had a day's training to fit them for dealing with it

Then, what is meant by the term "non-political"? Here it has come to be considered as synonymous with irresponsible. In this country we have an irresponsible Board, but so far from the railways being removed from political control, they have been placed under the worst possible form of political influence. As a matter of fact our railways have been handed over to a political party. That party is now making the most strenuous efforts to retain the advantage it has gained, for they well know that if they can retain their grip of its railways, they will soon dominate not only its politics, but also the trade, commerce, and social conditions of the country.

In answer to the first question—"Are you in favour of the railways being managed by a non-political Board?" I reply,—

For the last ten and a-half years I have made a special study of the railway problem, having on an average devoted at least from three to four hours per day to it. I have read all that I could procure of what has been published on the subject, have written and published what would form several good-sized volumes on the railway question, have entered into controversy with many writers, and have thoroughly studied it from all its various points of view. As the result of my investigations I have arrived at this conclusion: I am, utterly, and in the strongest manner possible, opposed to railways being administered by what is here called a non-political Board, or by an irresponsible Board of any kind or sort whatever, no matter by whom or in what manner that Board may be appointed, nor of whom it may be composed.

I say this for the following reasons, which appear to me to be all sufficient:—

- I believe it to be impossible to form a non-political Board. It is not possible to wholly remove railways from political influence. Private ownership even will not do this. In England and America they are private property, but we have evident proof that, they are subject to political influence, and, what is worse, they exercise great political power. The railway interest in Great Britain is represented in the Legislature by eighty directors of companies in the House of Commons and fifty in the House of Lords.
- Railways, in every country where they exist, are preeminently its great highways. They are the channels along which its trade, commerce, and social intercourse must flow. No Government has the right to hand over the highways of its country to the supreme control of any set of men, nor would they dare attempt it in the case of the common roads. To keep control of inter-communications is one of the first duties of every Government.
- An irresponsible Board is more open to corrupting influences than any other form of government. One bad man on the Board could work great mischief before he could be found out.
- Placing our railways under an irresponsible Board means the creation of a most dangerous political and social power in our midst. Our railways now employ between four and five thousand men. This number will soon be largely increased; they are all voters, and are all bound together by mutual ties and interests. They are all absolutely dependent on the Commissioners for their daily bread, and for advancement and promotion. They dare not offend them. The Commissioners are equally interested in conciliating the employees, for they will want all their help at the polls. The inevitable result will be, that the number, pay, and privileges of the employees will be unduly increased, not only to the detriment of the community, but also to the demoralisation of the service itself. A close observer will have noticed what is already going on both in Australia and here.
- Its railways being by far the largest business investment in the country, it is most important that the people should keep a careful eye over it. The effect of irresponsible Boards is to destroy all public interest

in our railways. This is already manifest, for the people have settled down into a state of apathy, and both say and feel that it is useless to try to do anything, for the Commissioners will still do as they please.

The paid-up capital of all the banks doing business in the colony is only £4,625,000. The paid-up capital of our railways is £15,500,000. For the public to neglect this vast investment must be a great mistake, and must lead to serious results.

- It is contrary to all reason and experience to suppose that purity of administration can be secured by setting up a despotism.
- An irresponsible Board stops all reform in administration, as the Commissioners and their numerous staff are too deeply interested in maintaining the present position. We have had proof of this in the obstinacy with which the Commissioners have refused to give effect to the recommendation of two Parliamentary Committees to try the new system.
- Irresponsible Board management, has already proved a disastrous failure in Victoria, and it is fast breaking down in New South Wales and the other countries that have adopted it.
- Placing our railways in the hands of an irresponsible Board means giving to that Board the power to ruin any district, any industry, or any man that may be dependent on the railways as a means of transportation. This is power which no Government has a right to give to any set of men, no matter how pure they may be.
- If the most important departments of the Government are to be administered by Boards, and more especially irresponsible Boards, the effect on the character of the Parliament of the colony must be most disastrous. Any country so governed must rapidly sink in position. Our Parliament ought to be composed of our best men; everything possible ought to be done to elevate and not to degrade it. The more departments there are put under Boards the more degraded will Parliament become; for it cannot be expected that really good men will consent to become the mere endorsers of the actions of irresponsible Boards. What New Zealand wants is statesmen, but it would be absurd to expect a country so governed to produce them.

The following is my reply to questions two and three, asked on the above subject. I feel so deeply the vast importance of rightly administering our railways, and I am so thoroughly convinced of the great mischief that is now being done, and so clearly do I foresee what it must lead to, that I have not hesitated to say exactly what I think and know.

Question No. 2. "Are you in favour of the railways being managed by a Board, the chairman of which is a member of the Ministry of the day?" No, I am not. At the same time I am of opinion that such a Board would be a great improvement on the present one, seeing that the Minister would be re-sponsible to Parliament, while the present Board is not responsible to anybody.

While I express myself thus strongly against Board management of any kind. I wish it to be distinctly understood that no one can be more impressed with the desirability of removing our railways as far as possible from political influence than I am. I believe this can be done, while at the same time we can retain direct Parliamentary control, which I strongly advocate.

How I propose to do this brings me to your third question: "If you are in favour of some other form of control, state your views and your reasons therefor."

My proposal then is:—

- To abolish the offices of Postmaster-General and Minister of Public Works.
- To amalgamate the Public Works Office and Crown Lands Office.
- To create a Minister of Inter-communications and place under his charge the working railways and also the Postal and Telegraph Departments.

These are all kindred departments, which must more or less work together, and therefore could be worked much more cheaply and advantageously from one centre.

To assist this Minister it would be quite necessary to appoint two under secretaries, one for railways and one for post and telegraphs.

Now, as to political influence. It is in the matter of railway construction that this colony has suffered most from political influence. The Act of 1887 leaves this important matter just where it was.

To get over this difficulty I propose that Railway Construction Bills should, as new lines are wanted or supposed to be wanted, be passed through Parliament, but before any such Bills became law, I would refer the final decision to a commission to be composed of the judges of the Supreme Court and four lay members, two for each island, these to be elected by the local governing bodies, chambers of commerce, and pastoral and agricultural associations. Should any line of railway be thrown out by this commission, that line not to be brought forward in Parliament again for at least three years.

A commission its here suggested would be as free from political influence as it is possible for any commission to be, and would form an effective check on the construction of "political railways."

There are two other ways in which it is claimed undue political influence has been exercised with reference to our railways: the appointment of employees and the manipulation of rates and charges.

As regards the appointment of employees, I would follow the example of the Victorians. There, when the Commissioners want men in any of the various grades, they are obliged to advertise for them. The Government appoints examiners. All who choose can go up for examination, and those who pass, ballot among themselves for the various appointments. By this means neither the Government nor the Commissioners have the patronage. Men from all classes of society have an equal chance, and new blood and the most able men would constantly be drawn into the service.

The only way of removing rates and charges from political influence is to greatly simplify the classification, rates charges, and regulations; to as far as possible equalise fares, rates, and charges, take them down to the lowest possible limit, then make them fixed for a certain period, and only alterable as the postal rates are, by Act of Parliament, which would, of course, make the alteration universal.

If these three things were done our railways would be much freer from political influence than they are now, while Parliament would retain supreme control.

What we want to do is to reduce railway administration to a system. At present it is what Professor R. T. Ely aptly describes as "the abominable no-system of railway." This; "no-system" has been deliberately designed for the purpose of plundering the public to the utmost possible extent; it gives enormous power and influence to railway men, and they will fight to the very last to retain it.

I know that the Railway Commissioners say that, it is impossible to do what I propose. I say that it not only possible, but easy, and I claim that time and the course of events has proved that I know more about it than they do. At any rate we have very convincing proof that, they are afraid to let me try.

Whatever may be the future of our railways, I deliberately say this: that in the public interest the Government Railways Act of 1887 must be repealed at the earliest possible date. If it is allowed to remain in force much longer, it will bring about an intolerable state of things, and lead to years of political trouble and turmoil. I regard the passing of that Act not only as the greatest legislative blunder the colony has ever made, but I look upon it as also a political crime.

The Victorian Act is bad enough, ours is infinitely worse. In Victoria some safeguards were taken for the public. Here, while every possible care was taken in the Act to place the officials outside the reach of the law, not one line, not one word is there to safeguard the public. It is simply a bold, daring attempt on the part of a certain set to secure all the power and patronage obtainable from having supreme and irresponsible control over the railways of the country, and so far they have succeeded.

Do not let me be misunderstood. I thoroughly believe that the Minister responsible for this Act, the late Sir F. Whitaker, was actuated by the purest motives, and I also believe that those M.H.R.'s who voted for it, did so in the hope that it would do good, though most of them had very serious doubts on that point.

I, however, have not the slightest belief in the honesty of the set of wire-pullers who secretly procured the passing of the Act and the appointment of the present Board. I believe with Mr. Saunders that that "was effected under party, political, personal, and official considerations of the most objectionable character."

I have no confidence either in the Act of 1887, or in the men who are administering it. Not only are they determined to stick to the "abominable no-system and work it in the narrowest and most objectionable way, but I am prepared to produce printed evidence to show that they have habitually resorted to untruth in order to prevent any reform in the administration of our railways taking place. Such men should not be entrusted with the important public interests which have been with so little consideration handed over to them.

We never hear of political influence in reference to the postal service. Why do we in reference to railways? Simply because of the mystery, complexity, and confusion with which the whole thing has been purposely and unnecessarily surrounded, which prevents the community generally from knowing what is going on.

If we are to do any real good with our railways we must assimilate their working to the postal system of working. There is no reason whatever why this should not be done, except the determined resistance of the railway men, who are deeply interested in maintaining the present "no-system."

The first step towards improvement will be to repeal the Act of 1887, and left, the railways revert to direct Parliamentary control. We know what that means, and can deal with it. We do not know what the present position means, nor can we deal with it.

If in these letters I have spoken warmly, it is because I have felt deeply the vast importance of placing our railway administration on a proper footing.—

I am, etc.,
SAMUEL VAILE.

Auckland,

14th April, 1893.

Appendix.

The Minister of Public Works and the Commissioners.

[FROM THE "NEW ZEALAND HERALD," WEDNESDAY, MAY 13, 1891]

THE following memorandum has been received by the Hon. R. J. Seddon, in regard to a letter from the New Zealand Railway League respecting Mr. Vaile's railway system:—

New Zealand Government Railways, Head Office, Wellington, April 21, 1891. In re letter from New Zealand Railway Reform League to the Hon. the Premier, April 13, 1891: Memorandum for the Hon. the Minister of Public Works.—The subject of Vaile's Stage System has been dealt with rather fully in the correspondence and report contained in Parliamentary papers, D2, 1890, and D2A, 1890, in continuation; but, as much misapprehension about it prevails in the public mind, some recapitulation on this occasion may be advisable. It is very commonly supposed that Vaile's Stage System is like the Austrian and Hungarian zone systems recently introduced in Europe. The Auckland Railway Reform League so far understood the matter as to refer to the Hungarian Government having adopted the system proposed by the League. Mr. Vaile, however, holds that the Hungarian and Austrian zone systems are faulty and defective, and that but little financial improvement can be expected from them. According to the general statements advanced, the zone systems are entirely antagonistic to Vaile's Stage System. The former are intended to draw people to the cities and large towns. Mr. Vaile appears to regard the gregarious habit of mankind as an original vice, to be eradicated by his stage system, which is to have the opposite effect to the zone system, distributing people in the country instead of drawing them to the towns. An experiment to test the correctness of such views must necessarily extend over a great many years. Only a very vague outline of Mr. Vaile's plan of his stage system has ever been divulged by him. Mr. Vaile declined to supply the late Government with details of his scheme in 1888, and the Railway Commissioners were afterwards unsuccessful in their attempts to obtain them from the Railway Reform League, as a perusal of the Parliamentary papers referred to will show. There is then only the outline of the system given by Mr. Vaile to the Parliamentary Committee in 1886 to explain the system. According to this, the system consisted in dividing the railways into stages, depending for their length upon the density of population in the district, and making uniform charges per stage. The stages were to be about seven miles long in the vicinity of Auckland, and fifty miles long in the Waikato. By this system, a second-class passenger would be charged fourpence for a fifty-mile stage in the Waikato, but to travel fifty miles in the vicinity of Auckland, on the same basis of fourpence a stage, he might have to pay two shillings. Applying the system elsewhere, it was shown that a person travelling from Nukumarū to Wanganui would have to pay a shilling, while from Nukumarū to Patea, the same distance, he would only pay fourpence. It is a serious defect in the system that such fantastic results arise from it. It cannot be in the interests of settlement that it should be dearer to travel to Wanganui than to Patea; and there are no rational grounds advanced for making such extraordinary preferences. There is nothing in the system to recommend it, so far as is at present, disclosed. Mr. Vaile has made the system appear attractive to some persons by fixing the fares attached to it inordinately low—far too low, in our opinion, to pay the cost of the service rendered. We cannot expect to do our work as cheaply as in a country like Hungary, for instance, where there are seventeen millions of people on about the same area as New Zealand, and where the rates of wages are about a third or a fourth of what they are here. But even in such countries as Austria, and Hungary, such low fares as Mr. Vaile proposes have not been attempted. We beg to repeat our previously expressed opinion, that no further reduction in fares is at present necessary, and that, if lower fares are desired, they can conveniently be adopted without introducing any new system.—I am, etc., JAMES MCKERROW. Chief Commissioner Railways.

Copies of this letter have been supplied to the Auckland members of the House, and to Mr. Vaile.

On Tuesday morning Mr. S. Vaile interviewed the Hon. Mr. Seddon at the Ministers' Room. Customs Buildings, regarding the trial of his system on the railways.

Mr. Vaile read his reply as follows to the letter of Mr. McKerrow:—

My first feeling on reading the letter of the Chief Railway Commissioner of the 24th April last was one of profound astonishment that a gentleman of Mr. McKerrow's reputation for honesty and love of fair play, could be induced to sign his name to a document containing such gross misrepresentations of fact. I can only suppose he has done so in ignorance. Although the letter in question is signed by him it bears internal evidence of having being prepared by Mr. Maxwell, or at any rate by the same hand that prepared the former documents

bearing his signature.

This letter is simply another attempt to mislead the Government and the public by misstating facts, raising side-issues, and seeking to make it appear that the Railway Reform League and myself have not known what we were asking for, and thus to avoid dealing with a great public question. However, events march on, and Parliament will soon be forced to deal with it, whether the Commissioners like it or not.

First let me remark that no petition has been sent from the Railway Reform League since the session of 1890. Several of the Auckland M.H.R.'s have signed a memorial to the Government asking them to make a reform in railway administration a part of their policy, and to cause a trial of the new system to be made. I presume it is to this that the letter refers.

Mr. McKerrow states that the Railway Reform League have said that the "Hungarian Government has adopted the system proposed by this League." The letter from which this is quoted was written by the late secretary of the League, and all he ever intended to say was that the Hungarian Government had abolished mileage rating, and adopted a stage system, with fares similar to those I have proposed. The League has never asked for a trial of the Hungarian or Austrian systems; the Commissioners are therefore only beating the wind in talking about them.

What the League has very distinctly asked for is a trial of the system the Parliamentary Committee of 1886 spent ten weeks in investigating and then reported that it ought to be tried.

Mr. McKerrow then goes on to say, "Mr. Vaile, however, holds that the Hungarian and Austrian zone systems are faulty and defective, and that little financial improvement can be expected from them."

It is quite true that I have spoken of these systems as defective and utterly unsuited to our requirements, but so far from saying that the Hungarian system would give "but little financial improvement," when the first news of its adoption reached Auckland, in a letter I published in the "New Zealand Herald," of the 20th July, 1889, I wrote as follows:—"As to the financial outcome, for some years, probably many, it will be a great success, but owing to the concentration in one centre it will gradually wear itself out, and a better stage system will take its place."

Most of the prominent railway men of Europe and America predicted that the Hungarian system would end in disastrous financial failure. The result has shown that the railway men knew nothing about it.

Next follows another misrepresentation as to the effects I expect to result from the adoption of my system. In my letter of the 6th June, 1886, addressed to the chairman of the Investigating Committee, these are set out as follows:—

"From the adoption of the proposed plan I should expect the following results to take place:

- The rapid settlement of the country.
- The creation of numerous inland towns.
- The doing away with the great evil of massing large numbers of people in a few centres.
- A more even distribution of population and wealth.
- A more equitable adjustment of the burden of taxation.
- A very large increase in the railway revenue."

From this statement I have never moved.

We next come to (this assertion: "Only a very vague outline of Mr. Vaile's plan of his stage system has ever been divulged by him." Is it possible that Mr. McKerrow can be serious? Does he wish the New Zealand public to believe that the Hon. Major Atkinson, ex-Premier, the then Minister of Public Works, three ex-Ministers of Public Works, and five other well-known M.H.R.'s spent nearly ten weeks of valuable time, and some hundreds of pounds of the public money in investigating "only a very vague outline," and then reported that, "bearing in mind its great importance," that in their opinion "a trial should be given to the system." I am surprised that Mr. McKerrow could be induced to append his name to such a ridiculous and discourteous statement.

The fact is, my system is so exceedingly simple that the Commissioners cannot believe it to be a system at all. They forget that all good systems are simple. Among other absurd things they have asked of me is a request that I should make every detail of the present complicated "no-system" fit in with the details of the new system, which was very much like asking me to make ten hands fit into one five-fingered glove.

All the information, and much more, has been given to the Commissioners that was given to Mr. W. Conyers' late commission of South Island railways, and he gave evidence before the Committee that he saw no difficulty in applying the new system, and that he could do it in a very few months. What was sufficient for his guidance ought to be sufficient for them, always supposing that as railway men they are his equals, which, however, appears to be somewhat doubtful.

Mr. McKerrow's next paragraph is an attempt to revive the old charge that the new system is unfair and unequal in its operation. The system is precisely the same in every district, but the Commissioners will not allow any system to be fair when the charge is not made by the mile, which is just what I and those who are with me object to.

He then says: "There is nothing in the system to recommend it." This is the Commissioners' opinion. It does not suit them; but tens of thousands of New Zealand colonists and nearly every local governing body in the colony think otherwise, and have petitioned Parliament that it may be tried.

Next comes a repetition of the statement made in their report, presented to Parliament in 1890. "Hut even in such countries as Austria and Hungary such low fares as Mr. Vaile proposes has not been attempted." If Mr. McKerrow does not know this statement to be absolutely devoid of truth then he ought to know it; for months ago, in reply to one of his supporters, I wrote that I was prepared to produce the actual tickets used in Hungary, which would show that their lowest fares are less than a third of my lowest.

In Hungary a man can often travel distances up to ten or more miles for five farthings ($1\frac{1}{4}d$), and he can go a mile further than the whole distance from Culverden to the Bluff, 456 miles, for 3s 11d (three shillings and elevenpence). I have never proposed less than 4d for eight miles, or 12s 8d for the long distance.

Mr. McKerrow's last paragraph shows that the Commissioners persistently ignore the fact that what the public demands is not merely "lower fares," but a thorough and complete change of system as regards the transit of both passengers and goods. And it says clearly and distinctly that the public shall not obtain the desired change of policy if he and the other Commissioners can by any means retain their present cherished "no-system," which gives them power to do just as they please 'with the trade and commerce of the country. And this is what they have done during the two years they have had uncontrolled charge.

The following is a table showing goods traffic on the New Zealand railways, with the average charge for carrying and delivering each ton during the years ending 31st March, 1890 and 1891, quarterly statements:—

Mr. McKerrow and his fellow Commissioners have made loud professions of reducing rates; their own figures which I give above prove that instead of lowering they have steadily increased the rates till they are now 25 per cent, above what they were when they took charge.

The following table, giving the charge for delivering each ton on the Hurunui-Bluff and Auckland lines respectively during the year 1890-91, will show how unfairly they are working their differential rating system:—

The fact is, the Commissioners have only maintained the present miserable revenue by reducing train services, working the rolling stock to death, raising charges generally, and imposing the most unjust differential rates.

Mr. Vaile said the only question remaining was whether two people would travel where one travelled now. He believed that four would travel where one travelled now.

Mr. Seddon replied that later on in the history of the colony that would be so, but at present it was very problematical. At the present time the colony had not enough population for that; later on, when we had the population. Mr. Vaile would be right.

Mr. Vaile, in reply to a further question by Mr. Seddon, explained his course in first applying his system to the passenger traffic. He went on to say that if the recommendations of the Parliamentary Committee—that his system should be tried—were given effect to, he would be able to prove that he was right. He was not insensible of what his position would be if the system were tried and failed. He had asked nothing for himself. He repeated to the present Government the offer that he had made to previous Governments: that if he were placed in the position to do so, he would apply the system to the Auckland lines, working out the whole thing as it regarded passengers, goods, and parcels, in six months, he believed, and he was prepared to go and hand over the lines in working order. All he asked for that was that his expenses should be paid during the time.

Mr. Seddon said he thought Parliament would be very chary in interfering with the Railway Commissioners as the law at present stood. He had always had very grave doubts as to whether Parliament was wise in handing over the control of the railways to Commissioners; and, after what Mr. Vaile had shown him that day, and from what he knew himself, it was unquestionably, so far, not a success, but it might be that in the end it would come right.

Mr. Vaile: It cannot come right.

Mr. Seddon: Well, they say it will; and as they have been appointed for a certain time, Parliament do not think it would be fair to interfere with them, or to hamper them, until that time has expired. Mr. Seddon went on to say that he thought the country was very much indebted to Mr. Vaile for the trouble he had taken in this matter. The Commissioners, in answer to objections, said, "There you are: when the Government were working the lines, 2 per cent, was all there was to show; now we get 3 per cent.

Mr. Vaile: They get it by raising the rates.

Mr. Seddon: They say they have not raised the rates.

Mr. Vaile: I say, "There are your own figures, gentlemen."

Mr. Seddon remarked that the raising of the rates meant an increase of taxation.

Mr. Vaile: Yes, and a very gross form of taxation.

Mr. Seddon went on to say that the people did not know it, and the press did not know it. He pointed out

that there was another question which Mr. Vaile had not gone into, and perhaps it had not come under his cognisance, and that was, that the railways and the plant had been going back.

Mr. Vaile: I know that.

Mr. Seddon: At the end of the term, taking the plant as we gave it, and taking the extra charge—

Mr. Vaile: It will take a million to set us right.

Mr. Seddon, continuing, said that the working of the railway system now was much more expensive than was originally intended. The Railway Commissioners recently sent an order home for four new boilers, though such boilers could be made in the colony. His attention having been called to this in Christchurch, he asked the Commissioners why they had not made inquiries in the colony from private firms without sending the order home, and whether or not the work could not be done as well by tender here as by open order sent home. They replied that they had not the necessary shop accommodation, and could not have got the work done within the time allowed. He then asked them how many boilermakers they had discharged, and whether the men employed worked full time. The reply of the Commissioners was that they did not think they were called upon to answer those queries. This meant that they did not think they were called upon to reply to a question by the Minister of Public Works. The members of Parliament looked upon the Minister as the political head of the railway system, but if the Minister was not to know the number of men employed, and the capacity of the shops, and yet a demand was made upon the colony to provide additional accommodation, it showed clearly the position. Parliament had no control; the thing had been handed over bodily to the Commissioners, and that must be accepted as the situation. Therefore, in all cases, he would have to inform members of Parliament when they asked for information that they must apply direct to the Commissioners. He would not take any responsibility in the matter. Though the Commissioners had refused to give him the information he asked for, he had obtained it from another source, thoroughly reliable, and thus found that there were facilities at the boiler-making shops at Addington for carrying out this kind of work. The latest and most improved appliances were there, and the accommodation that the Commissioners had complained of wanting must exist there, because there were no boilers in the fitting-shop. The person who had supplied this information had expressed the opinion that the Commissioners had perpetrated a gross injustice in sending home for boilers whilst they had in the colony the necessary plant and skill for such work, and whilst there were many boiler makers out of work, and said that he felt sure that the country would be pleased if there were a change. Mr. Seddon, proceeding, said that one firm in Christchurch had manufactured six locomotives, boilers and all. Therefore, whilst the necessary plant was in the colony, the Commissioners had sent home the orders, though there were boilermakers in Auckland, Dunedin, Christchurch, and Wellington walking about with their hands in their pockets. He thought the position of the Government in this matter should be known. It was, of course, reasonable that the Commissioners should not be interfered with so far as the employment of men was concerned, but it did seem to him strange that the Commissioners, without consulting Parliament or anybody else, could send home orders for works, and then ask the colony for a large sum of money to pay for them. It was a question on which the public should judge. He had no responsibility in the matter, and it was not right that any blame should attach to him.

Mr. Vaile said he thought the Act appointing the Commissioners would have to be repealed.

Mr. Seddon replied that the more they talked about repealing the Act the more it would make people say that the Commissioners were being hampered. He said nothing about interfering; he said the proper course was to let the Commissioners finish the time allotted to them by Parliament, and let the results be then seem.

Differential Rating.

Note.—I first published the above paper in 1889. The system is still in force on our railways, and the only way to abolish it is to do away with mileage rating, reckon by stages, and make all the charges fixed, the same as postal charges are. There is no reason whatever why this should not be done. The vile system is maintained simply because the officials will not part with the power it gives them.

I am often asked: What is differential rating? Tell us exactly what it means.

To describe all that the term "differential rating" means, in a way that will be understood by the general public, is a somewhat difficult task.

Differential rates are known by various names, as discriminations, preferences, drawbacks, rebates, discounts, allowances, through rates, etc.

It will be well to go back a little, and trace how and why the practice arose.

Railways originated in England, and the Government of that country made the mistake of allowing them to be constructed by private people, and held as trade speculations.

The only object the constructors of railways had in view was to make money out of their investments, and this, indeed, is their only object now. To such an extent has this been carried on in some countries, and so much have their powers been abused, that in many parts of Germany, for instance, to call a man a railway

"constructor" is more offensive than to call him a liar.

At the commencement of the railway era, fares and charges appear to have been arranged on a fair and equitable basis. On the first railway, the Stockton and Darlington, passengers were charged one uniform fare of one shilling each for the whole, or any portion of the 12½ miles. Parcels also were charged one uniform rate. This line was not intended to carry goods.

As time passed on railway construction and working became more expensive, and as making money was the only object, means must be found by which this money could be obtained.

It soon occurred to the railway managers to "classify" goods; that is, to charge one price for one kind of goods and another price for another class. Thus the price charged for conveying a ton of carrots would be much less than for a ton of broadcloths. This is not differential rating; it is classification" and, to a certain extent, it is not only justifiable, but necessary. For instance, it would be neither convenient nor profitable to attempt to carry live stock and crockery in the same vehicle. They must be separated. Classification, however, in the effort to get "all that the traffic will bear," has been pushed to an undue extent, and been made a grievous burden.

The Stockton and Darlington Railway was opened on the 10th October, 1825. The Manchester and Liverpool followed in 1830, and the first through line, the Birmingham and London, in 1838. Then it was that the real trouble began, and the present vicious system was rapidly developed.

The change in the cost of carrying goods long distances by rail instead of by horse power was so great, that the heavy charges made by the railway companies were hardly felt for a time, but prices soon began to adjust themselves, and experience showed that the rates charged killed the long distance traffic.

The companies, by their charters, were empowered to levy tolls (note the idea of a toll-bar) at so much per mile. After a time it was found out that these mileage rates could not be enforced, because the constant piling up of an additional toll or charge for every mile passed over, could not be borne except by goods which carried a large profit. This was the difficulty that first gave rise to the differential rating system.

The controllers of railways soon apprehended what a mighty engine this system was for extracting money from the pockets of other people, and transferring it to their own. Not only did it give them great opportunities for making money directly for the use of the railways, but as I shall show further on it gave them an immense command over the trade, commerce, and land values of the country.

It is probable that the earliest form of differential rating was giving "through rates," that is to say, rates from point to point, as from Birmingham to London. These rates were often given at less than the price charged for only half the distance. This constitutes a differential rate in favour of the large centre, and against the weaker districts. It is manifestly unfair, especially when mileage rates are used.

As the necessities of the railway companies became greater, worse forms of differential rating crept in. Thus the companies, if they could not get their regular rate from a customer, would take a lower one, while a less powerful customer would have to pay the full rate, and in process of time it became such a matter of bargaining that everybody had to "inquire at the situation" for their rate; and according to Sir Edward Watkin, there were over ten million (10,000,000) different rates in existence in 1881, on one railway alone, the Great Northern of the United Kingdom.

Up to quite a recent period a pretence has been made of regulating railway charges by the "cost of service." We hear but little of this now, the railway men claiming instead that they have the right to charge "what the traffic will bear." That is to say, to take all they can get.

The forms of differential rating are very various. Perhaps the most common is the result of inquiring at the stations for a rate. Mr. Maxwell, in a letter to the Auckland Chamber of Commerce, and in one of his reports, which I shall afterwards quote, has openly expressed his wish to drive the users of New Zealand railways into this position.

A man "inquires at the station" for the rate for conveying, say, 2,000 sheep to a given point. He is told the rate as per tariff, and if he is absolutely dependant on the railway this rate will be adhered to, unless he has a friend at court, in which case, or if he can drive or send them by water, he will probably get his sheep carried at half the rate.

A poor man with only 30 head applies at the same station. He will get no consideration whatever, but must either pay the full rate or drive his sheep.

This is a differential rate in favour of the rich and against the poor man, as indeed all differential rates may be said to be. The railway men say it is given to "develope industries." Whatever the intention, the effect is to develope monopoly.

The following are some other forms of differential rating:—

Large users of railways arrange that in their monthly freight bills they are to receive a certain portion of the amount back by way of discount, rebate, drawback, or allowance of some kind. This practice has been almost universal in England and America.

A worse form is "secret rating." A speculator or manufacturer will enter into a secret contract with a

railway company or owner to take his goods at a certain rate. He on his part undertakes to pay them not less than so much per month or per annum, and the railway owners on their part agree not to carry the same class of goods for any other producer at less than say double the rate they charge the contracting party. Both parties to this contract enter into heavy bonds not to divulge its nature.

Imagine a transaction like this, being, as it now is, perfectly legal on our New Zealand Railways.

Another form is to call 100 miles 50, 60, or 70 miles only. We have more than one example of this class of differential rating in New Zealand. On one railway in Canterbury 31 miles is "deemed" to be 15 miles only, and on another 21 miles is also "deemed" to be 15 miles.

There are differential rates in favour of Christchurch and against the rest of the colony.

Another form is to call 15cwt. or 30cwt. a ton, according as the railway controllers may wish to fix a rate in favour of or against any particular individual. This is the way the recent railway frauds in New South Wales were perpetrated.

Some time ago differential rates were in existence in favour of certain districts in the Waikato; the object was not to favour these districts, but to ruin the Waikato Steam Navigation Company, which the Government succeeded in doing, and then immediately raised the rates;

Another form is to charge one district a certain rate, and in another a rate and a-quarter or a rate and a-half for precisely the same service rendered; or, to say with regard to certain districts, all goods belonging to a certain class shall be charged as if they belonged to goods of a higher classification—that is, a class paying a higher rate.

Both these two last forms have been and still are extensively used on the New Zealand Railways. A few years ago agricultural produce generally (class E) was charged a single rate in the South Island, and a rate and a-quarter in the North Island. This has been removed as regards Auckland, but still remains against Wellington, Napier, and Wanganui. Very heavy differential rates are also imposed against the weaker districts in the South Island.

Both these forms constitute differential rates in favour of the wealthy and against the poorer districts.

Parliament votes subsidies and bonuses to protect and assist weak industries, and at the same time passes an Act to empower the Railway Commissioners to levy rates that will effectually crush these weak industries and also weak districts.

Differential rates have often been given in favour of one manufactory, say, a woollen mill, or a coal mine, and against another mill or mine in the same district. The object of this form of differential rating was to ruin the mill or mine the rates were made against, so that those interested might not only get rid of the competition, but also acquire the property of the ruined owners at their own price.

This form of rating is also now legal on the New Zealand lines, and as, if the abominable Act of 1887 is not speedily repealed or amended out of existence, we run an imminent risk of having it put in force, I will quote instances of what has been done in this direction.

Professor R. T. Ely, of Baltimore, who has aptly described the present way of administering railways as "our abominable no-system of railways," speaking of differential rating says, "It is difficult to tell where to begin or where to end on account of abuses, as they are so numerous and momentous. Equally difficult is it to find language in which to pourtray the sober, scientific truth in regard to these abuses, for their enormity is such as almost to baffle description."

He speaks of one company "of odious memory, whose history is marked not only by theft, wholesale bribery, and legislative corruption, but even by violence and murder." He says that effective essays might be written on differential rating under such titles as "Corruption no Harm," "Lying no Sin," "Theft no Crime."

I emphatically endorse Professor Ely's condemnation of this system. It is the vilest thing the trading world has ever produced. There is no other thing, not even excepting the liquor traffic, that has brought so much social, moral, political, and commercial degradation and misery in its train as the present "no-system" of railway administration.

Years ago I published' the following paragraph:—

"If the whole history of commerce, from the earliest times, was searched with the minutest care, I do not believe it would be possible to find in its darkest records anything to equal the differential rating system for unmitigated dishonesty. How it could have come into almost universal use I cannot imagine, and still more do I wonder that our great writers have failed to notice and point out the enormous influence for evil it must have on commercial and social affairs."

Yet we have passed an Act, one of the main objects—if not the main object—of which is to fully develop this evil amongst us, and we have appointed as administrators of that Act two men who are its ardent advocates. Here is what one, if not two, of them say:—

Mr. Maxwell, in his report for 1884, says:—"The system of rating differentially in this colony is not carried far enough, and the difficulty that stands in the way is the impatience of the public in submitting to different

treatment in different cases, and the reluctance to place in the hands of the railway officers the power which would be necessary for carrying out the principle extensively. While retaining publicity by gazetting each rate, were such a principle more widely introduced, the public would not be able to do what it now, to some extent, essays to do—read and interpret the rates generally; but the practice followed elsewhere would be necessary; the customer would appeal to the station each time he required a rate quoted; and, whether the railways were managed by a Minister or a Board, more power and freedom in respect to rating would have to be placed in the officers' hands."

Anyone wishing to see what two of our present Commissioners can say in favour of this system, cannot do better than peruse Parliamentary Paper I. 9, 1886. Mr. Maxwell's evidence, when he was under cross-examination by myself, is particularly instructive.

He first of all took up the ground that it was justified by cost of service, and that it secured "equality of treatment." Driven from pillar to post in his defence of this abominable system, he then said that "you can get it" (equality of treatment) if the conditions were precisely similar. Which is simply saying, if two things are exactly similar, they must be alike. Finally, he was compelled to say that the sole object of the system was to "get revenue."

In most countries the passenger fare, for distances of from 10 to 15 miles round the great cities, is half the rate per mile that is charged for the longer distances. That is to say, dwellers in the country or small towns have to pay twice the price that dwellers in the city do. It will easily be seen how this must cripple the weaker districts, and make them poorer still.

This is one of the worst forms of differential rating in favour of the great cities and against the country.

As to the meaning of the term "differential rating" when applied to railway working, I define it as meaning any system which gives to the officers or controllers of railways the power to alter or vary fares, rates, or charges at their pleasure, or to suit their idea of the requirements of trade.

At the Parliamentary inquiry in 1886 the officers of the Railway Department asserted that my system was a differential rating system. I therefore submitted the following question to the author of "State Purchase of Railways," the late Mr. Charles Waring, of London.

Mr. Waring, I may state, was formerly a member of the British Parliament, and a, very prominent man. His opinion is certainly worth more than that of Messrs. Maxwell and Hannay.

This is what I said to Mr. Waring: "If you can spare the time. I shall esteem it a favour if you will answer me this question:—

"As in the system I propose all the fares and rates will be definitely fixed, for at any rate, a number of years, and the officers will have no power to alter or vary them—Can my system be called a differential rating system?"

This is his reply:—"In answer to the specific question you put to me, I hardly see how any system in which rates and fares are established on a fixed basis can be properly called a differential rating system. That is not what we mean when we speak of a differential system in England, and describes, indeed, the exact reverse."

My contention is that all fares, rates, and charges ought to be brought down to the lowest possible point, and then arranged on a fixed basis for a period of years, and only altered then on a regularly defined system. There is no difficulty whatever in doing this; the only obstacle in the way is the self-interested prejudices of the railway officials.

Speaking of the differential rating system, Mr. J. F. Hudson, of America, says:—"It cuts down the profits of one competitor, and enhances those of another; and thus acts as a perpetual disturbing force in trade, against which sagacity, energy, and integrity contend in vain."

This is absolutely true, and it is also true that we have legislated with the special object of working this system to the fullest extent. To such an extent has this system been worked in America, that the evidence with reference to it taken by the Legislature of New York alone fills nearly 5,000 pages.

The author quoted above says: "Discrimination (the American, and better word for differential) between different localities or cities involves the daily exercise by railway officials who adjust freight tariffs of a power greater than that possessed by any civilised Government—except perhaps that of Russia."

What would this writer say to our Act? He would not need to except Russia; there is nothing there to equal it for absolute tyranny.

To give a very limited account of the evil effects of differential rating will occupy the full space of another paper.

A Few Examples.

As our Railway Commissioners have now full power to impose "differential rates" in any and every form, and the public has no remedy whatever, either at law or by an appeal to Parliament, it may be as well if I give a

few instances of what has been done under the iniquitous system which has now been legalised in New Zealand.

In order to work this vile "no-system" effectively, the first thing to be done is to multiply and confuse the rates as much as possible, so that no one can understand them, and thus compel the public, as Mr. Maxwell says, to "apply at the station for their rate." Anyone who will take the trouble to study the Gazette will see how rapidly our Commissioners are bringing about this state of things.

On the Midland Railway of England there are over 30,000,000 rates. Who could pick the legal one from such a mass?

In my last paper I quoted Mr. Maxwell's statement that differential rating was not carried far enough in New Zealand, and also that "maximum rates might be fixed by law, and a suitable Court of Appeal constituted to prevent abuse of the powers given."

One hardly knows what to think of this suggestion of Mr. Maxwell's. Is he simply trying to throw dust in the eyes of the public, or is he so supremely in the dark as to what is going on in the railway world as to believe that such a course could be any protection to the public.

Such a tribunal has been in existence in Great Britain since 1873; and here are a few examples of what the Railway Companies do every day in open defiance of it; indeed, with such thorough contempt do the Companies treat the law and the Railway Commissioners (whose business in Great Britain is to protect, not oppress, the public) that they do not hesitate to publish these excess charges in their rate books.

London and North-Western Line.

Fifty-five miles: Maximum legal rate for minerals, 5s 5½d per ton; rate charged, 11s 8d, or 6s 2½d in excess.

Fifty-five miles:—Manchester goods, etc.: Legal rate, 10s 10d; rate charged, 22s 6d; excess charge, 11s 8d per ton.

Fourteen miles:—Boots and shoes, etc.: Legal rate, 24s 3d: rate charged, 55s: excess charge, 30s 9d, for transporting a ton only 14 miles.

Cork and Bandon Line.

Cork to Bandon, 20 miles. The following charges are made over and above the legal maximum rates per ton:—

Drain pipes, 2s 6d; hides, 3s 9d: wool, 2s 11d.

Cork to Drimoleague, 45 miles: 5th class, overcharge, 11s 11d per ton; 6th class, 26s 11d.

Birkenhead Railway.

Coal rates: Legal rate per ton for six miles, 3d: rate charged, 9d. Ten miles: Legal rate, 7d; rate charged, 1s 1¼d. Seventeen miles: Legal rate, 1s 1¾d; charged, 1s 8¾d.

As examples of preferential rating, I quote the following, given on the Caledonian Railway in favour of the Aberdeen Commercial Company:—

Ordinary rate: Three miles, 1s 3d; rate to Commercial Company, 5d. Twenty-two miles: Ordinary rate, 4s 6d; to Commercial Company, 3s 4d. Forty-two miles: Ordinary rate, 8s 4d: to Commercial Company, 5s 4d.

I speak within bounds when I say that thousands of similar instances to the above could be produced. I have selected these few at random; they are by no means the worst that can be found. Professor Hunter gave evidence before the British Royal Commission of 1881, that the companies charged from three to ten times their legal rates.

Mr. Findlay gave evidence before this Commission to this effect, "I believe that to certain stations north of Sudbury or Harrow we charge a higher rate than we do to London, simply because it is within our power."

Mr. Waring says that "The unalterable rule of the railway directors is to get all they can," and shows that the law is futile to protect the public.

However, we need not talk of law in New Zealand. There is no law for the public in this country. The law has been most carefully drawn to protect the Commissioners from the effects of wrong-doing in their efforts to "get revenue" from the public, but as to the people, they must take their chance as best they may.

Seeing that our railways are now worked as if they belonged to a company, and on "commercial principles," if such a term can be applied to a thing that is utterly and absolutely without principle, it may be as well to pursue the subject a little further, and show some of the tilings that have been done in America under the system we have legalised here. I present only a few of the more notorious cases.

In America there exists, or recently did exist, a set of men called "eveners." A number of railway

companies agree to "pool" their traffic and profits, each line taking a certain agreed upon percentage. The "eveners" enter into a contract to "even up" these percentages, in consideration of certain rebates allowed to them, but refused to everybody else.

A party of these men in Chicago entered into an engagement with the various trunk lines running east from that city, by which they were to receive from the companies forming the trunk line "pool" a rebate of £3 on every car load of live stock that passed over their lines. This rebate was paid them not only on live stock shipped by themselves, but also on all the live stock sent over these rails by other people. The effect was that they secured an advantage of £6 per truck load over those competing with them, whom they soon brought to ruin, and thus secured a virtual monopoly of the trade.

As showing the power this differential rating system gives the controllers of railways over any particular industry these gentlemen may choose to speculate in, I direct attention to what was done with the coal trade of Pennsylvania.

The owners of certain railways in that State were also owners of certain coal mines, and they wished to acquire a monopoly of the coal trade, and also to keep down the wages of the men employed in the mines. The miners had struck for higher pay, and the private mine owners yielded to their demand. The railway companies, however, determined not only to keep down the price of labour but also to ruin these owners, and acquire their property for themselves.

They therefore raised the freight rates to the private owners to three times the former rate, the result being that they soon secured 195,000 out of a total of 270,000 acres of coal land. Having thus acquired the monopoly they proceeded to limit the output so as to keep up the price. This they did by suspending operations for a quarter of the working time in each year.

I commend this fact to the careful consideration of what are called the working classes, and would impress upon them the fact that our Railway Commissioners have it quite within their power to do these things here, and that there is no law or power of any kind that can punish them for so doing.

There is no class of trade or commerce that the abominable system it is intended to fully develop among us cannot reach and destroy, or turn to the private advantage of the controllers of the railways, or those they may wish to favour.

The New York Central Railway Company entered into a contract with a firm of millers by which they undertook to carry all their freight for forty-seven per cent, of the current rate, "provided, however, and this agreement is made upon the express understanding and consideration that the said millers shall regard and treat this agreement as confidential, and will use all reasonable precautions to keep the same secret.."

By means like these dozens of millowners were ruined and their property acquired by the favoured few who had "gotten in on the ground floor" with the railway magnates. To one unfortunate fellow who complained that the freight charged him absorbed nearly the whole of his profit, they said: "Send us a statement showing the details of your business, in order that we may see that your profits are not more than you represent them to be." Knowing that he was entirely in their power, and hoping to make friends, he sent them the statement;. They immediately raised his freight rates, so as to absorb the whole of his profits, and very speedily had him in the Bankruptcy Court, and his property in their possession.

The most notorious of all these cases is that of the Standard Oil Company. It would be impossible in the space of this paper to give a description of the transactions of this company with the Railway Companies. Briefly, the railway people entered into a secret contract with the Standard Company, by which they undertook to give them such special freight rates as should effectually secure them against all competition in the petroleum oil trade. The result has been that the Standard Company soon ruined all their competitors, and now enjoy a complete monopoly of the oil trade, a monopoly the effects of which have been felt all the world over.

It has been proved in evidence that the differential rates given in favour of this company amounted during ten years to the enormous sum of one hundred million dollars (£20,000,000). This was almost as disastrous to the shareholders in the railway companies as it was to the competitors of the Standard Company. This case is a good illustration of what the controllers of railways have the power to do.

I commend the examples given above to the earnest, careful consideration of my fellow-colonists, and I direct their special attention to the fact that we have given to three absolutely irresponsible men—two of whom are known to be wedded to this system, such powers to enforce it as have never before been held by any company or other set of men in any part of the world.

If we are simple enough to imagine that sooner or later these powers will not be taken advantage of, we deserve the fate that will surely come upon us.

I know that our Commissioners say that these practices "are not in force on the New Zealand Railways and never have been." Perhaps so, but in their mad attempt to "get revenue" out of their "abominable no-system," they will soon be driven to their wits' ends, and what then? Ah, what then? I say they will resort to more differential rating.

The question is: Is there any necessity for using this system? I assert emphatically, that if the intention is to use railways honestly, in the interests of the whole people, that there is none whatever.

The only legitimate excuse that has ever been urged in favour of differential rating is the statement that it brings the distant producer nearer to his market. The introduction of a Stage System would effectually do away with this excuse. Then all fares, rates, and charges ought to be taken down to the lowest possible point and made fixed and definite for a number of years.

If this were done, and there is no legitimate reason why it should not be, the expansion of trade and commerce would be something enormous. People would have confidence in establishing industries in suitable localities: now they never know when the railways may be used to ruin them, therefore manufacturing industries are only started in the immediate neighbourhood of great towns.

Under such a system our railways would act as fosterers of our national industries. As it is, the Railway Commissioners use our railways, and exert, themselves to the utmost to destroy our coastal and river steam companies, our tramcar, coach, omnibus, dray, and lorry proprietors.

What an act of folly! How can we expect to prosper? If our railway transport charges were made fixed, and at the lowest possible point, these other transport agencies, instead of competing with the railways, would naturally adjust themselves to their proper positions, and act as feeders to them. They would, as it were, work at right angles to, instead of, as now, on parallel lines with our railways.

Auckland,

9th October, 1884.

Memorandum for SAMUEL VAILE, ESQ.

"With reference to the several discussions we have had with you upon the advisability of introducing throughout, the New Zealand Railways, the low fares you have advocated, we beg to state that, after full and deep consideration, we are prepared to agree with you in respect of the following:—

"That the increase in the number of passenger fares taken would be three times as many as at present, or an increase of two hundred per cent, upon the present issue.

"That the average fare could not sink below one shilling.

"That the increased passenger traffic would not perceptibly increase the working expenses.

"RIDLEY WILLIAM MOODY,

"T. D. EDMONDS,

"JAS. STODART."

Mr. Moody was for 17 years employed in various capacities on the Great Northern and other English Railways.

Mr. Edmonds was trained on the Great Western, England, and in this colony was chief clerk on the Hurunui-Bluff Section.

Mr. Stodart was for 21 years on the Great Western line (for a number of years in charge of the Swindon district); four years on the London, Chatham, and Dover line, and five years on the Bombay, Baroda, and Central India line.

Opinion of MR. WILLIAM CONYERS, C.E., formerly Commissioner South Island Railways.

In a long letter to me Mr. Conyers, whom at that time I had never seen, says:—"I agree with Messrs. Moody, Stodart, and Edmonds in their report on your system, and you may use my name to that effect. In answer to your first, query, I am of opinion that the number of passenger fares would be three times the present number—that is, an increase of 200 per cent. (" I wrote you this before, never having seen their report at the time.") 2. The average fare, which is now, including season tickets, and probably parcels, dogs, etc., only 2s. 3d., could not sink below one shilling. 3. Three passenger's could be carried as cheaply as one."

In concluding these papers on the railway question, I again avail myself of the opportunity of returning my hearty thanks to those; numerous friends, who, from all parts of the colony, and from many places beyond it, have sent me valuable information, and have otherwise assisted me. My thanks are especially due to the press of New Zealand, not only for the very liberal space they have afforded me, but also for the able way in which a large portion of it has advocated a trial of the Stage System.

To those members of Parliament who, in the numerous debates which have taken place in the House, have

also urged a trial of the new system, both the country and myself owe a deep debt of gratitude.

Often I think with feelings of deep regret, of how the band of able men who helped me in the earlier stages of the controversy has been scattered, and thinned, from various causes. Some have left the colony, others have been laid aside through sickness and old age, and others have passed away.

Of the first railway men who gave in their adhesion to the new system, Messrs. James Stodart (of the Great Western) and R. W. Moody (of the Great Northern) have gone to their long home, and Mr. W. Conyers (Commissioner of our South Island Railways) has left the colony. These all in 1884 gave the above certificates that the Stage System was financially sound.

Sir Henry Atkinson, who gave me strong support on the inquiry of 1886, Sir Frederick Whitaker, Mr. Macandrew, Judge Bathgate, and Mr. T. Denniston, and Sir George Grey have also all joined the great majority. I remember them with gratitude and deeply regret the loss of their able assistance.

During the last conversation it was my privilege to have with Sir Harry Atkinson, I mentioned the pressure that had been put upon me to shorten the long distance stages in the thinly populated districts. I remember well what he said, it was this: "Whatever you do, Mr. Vaile, never yield on that point, for if you do it will destroy the whole thing." "Yes," I said, "I am well aware of that, there is no fear of me yielding, but I am sure that is what the officials will do if they can only get the chance, and (that is why I am so anxious the trial should take place while I am here.)"

Of this distinguished group, I had most opportunities of conversing with Sir George Grey, who constantly urged me to stick to my task. Once he did this in a manner so characteristic of him that I think the incident worth recording. It was during the Parliamentary Inquiry into the Stage System in 1886, and at a period when the officers of the Department, by the most unscrupulous misrepresentation, seemed likely to gain a complete victory over me, that one day I overtook him in Molesworth Street. We walked down the hill together and the following conversation took place:—

"I remember you, Vaile, when you were a boy, and your people lived at the corner of Khyber Pass Road." "Yes, Sir George, that was in the early forties." "Yes; do you remember, Vaile, the war at Wanganui, in old Rauparaha's time?" "Yes, Sir George." "And, you remember, I proclaimed martial law," "Yes, very well." You know, Vaile, there were a lot of fellows there that wanted to sneak out of their share of fighting, and I was determined they should not, so I proclaimed martial law, and appointed a time in the mornings to hear anything any of them had to say. So you know, Vaile, the fellows used to come to me with all sorts of excuses asking to be allowed to leave. One had got a sick wife, another had a new baby, another felt very ill, and so on. Well, I used to listen to them all, but I never let them off.

"One day we had an engagement and several of our men were wounded, among them a man named McGregor. A bullet had struck him on the cheek, knocked out some of his teeth, and passed out through the other cheek. Some mornings after I saw McGregor coming with the rest. His head was wrapped up in a blanket, and he was looking very dismal. I knew Mac, he was a good fellow, but I thought I would have a laugh at him, so I said: 'Well, Mac, I suppose you are like the rest. You think you have got a real good excuse to get off now. But Mac flared up at me, and said: 'I'd have you know, Captain Grey, that I'm a Scotchman, and a hielanman at that. I don't want any leave from you, Captain Grey. I did not come for that, and I won't leave here until I've had my revenge on the wretches.' So Mac walked off in a rage."

Just then we reached Parliament House, to which he was going. Turning, he offered his hand and said: "Tata, Vaile, don't forget Mac." "All right, Sir George," I said, "I shall not forget, you may rely on me to do the fighting. Good-bye."

Well, I have done the fighting, done it to the very best of my ability, for thirteen weary years, since then, and again I ask my fellow colonists to do their share. If whenever a candidate presents himself for election, a pledge is extracted from him that he will urge a trial of the new system, and similar pressure is put on those already elected, the matter will soon go through. It is not much to ask and can be easily done.

decorative feature

My Policy.

SHOULD I again contest a seat in Parliament, and be successful, I shall do my best to initiate or support the following measures. My general policy may, however, be described in five words; it is, "Distribution as opposed to Concentration."

Knowing, as we do, that all our material well-being comes from the land, my constant attention will be given to every measure affecting its occupation and use. Land ought to be placed in such a position that every one can, if they think proper, acquire a freehold. Therefore, I shall support any measure having for its object the easy acquisition of land.

To get the best results from land, a good and firm title is absolutely necessary; consequently, I shall always be a staunch advocate of freehold tenure. I would, as is now done, let people take up land on lease, but every Crown leaseholder—except lessees of reserves—ought to have the right to convert his leasehold into a freehold. I would give him every facility for doing this, and I shall be strongly opposed to any measure that will in the least degree shake confidence in the freehold tenure.

Resumption of Lands for Settlement

While this idea may be, and probably is, right in principle, I hold that with a population of less than three-quarters of a million, in a country capable of supporting at least twenty millions, it is worse than folly to enforce it now. The lands that have been already taken were perhaps not being used in the best manner, still they were employing some labour, and producing some wealth for the community. Why then should we take these when we have many millions of acres still in a state of nature.

I am aware that the statement is made that these lands are so far away that they are not available, but that is only a question of the means of transit, and an alteration in the railway system would practically bring these lands as near the great cities as lands 30 or 40 miles off are now. That this can be done is no longer a question of my theory, it is one of actual fact, ascertained by nearly ten years' experience.

In this resumption of land there is too much danger of political influence being brought to bear to let someone out of an unprofitable estate, at the public expense. No system of land administration can in my opinion be right which does not provide means for enabling every worker to acquire a freehold of his own. This brings me to the question of the proposed Working Men's Towns.

We do not want these towns, but we do want so to alter the conditions that working men can take up land anywhere and everywhere. Homes for our workers has been my cry for many a long year, and I am glad to see others taking it up. If judiciously worked it will have a most beneficial effect; but it is a subject that requires to be most carefully and thoughtfully dealt with. It involves a great deal more than appears on the surface. If we are not careful we shall do the workers greatly more harm than good.

The present idea among our politicians seems to be that the Government should purchase blocks of land along our railway lines and lay out "workmen's towns" and run to and from them "workmen's trains." This means that the allotments in these towns must, be reserved for "workmen," and, in the first instance, at any rate, would be purchaseable only by them. Would this be an advantage to the workers? I think not. Have not class distinctions been the curse of the world? Why, then, should we deliberately pass an Act of Parliament and use our railways for the purpose of creating them? I protest against this scheme altogether as being vicious in every respect. Towns composed only of working artisans must necessarily not only be poor towns, but they would always be considered, and would, in fact, be inferior towns, and there would certainly be a class distinction fastened upon their inhabitants. A girl is born in one of these workmen's towns: she grows up and exhibits superior abilities, and tries to make her way. Where does she come from? is asked. "Oh, from that poor little working men's town, Eightbob" Does it help her? Again, I ask, why should we deliberately create these class distinctions? What we want is social intercourse, not social isolation. We want a system that will intermingle rich and poor as much as possible—a system that will bring them frequently into contact with each other: a system that will make them mutually acquainted with each other's wants and requirements. The more we do this the sooner we shall learn that there is much of good in every class and the more we shall esteem each other; but if we deliberately assign one district to one class, and another to another, what can be the result but separation of interests, hostile classes, jealousies, heartburnings. I can scarcely imagine a worse social movement than designedly creating poor districts, which is what these workmen's towns must mean.

We want also to place our work-people in positions where any property they may acquire will increase in value; the more their property improves the better it will be for the State; but how could holdings in districts inhabited by the poorer classes only improve in value? They would not. The better class work-men—all those able to rise—would soon desert them, and they would become the haunts of the idle and the vicious—mere slums.

What we want is to enable workmen, as well as other people, to select homes in any locality best suited for their requirements, and I say that the introduction of the Stage System of railway administration would do this. Take Auckland, as an illustration, and in the first seven-mile stage round the city—Penrose to Mount Albert—there are ten districts, over which the transit charges would be exactly the same, and in the 15-mile circuit, 19 districts. Certain it is that many landowners will be only too glad to sell, and that numerous townships would be laid out, and plenty of cheap land be available for all classes in every direction; but this does not suit the "Great Liberal Party" at all. It would render the working man far too independent, and make him too much like his better-off neighbours, so he must be kept in a district by himself.

One of the chief objections to these workmen's towns is that they would be the special hunting grounds of the political demagogues. Here they could create imaginary class grievances and prate about the poor injured

working man to their heart's content. If the working classes could only be herded together in distinct districts it would be so much easier to manipulate their votes.

Other objections might be urged, as, for instance, the fact that these poor town's would create poor districts; they would depreciate the value of all the surrounding properties; in fact, create an East End and a West End. We do not want this in our colonial towns.

Public Reserves.

While I am strongly opposed to the Government being the sole landlord, I yet believe it would be greatly for the public good if in each town, village, and country district, one-third of the land was reserved, not as general government, but as local endowment. These reserves I would let on lease for not less than fifty (50) years, with the stipulation that at the end of the lease all the improvements should become the property of the country. By this means I believe the country would be greatly better off than if it owned the whole country on the system proposed by Henry George, for on the termination of the leases it would own one-third of the land, with all the improvements on it, and this third would be largely improved in value by the surrounding freeholds. I believe that reserves of one-third, with two-thirds of freeholds around them would bring in, if let on terms as proposed, a larger rental than the whole of the land would if let on lease for short terms.

The Importance of the Road.

I do not think that any of us really understand what roads mean to the world. When we reflect, taking the sea also as land, that everything we can see or touch, except the firmament above us, is either land or the product of labour applied to land, we see how important the road becomes. Our houses, furniture, food, clothes, jewellery, everything, all come from the land, but we could not have any of these things except through the assistance of the road. The road is the first requisite for the application of labour to and the utilisation of the land, and I believe I am right in saying that our prosperity will be in exact proportion to our transit facilities. It is because I believe this that I attach so much importance to the railway question, and have striven so hard to get railways worked on sound principles.

It goes without saying that I shall exert myself to the utmost to procure the adoption of the Stage System.

Railway Construction—Narrow-gauge Railways.

I believe in railways. I believe in narrow-gauge railways as opposed to common roads, because they are the best roads, and are equally good in winter and summer. They are also, in this country at any rate, the cheapest, for with their rolling stock they can certainly be constructed for less than a macadamised road and its rolling stock. They also render a much more efficient service, are much cheaper to work, and save an immense amount of time.

I have paid considerable attention to this question of narrow gauge railways, and from all the information obtainable consider the 2ft. 6in. gauge the best to adopt.

My proposition is to join up all our present sections by 2ft. 6in. lines.

North of Auckland I would join up the lines now made, by these narrow lines from Makarau to Whangarei, from Whakapara to Kawakawa, from thence to Mongonui and Herd's Point, and from Herd's Point to Kaihu. This would practically open up all the lands north of Auckland, and I estimate that it would take 230 miles of railway to do it.

Going south from Auckland, via the East Coast, I propose to run a line from Rotorua, via Galatea, to Gisborne, with branches from Gala, tea. to Opotiki and Napier, and also from Galatea to Tokaanu, at the southern end of Lake Taupo, and from Te Aroha to Tauranga. This for the present would complete the south-eastern system, which I estimate at 459 miles.

On the south-west, I propose to carry a line from Mokau to Stratford, and from Taumarunui, on the Upper Wanganui, to Tokaanu. This would complete for the present the southwestern system, and would take 150 miles. Total mileage for the North Island, 839 miles.

The effect of constructing these lines would be to connect even town of any importance in the North Island. It would also connect the East and West Coasts at the Northern end, and also right across the centre of the island, and put Napier and New Plymouth in direct communication with each other.

This scheme of railway construction has been spoken of as an Auckland affair only, but certainly it would not benefit Auckland so much as it would Taranaki, Hawke's Bay, and Wellington. Wellington having already secured the inland trade of both the East and West Coasts, would be at once placed in a position to extend her trade right up to Lake Taupo, to Gisborne, and Opotiki. No city would benefit so much by this scheme as Wellington. It certainly would bring her much more than the central route ever can. If carried out it would give to the North Island:—

South Island.

As regards the South Island, I propose that we should connect Blenheim with Culverden. Bellgrove with St. Ormond's, Culverden with Reefton. This would join up all the Canterbury, Nelson, and Westland lines, and would require 255 miles.

Further south I would connect Ranfurly with Gladstone, and Lawrence with Gore, 123 miles. This would give the South Island:—

Recapitulation.

North Island lines open, 806 miles; to be added, 839; total mileage, 1,645; total cost, £8,856,073.

South Island lines open, 1,249 miles; to be added, 378 miles; total mileage, 1,627 miles; total cost, £11,057,972, or over two million two hundred thousand pounds more than would be expended in railway construction in the North Island. Therefore, the South cannot complain that this scheme of construction is unfair to it.

In estimating the length of these proposed lines at 1,217 miles, I believe I have considerably exceeded the mileage required. It has been arrived at by the rough and ready process of taking the direct distance, and adding one-third for deflections. I am also certain that they can be constructed and equipped for a less average cost than £2,500 per mile, but taking the mileage and cost as Stated it would be only £3,000,000, and surely it would be worth more than that to join up all the towns and country districts from one end of the colony to the other.

This scheme would certainly benefit the whole colony much more than constructing the North Island Central Railway, and would probably mean little more outlay, while certainly it" would give a tenfold better return.

It will, of course, be opposed by the railway officials. It is altogether too "tin-pot" an affair for them. Whatever you do you must not break the gauge, they say. Why not? I ask. These same gentlemen sing out lustily for roads to act as feeders for their railways. Well, they have the roads, and a dozen drays back up their loads at the station. Do not they break the gauge? Would it be more broken by a dozen 2ft. 6in. trucks backing up? There is, however, this difference. With the drays it is easy to throw the work and the cost on the owners, but if the light railways were used, then the work and cost would fall on the Railway Department, and would help to increase the working expenses.

Now, the working-expenses of a narrow-gauge railway consumes a much larger proportion of the gross revenue than a broad-gauge line does, up to a certain point—the narrower the gauge, the greater the proportion of revenue consumed in working expenses—but this is far more than made up to the public by the greatly less amount, of capital invested in construction, and consequently the higher rate of interest realised: but while this is a great gain to the public it is in one sense a loss to the Department, for the simple reason that it is not charged with interest on the capital invested in construction. The railway man's test of successful working, is the smallness of the percentage of working expenses to gross revenue, and the narrow-gauge railways would probably increase this percentage, but in these expenses interest is never included. It has been to attain this low percentage of working expenses that since the advent of the late Commissioners our railways have been persistently starved.

Railway officials are very largely imbued with Vanderbilt, sen.'s spirit. Once, when he proposed to do something very outrageous on one of his lines, someone ventured to ask, "But what will the public say?" The reply came quickly, "The public be d—d, let the public take care of themselves. It's my business to look after my railway." This is the spirit in which railways always have been and still are worked. Railway men have had it so ground into them that "railways are commercial institutions and must be made to pay," that they have no other thought than how to make the instrument they use pay at once. The public is never considered, except in so far as money can be immediately extracted from it without any reference to the future. If the interest of the public was really considered, our railways would pay much better.

To construct the lines mentioned on the present gauge (3ft. 6in.) would cost the country £11,945,000, and at 4½ per cent, an annual payment of £537,150, and it would probably take 20 years to complete their construction.

To construct them on the 2ft. 6in. gauge would, as already stated, cost £3,042,000. and an annual payment of £136,290, or, one-fourth the above amount, and they could probably be constructed in six or seven years.

The Rolling Stock.

Most people think that on these 2ft 6in railways the rolling stock must be a very miserable affair. This, however, is not so. The passenger carriages weigh from 2 tons 5 cwt, to 4 tons 17 cwt, and carry from 2 to 48 passengers.

The goods trucks weigh from tons to 2 tons 17 cwt, and carry loads of from 3¾ to tons.

Will this Scheme of Construction Pay?

If worked on the Stage System it will not only pay, but yield a large profit. If worked on the present no-system, it will greatly increase our loss, but not to the same extent that the present gauge would.

Last advices from home tell us that there are now before the British Parliament, Bills providing for the construction of 500 miles of these railways. If they are good enough for England—and they are expected to do great things there—surely they are good enough for New Zealand. On these distant lines of ours it is not possible that there can be much traffic for many years to come, and when it does come it would be easy work to lift and relay them for branch lines, or, better still, lay another track. If from the first our lines had been 2ft. 6in. gauge, we could have had an up and a down line throughout for less than half the cost of the present lines, and certainly the country would have been better served.

In order to encourage the opening up of the country, I would give to County Councils power to borrow money for the purpose of constructing these narrow-gauge railways. For the construction, maintenance, and working of these county railways, the counties should be responsible. They should also have the right to appoint their own officers and men, and fix their own time tables, and run as many and as few trains as they may think proper. The Government, however, should stipulate that all lines and rolling stock are to be precisely the same as the Government lines, that the charges are to be the same, and that the Government may run on them. Any profit made on these lines to belong to the counties, but to be used for railway construction only.

Education.

As I have said elsewhere, in our Government system of education there is too much dead level. How to alter this is a difficult question. Probably something might be done by giving to the masters of our larger schools, more freedom and power in the methods of teaching and in the selection of the books used. It appears to me to be most important to do something to break the present uniformity of teaching, and to endeavour to develop the individual characteristics of the pupils.

Possibly some means might be devised for encouraging and assisting private schools. That parents, in Auckland at any rate, see the necessity for providing something different from the uniform Government system, is evidenced by the large support given to St. John's, Prince Albert, King's, and Ladies' Colleges, to say nothing of the smaller establishments.

I am a warm advocate of imparting technical education in all the larger schools in the country.

The Upper House.

I am in favour of an Elective Upper House, but I am totally opposed to the constituency being the same that elects the Lower House. In my opinion the Upper House should be elected by the County Councils, Borough Councils, Road Boards, the Universities, Education Boards, Chambers of Commerce, Pastoral Associations, Harbour Boards, Employers' Associations, and Labour Federations. These would represent every class in the community, and they would be composed of the best men in rich class.

How the votes should be apportioned to these bodies would require very careful consideration, and much more information than I have at command. Another question is, should each of these bodies be allowed to send a representative, or should they collectively vote for a certain number of candidates.

Whether the Upper House remains a nominated chamber or is elected as proposed above, I am very strongly of opinion that its members ought to be elected for life.

Disenfranchisement of Wellington.

The question arises whether the time has not arrived when Wellington city and district ought, in the interests of the whole colony, to be disenfranchised, and placed in the same position as the district of Columbia, in the United States of America.

The enormous growth and concentration of the Civil Service in Wellington, and the way that service is being manipulated and coerced in the interests of the present Government, render it necessary that, this step should be taken in order to secure good government, a pure administration of justice, and the real welfare of the civil servants themselves, while the selfishness of the leading men of Wellington, their strenuous efforts to concentrate everything worth having in that city, and to make the whole colony subservient to its interests, show that the time has come when this power should be taken out of their hands.

decorative feature

The Federation of Literary Associations.

THINKING over our social conditions, and the forces among us that might be utilised for the public good, it has often occurred to me that in the various literary associations with which this city and some other parts of the colony abound we have a large amount of ability and energy, which, so far as practical results are concerned, may be said to be largely wasted.

There can be no doubt that these associations are exercising a good educational influence on our young people, but they seem to have no higher aspiration than this. They might do much more. Among them they embrace not only the very ablest of our young men and women, but many in middle life and more advanced in years; yet what influence have they upon the public mind, or the actions of our Government, or of our public men None whatever.

My idea is this: These societies should federate. Their relative positions should be ascertained—as I believe is done now—by public competitive debates. Then before the final close of [unclear: t] session the committees of the two premier societies should meet and select three or four of the most prominent of the political or other social topics of the day, and cause these subjects to be debated during the next session by all the federated associations, to the exclusion, if necessary, of all other subjects, and the annual competitive debates should be on one or more of the subjects so selected.

By this means many hundreds of people, probably thousands, would be discussing all over the country, and at the same time, the same problems. This could not fail to have an educating influence on the public mind. We sadly want, some school in which to educate our future statesmen. We have none now. An organisation like this might, do something towards supplying the want.

It might be commenced as a provincial affair, and in time extended into a colonial institution. This would lead to the great questions of the day being discussed in circles where every class is represented, and where the political demagogue would have but little influence. We certainly want some means of creating a healthy public opinion on social questions.

The effect, too, would certainly be to largely increase the number of these associations, to bring into them older and more experienced men and women, and to give them a standing and an influence they have not hitherto had. They would become a power in the State. When we remember the influence exercised on public opinion in the 16th century by those not over-refined institutions, the Rhetoric Clubs, we surely may reasonably expect that combined action by our literary associations would have a beneficial influence now.

Our great want in all social matters is leaders. How many really prominent men have we! In Parliament, in politics, in the professions, even in trade and commerce, as compared with the men of 50 years ago, they are conspicuous by their absence, and this seems to me to be more prominently the case with regard to our young men. It is all too much dead level—all wanting to be masters, and few, very few, able to lead.

We are not alone in this matter. We see the same thing in Australia, and to a large extent in America, and notably in France. Why is this, and what are the causes that have led to such a result?

My opinion is that here the main causes are: The influence of our educational system, and the influence of trades unionism, and our labour laws. In France it is probably due to militarism more than anything else. They are all soldiers, and soldiers require but few leaders.

Our educational system as a national system is perhaps not capable of very much improvement, but when you have hundreds of schools—almost our only schools—all teaching the same subjects, all having the same standards of excellence, all working in the same grooves of thought and action:, the effect must be to cramp individual development, to stifle genius.

It was recognising these facts that led me during the election contest, of 1887 to advocate subsidising and encouraging private schools, and I still think this ought to be done. Private schools have each their different methods and different standards, which certainly tends more to develop originality of character than win possibly be done in public schools, where the methods and the standards of excellence are the same throughout. In private schools, more especially boarding schools, which generally are smaller than our public schools, the teachers also have much better opportunities of studying and developing the individual characteristics of their pupils.

Then, trades unionism. While these unions have without doubt done a great deal of good in the past by compelling employers to deal more justly with the employed, yet their levelling tendency and their destruction of individual excellence cannot be denied. One of their great objects is to secure to the most inferior man the same pay and the same position as that accorded to the very best. Such a system must tend to destroy superiority in workers of every class and reduce them all to a dead level of mediocrity.

How is this evil to be met and counteracted? The only way that I can see is to give more efficient protection and encouragement to the free workers, and to do away with the abominable Seddonian provision in our labour laws, giving precedence of employment to union men.

It is scarcely possible to estimate the degrading influence that the introduction of this provision into our labour Acts will have on our working classes. What it means is, that the veriest idler and loafer who can

manage to pay his subscription to a trade union, must be employed in preference to the best man or woman outside of the unions. No free man or woman is to be allowed to earn a living if the "Great Liberal Party" can by any means prevent them. The object, of course, is to try and drive them all into the unions, so that their votes may be more easily manipulated by the political demagogues.

My object just now, however, is not to discuss labour unions and labour laws, but to point, out their tendency to drag everything and everybody down to the lowest level of mediocrity, and to show the necessity of bringing some influence, to bear to counteract this undesirable state of things.

What, of course, is wanted, more than anything else, is the diffusion of knowledge. We want to get a more general and a more intelligent discussion and investigation of the great social questions of the day.

We want some organisations which will drag out of the common level rut the more active minds among us, and convert them into leaders of public opinion, real intelligent leaders of men. Somebody may, and I hope will, be able to show a better plan than I have suggested.

I think that what is wanted, in the first place, is a federation, not an amalgamation, but federation of the various literary associations, mutual improvement societies, and parliamentary unions. If these were worked on the plan indicated, I believe they would soon embrace among them most of our ablest men and women, both young and old, for they would feel that they were exercising a real influence on public thought and action, an influence that must be for good.

It will be curious to note in the future how many leading men and women have been educated in the Government schools.

decorative feature

The Single=Tax Scheme of Robbery.

Note.—The substance of the following paper appeared in the correspondence columns of the "New Zealand Herald" during the years 1890-1896. I have been very frequently asked to republish, in connected form, the arguments then used against this iniquitous proposition, hence the following:—

My connection with the Single Tax controversy dates from the year 1890. Some time previously the Single Tax organisation in Auckland sent to me a special deputation of four of their leading members to "convert" me, as they said, to their views. They were good enough to say that from the way I had dealt with the railway, and other social questions, they were sure that if I would only study the Single Tax question I should soon be convinced of the justice and beneficial nature of their proposal, and become an ardent advocate of the Single Tax.

After a good deal of persuasion I very reluctantly agreed to investigate the matter. As they were leaving, one of them placed a pile of books on my table, and pushed them towards me. "What are these?" I asked. "Oh, Henry' George's and Wallace's works." "Yes, and what are they for?" "Why, for you to read." "But why should I read them?" "Have you not just promised us you will study this question? How can you do it without reading what the founders of the system say?" "That is not my method. What I have promised is that I will study the question of a Single Tax; not that I will study Henry George and Wallace. I have no wish to have my mind influenced by them in any way. Your proposition is a very simple one. It is, I believe, this. You say:—

- The land, the whole of the land, belongs to the community collectively, and no individual has any right to private ownership of any portion of it.
- The improvements, the whole of the improvements, belong to the individual occupier, and the community collectively has no right to any portion of them.

"That, I believe, is the whole of your proposition. If you do not think me able to deal with it without the aid of Henry George and Wallace, kindly relieve me from my promise."

They said the case was correctly stated, and hoped I would go on with the study. Well, I have done so, and the Single Taxers do not like my verdict.

In studying this problem three questions arise:—1. Can the proposition be carried out? 2. If carried out would the effect be beneficial to the community generally? 3. Is it fair and honest as between man and man? To all these questions I reply emphatically, No.

1. Can the proposition be carried out? I say positively that it cannot.

The Single Taxers propose that the State shall be the sole landlord, and it shall take the utmost rent that can be obtained for the land. In order to effect this, they propose that the Government valuers shall assess the rental values of the land year by year, and compel the occupiers to pay that rental, or give up his holding and sell his improvements for just what he can get

Now, everybody knows that improved properties are constantly sold at a loss, that is to say, at a less price than the fair market value of the land, with the fair market value of the improvements added. It is evident that under the Single Tax, absolutely the whole of the loss made must fall on the owner of the improvements. No

portion of the loss could by any possibility fall on the landlord, the State, because its claim would be secured by being the absolute owner of the land with its rentals secured by the occupier's improvements. The worst that could happen to the State would be that sometimes—I say very often—it would find itself the owner of an "empty house," but in that case it would hold the land and the improvements, and the unfortunate "occupier" would soon lose the whole of them for arrears of rent of premises he was not in any way using, and in the meantime his wife and children would be starving. What a marvellous way of curing poverty. It is about equal to the Zulu chief's plan of slaughtering all the cattle, and destroying all the crops, in order to save his people.

The position between the State, the owner of the land, and the position of the "occupier," the "user" and the supposed owner of the improvements, would be the same as secured and unsecured creditors in a bankrupt estate. The secured creditor, the State, would have all the best of it, and the occupier would suffer as unsecured creditors always do.

We shall best understand the position by supposing a case. A man takes a piece of land at a rental, say, of £100 per annum, and largely improves it. He dies, and his "improvements" are all he has to leave to his widow and children. These are valued, and both sides agree that they are fair value for £2000. But how is this to be realised?

In the first place, it cannot be realised at all until a new occupier is found, and this may, and constantly would take years, for, under the Single Tax, properties would remain empty much longer than leasehold properties do now, for this simple reason: Any new occupier would know that, he could not obtain one penny of the increment in land value, and that he must look to the improvements alone; he, therefore, would not take these unless they exactly suited him—and how often would this be the case?

Who is there now that buys either a freehold or leasehold property, and does not find that he has to spend money in altering "improvements?" Would not the buyer take this into account, and pull down the price accordingly? Again, would he not say the best portion of the life of these improvements is gone, the buildings are of wood and more than 30 years old, there will be an increasing cost of repairs?

Still, again, under this wretched Single Tax, the more rapidly a district improved the worse would be the position of the unfortunate owner of the "improvements," for an improving district would mean an increasing "ground rent."

No portion of the increase in value would attach to the improvements; under the Single Tax it would be attached to the land, and be taken by the State. The improvements would be valued at the cost of construction and production only, and that subject to all past, and a considerable portion of future deterioration.

Would not all sane buyers take these things into account, and provide against them, and where is the provision to come from? It must come from the widow and children's portion, for the State would be absolutely secured in its share. How speedily then would their £2000 dwindle down to less than £1000, and how often would they starve before even that could be realised?

It will thus be seen that in taking the whole of the land, the State must in nearly every case (the only exceptions would be when the buyers of improvements were fools) take a large portion, and in many instances, the whole of the improvements with it. This loss of improvements would fall most frequently and most, severely on what are called the working classes, for they could least afford to wait for a buyer, and it must be borne in mind that, sold or unsold, let or unlet, the ground rent must be paid.

These are the reasons why I say it is impossible to separate the two values and pay to each party the full value of their respective shares. I do not mean with mathematical precision, but I say not within 20, 30, or even 50 per cent, of it.

Suppose, again, an occupier dies, and his improvements cannot be sold, what is to become of them? Is the State to take them after rent has remained unpaid for a certain period, and so make money by robbing some widow and orphans?

There is another reason why this theory cannot work out in actual practice. It is this:—

The proposition of the Single Taxers is that the State as represented by the Government shall be the universal landlord, and that the State as represented by the great mass of the people shall be the tenants.

Now, I want to know how the State can act in this dual capacity, and do what is right in both positions? It certainly cannot.

We have good authority for saying, "Ye cannot serve two masters." I have a pretty large experience of landlords and tenants, and I find that, as a rule, the landlord wants the highest rent he can get and to make the smallest possible amount of improvements. On the contrary, with the tenants, I never knew, nor do I suppose anyone else ever did, a time when tenants as a body did not want rents reduced, and many improvements made; and unfortunately very few people think it wrong to impose on the Government, as witness the constant attempts to avoid Customs and Stamp duties.

In this case the tenants would absolutely have the master in their own hands. They would have to elect their landlord, and they would take good care to elect one that would reduce their rent. What then would become of

the Single Tax, Can anybody imagine a greater absurdity than tenants electing their own landlord?

Before proceeding further, let me state as clearly as possible what the Single Tax proposal really means:—

- To take absolutely from every man the whole of any land he may possess, and without giving him any compensation whatever. In other words, they propose to take from him all that portion of his estate which has a permanent, imperishable, and improving value, and to leave to him, his wife, and children only that portion which rapidly deteriorates and ultimately becomes valueless.
- While taking his land to make him responsible for all the duties pertaining to a landowner. As Henry George expresses it, they "will take the kernel and leave him the husks."
- They propose to take from every individual or company, every charity, every friendly society, every penny or other savings bank, and also without giving any compensation, every pound of capital they may have invested in mortgages over land.
- To make "land occupiers and users" solely responsible for collecting the whole revenue of the State, leaving them to recoup themselves if they can by charging a higher price for their products.
- To create such a tenancy as would render it impossible for the leaseholder to realise the value of his improvements.
- To reduce the whole nation to the position of yearly tenants paying the highest rack-rent that can be wrung out of them.
- To destroy all securities for the payment of life insurance policies.
- To destroy all security for the payment of trust funds, bank deposits, friendly societies' funds, etc.
- To destroy all protection for our local industries.
- To throw our markets open to the cheap products of American goods, Chinese, German, and other factories.
- To throw the liquor traffic open, and allow everybody to brew, distil, or sell drink as they think proper.
- To make the country land "occupier" provide free gas, free water, free baths, free trams, free electric light, etc., for the use of city residents, while from the nature of things he cannot enjoy these "luxuries" himself.

Let us now examine our second proposition. If the Single Tax were brought into actual operation, would the effect be beneficial to the community generally? I say, No.

I am a thorough believer in, and have always supported, a land tax, but in view of the avowed object of the Single Taxers this tax will have to be very carefully watched. Land, like other things, should bear its fair share of the burden, but an attempt to make it bear the whole, must, and, if carried out, certainly would, result in the most disastrous failure.

I am also a great believer in endowments. I believe that in every village, town, city, and country district, one-third of the land ought to be set aside as endowment. I say one-third because in my opinion that is the largest quantity that could be taken with advantage to the public.

We see that the Government leaseholders are already agitating for a reduction of rentals; and this will always be so until human nature can be altered. If, say one-half, were taken for endowments, then the freeholders and leaseholders would be balanced as regards political power, and the leaseholders would in all probability succeed in getting their rents reduced, and thus the State would suffer. If two-thirds of the land occupiers were freeholders, they would be pretty certain to see that the rents were maintained at a fair figure.

I must guard myself by saying that I should be quite opposed to these rentals being assessed annually, or even as at present every 21 years; I consider the country would reap a greater benefit if the time were not less than 50 years, because this would secure better and more permanent improvements, which would ultimately become the property of the State, and these, after a time, would always be falling in year by year.

What the Single Taxers really propose is to take from every man to the uttermost farthing, not only the whole realisable value of his land, but also all his mortgage securities, and they say that by doing this not only will they put an end to poverty, but that in addition they will give to the whole community exemption from all other forms of taxation, and in addition, the following "luxuries":—Free water, free gas, free electric light, free baths, free trams, free libraries, free coals, etc. I am not sure if the "free" list includes hospitals, workhouses, and lunatic asylums, but it ought to, for there certainly would be a largely increased demand for them.

This is Henry George's statement, and I have heard one of his admirers on the platform add, and "free everything." Well, he is just as likely to be right as Henry George is. More and more I marvel that sane men can expect such results from such a measure. What a marvellous testimony it is to Henry George's ability as a writer and speaker. Had his power of thought been equal to his command of language, what an instrument for good he might have been. As it is, probably no man, while seeking to do good, has done so much harm as he has done. This, by the way. The question is: Would the Single Tax be beneficial?

To my mind it is the most ill-considered and absolutely dishonest measure that was ever seriously offered to the world for acceptance. I do not think the leaders of this movement can have ever carefully thought out the

matter, or can have considered the results that would ensue if it were enforced. They can never have really apprehended the great difference between the present endowments and leaseholds and the proposed Single Tax yearly tenancy. The two things are as widely different as black is from white. Because endowments as at present used have conferred great benefits on the districts to which they belong, the Single Taxers have jumped to the conclusion that if the whole of the land were seized and its utmost rental value extracted from the users, that proportionately good results would be obtained, but this cannot be so.

The difference between the proposed Single Tax holding—if it can be properly called a holding—and leaseholds as they now exist, is this: The present leasehold is given and taken for any fixed period up to 999 years at a rental usually calculated at a low rate of interest on the capital value of the property at the time the lease is made. Consequently all the unearned increment in the rental value for the period of the lease belongs to the leaseholder, and not to the landlord. This often amounts to a large sum. Some years ago I owned a leasehold property, which, with the improvements, I sold for £6,500. Under the Single Tax yearly tenancy I very much doubt if it would have realised £1,000.

The Single Tax holding, instead of being a lease, would be only a yearly tenancy, the "occupier" having the right to remain just as long as he chose to pay the rent the Government valuer demanded from him year by year. This rent the Single Taxers expect would be constantly rising, and the moment the unfortunate occupier found himself unable to pay the rental fixed for him, and in which he would have no say whatever, out he would have to go, and do the best he could with his improvements, and in nine cases out of ten he would lose more than half of them, and in very many cases the whole.

This is the real difference between the two holdings, and yet the Single Taxers, affirm that under their tenure the occupier would have far the best security for his improvements. It is absolutely certain that he would have no security whatever for his improvements.

Under the Single Tax no man, unless compelled by the force of circumstances to do so, would take up land to build upon or otherwise improve it, because he or his successors must lose on his investment. He would always be seeking to rent one of the improved properties that had fallen into the hands of the Government, and so long as any of these were available, no new building or other improving would take place. The consequence would be that the area of occupied and improved land would greatly decrease and next-increase.

As no man would know from year to year what his rent would be, and as he would be at the mercy of a very inferior set of valuers, and as no profit could possibly be made on the realisation of his improvements, any improvements made would necessarily be of the most inferior character and of the most flimsy description. The barest wants of the hour would be all that would be provided for.

If an "occupier" greatly improved the land he leased, he would always run the risk of someone offering to the valuator a larger rent than he was paying, and this the valuator would no doubt demand as "unearned increment contributed by the whole community," whereas it would be due to this particular man's work, and for doing which he would have to pay increased taxation.

Everybody who could, would avoid being a land "occupier," because while the "occupiers" would not have the least interest in the value of the land, on them would be thrown the heavy responsibility of collecting the entire revenue of the country. This is no doubt what, Henry George intends when he says: "We will take the kernel and leave the landowners the shell." While they are to be deprived of all the benefits of land ownership, they are to have all its responsibilities thrust upon them.

It would greatly decrease the demand for labour, because no sane man or company of men would lay out large sums of money on erecting expensive buildings or making other improvements on land for which they would not know what rental would be demanded from one year to another. Thus would certainly discourage the opening of factories and workshops, when a large expenditure would be required in the erection of buildings. The same rule would apply to farm lands, as for instance in reclaiming swamps.

Another reason why it would greatly decrease the demand for labour is this: A very large proportion of the money now expended in making improvements on land, and in carrying on other industrial operations, is money borrowed on the freehold of the land. As under the Single Tax this security would be clean swept away, the money so obtained must go out of employment, and with it the workers also. It is probable that at one stroke half the men and women now earning wages would find themselves idle, because the employers would not be able to raise the money wherewith to pay them, and because they would not care to lay out such money as they had by them on such an uncertain tenure. Nor is it the labourer and artisan class alone that would suffer. Borrowed capital is often necessary for the purchase of material for working up in the factories, so the merchant and trader must suffer.

The avowed aim of the Single Taxers is to relieve poverty and distress, and they propose to do this by taking the land from all those who are now occupying and using it, and they say they more particularly want to take the cities and the land immediately around them. They say that they do not want the distant land, and many of them are of opinion that it is an evil to occupy such land. What then they seek to do is to perpetuate and

intensify the enormous evil of crowding people in and around the cities.

Surely right-minded, intelligent, and thoughtful men, men who aspire to lead a great, public movement and carry out a [*unclear*: great] social reform, should be able to find better means than these.

What is the use, what good can arise from depriving people of their property, and giving them nothing for it but some problematic relief from, other forms of taxation, when there is so much unoccupied land? Is not the true problem, how to make these lands available?

What the Single Taxers propose is to compel every man or woman to pay rent for the land or house he or she occupies. Under no condition are they to have free land or a free house. No matter whether they are old or young, sick or strong, poor or rich, this rent., this heavy burden, is to hang over them. And it must be borne in mind that it is not an ordinary rent they will be called upon to pay, such a rental as they would pay now, but a rack-rent of the greatest amount, that can be forced out of them year by year, or out they go, and no doubt Henry George and his followers, among other "luxuries," will provide them with a "free" workhouse. What, multitudes in their old age must fail in their ability to pay this rack-rent.

I wish to draw attention to the fact that these luxuries, which it is proposed to provide by seizing every man's land, can only be enjoyed by the dwellers in cities—no doubt the farmer will be grateful—and thus it will be seen that the Single Tax would greatly increase the overcrowding of the cities, which is now universally admitted to be one of our worst social evils, for if the "free list was open to city dwellers while country people have to pay, everybody would certainly strive to live in a city, and the country districts would be more than ever deserted.

Stripped of the wonderful verbosity with which Henry George has surrounded and wrapt it up, and exhibited it in its naked truth, that is the proposal of the Single Taxers.

It must be borne in mind that in addition to taking every man's land, the Single Taxers also propose taking, without compensation, all mortgage securities over land.

In doing this they also take all our life insurance policies, all our fire insurance policies, all Savings Bank funds, all friendly societies' funds—for is not the ability of these institutions to discharge their liabilities due to the fact that their accumulated funds are for the most part, invested in the mortgage of freehold estate, and if these are taken, they must and will be unable to pay; for the largest and best portion of their assets would be lost to them.

Let anyone for a moment contemplate what would be the effect of ruining the life insurance associations of the world. No one would escape. From the crowned heads of Europe, to the labourers of the colonies, everybody would suffer. None of the life policies could be paid; none of the dividends on which so many women and children subsist could be paid; the tens of thousands of men employed would lose their situations, and all the premiums paid, in many cases with so much difficulty, would be lost. Add to this the fact that all the fire insurance companies, savings banks, and friendly societies would all be placed in the same position, and we may have a faint-idea of the state of chaos that would ensue on the introduction of the Single Tax.

As compensation for all this loss, destruction, and misery, what are we to get? Simply the Single Taxers: "We say" that, if you will be so very good and simple as to give up all your land and mortgage securities, and, after doing this, will pay the highest rental we can possibly wring out of you for the use of your own land, then we, the three tailors of Tooley Street, the Single Taxers, say that you shall not be called upon to pay any other form of taxation, and in addition shall be given free luxuries as per list, already quoted. Well, I think every grain of common sense has not yet passed out of the British nation.

Again, the Single Taxers propose that all the articles made in the gaols of America, the factories of China, Japan, India, Germany, and France, the products of the criminal and cheap labour of these countries, shall be admitted absolutely duty free. What would be the effect on our local industries?

Would not the effect be to throw out of work all the people now employed in our factories and workshops? Most certainly it would. The army of the unemployed would be vastly increased, and distress would be universal.

At the same time the Single Taxers propose to throw the liquor trade open and free to everybody. Anyone is to be at liberty to start a still, to establish a brewery, or to open public houses whenever and wherever they think fit, a dozen in a street if they like. I hope none of the Prohibitionist party are so inconsistent as to be Single Taxers.

It is impossible for the human mind to conceive the state of utter disorganisation of society that must supervene if an attempt were made to enforce this idiotic measure. In a few weeks the world would become a very pandemonium. Every financial institution ruined, every home maintained on the savings of former years ruined, all the friendly societies ruined, no employment for capital, our workshops and factories silent, no employment for labour: every brothel, every low lodging house, every small shop a grog saloon, selling liquor of all kinds at about a tenth part of the present price; the vast army of unemployed men and women, in too many cases, drinking, gambling, and quarrelling. Should we not soon have a very hell upon earth!

All capable of thinking this matter out will agree that my picture is not overdrawn, and yet we are gravely told that the Single Tax is the only honest way of dealing with the land, and only way to cure poverty and misery.

It is difficult to believe in the sanity of the men who can advocate such a measure and say that it is the only honest one and the only cure for poverty. The fact is that most of them have never really thought the question out. They have been led away by the plausible writing of Henry George, and have taken his assertions for truths.

My third question is: Is the Single Tax proposition fair and honest as between man and man?

How can it be if what I have previously stated is correct? Let us again examine how it would work out. There are numbers of working men and women in this colony, who by hard work and careful saving, have acquired freehold homes of their own; some of these, owing to careful selection of site, have become very valuable. Forty years ago a young couple may have purchased a site for £50, and have erected on it a wooden cottage at a cost of £200. This couple have lived and brought up a family here, and in their old age are still in occupation. The land during the forty years has become worth £500, and they think this will be something to leave to their children. Age has reduced the cottage to something like a ruin, and no one would value it at more than thirty or forty pounds.

The Single Taxer comes along and says to the old people: Yes, it is quite true that by self-denial you managed to screw out 10s per week, and so acquired this property, but "We say" you have no right to this land; you did not give it its value. We who came yesterday did quite as much towards that as you did, who worked here for 50 years; so we are going to take the £500, and you can leave the £30 or £40 to your children. However, "We say" your children will be greatly benefited by this operation; it will not only absolutely save them from poverty, but will enable them to live in luxury. Somehow, I think the old people would entertain a different idea. This is no overdrawn picture, but one that must occur in thousands of instances. Is there any justice in such a transaction?

The Single Tax is such an utterly dishonest and absolutely impracticable measure that it never can, and never will, be brought into force; but a Parliament that could discuss a measure like the Fair Rent Bill might be induced to make the attempt, and the consequences would be disastrous. It is to be hoped that at the coming elections every candidate, who in any way supports this monstrous proposal, will be promptly rejected.

The Single Taxers say they are not Socialists. They are right; they are not, but they are infinitely worse. There is some honesty about the Socialistic proposal; there is none whatever about the Single Tax proposal.

The Socialists see and acknowledge that if the State takes the land the State must also take over its financial liabilities, and the Other duties pertaining to the ownership of land. This is so far honest.

The Single Taxers say the State shall take the land, but the State shall not take over the financial liabilities of the land. In this and other countries, when a personal liability attaches to a mortgage, that shall be paid by the occupier out of his "improvements" and other personalty. In all other cases it shall be absolutely lost to the man or the woman who has lent the money. In either case the State shall seize it. We will also impose upon the occupier every other duty in connection with the land, and in addition we will compel him without any remuneration to collect, if not to pay, the whole revenue of the country. Is this honest? Will St do away with poverty?

Failure of the Single Tax Principle.

The Single Tax idea of taxing "unimproved land values" came into force in this colony in 1892. For the six years preceding this event the average taxation per head of the colony was £3 7s. 0½d. For the six years while the Single Tax principle has been at work it has averaged £3 10s. 7½d., or an increase of 3s. 7d. per head. During the last two years the taxation has been increased 6s. 10d. per head. It does not look as though the public derived much benefit from the Single Tax principle.

It is quite clear that taxing the land has not reduced either Customs or any other form of taxation. On the contrary, Customs taxation has been largely increased.

Let me invite Single Taxers' particular attention to the following figures, and, perhaps, they will try to tell us how they account for the result. The amount of land tax is the same now as it was in 1894, namely, 1d. in the £ on the "unimproved value," with an increased taxation for all values over £5,000. This tax produced in

So we see that during the last five years—notwithstanding the fact that the population of the colony has increased by no less than 85,500 souls, the land tax produced £18,040 less in 1898 than it did in 1894. In other words, the land value of the colony decreased no less than £4,329,000.

What a complete reply this is to the oft-repealed statement of the Single Taxers, that the mere presence of population increases land values, for it is abundantly proved that not only has the presence of another 85,000 people added nothing whatever to the land value of the colony, but that in spite of their presence it has very largely decreased, and that in a rapidly increasing ratio.

What about the "unearned increment" here? It is abundantly evident that our land will not stand taxation to the extent of Id. in the £. The sooner it is reduced one ½d. the better.

The fact is, the mere presence of people cannot create "land values" They must have implements to work with, and there must be capital to employ them, otherwise they are more than useless, and this is where the Single Taxers fall into another serious error. They assume that all men contribute equally to the increase in land values, and, therefore, ought to share equally. They do not; indeed, cannot.

The following tables will give additional proof of how utterly Single Tax principles have failed in New Zealand. Taxing "unimproved land values" commenced, as I have already said, in 1892. The effects of this measure would, of course, not be felt for two or three years.

In 1890-91 the number of acres taken up was 512,631. In 1893-94 it was 668,064. Then came the drop when the new system began to be felt, and in 1894-95 it was only 398,197 acres, and last year it was only 384,449 acres.

Notwithstanding the fact that in 1898 the population of the colony was 146,000 souls more than it was in 1890, the number of land selectors was 495 less than it was in 1890, and 1,039 less than in the year preceding the introduction of the new system.

Another very noticeable feature in the table given is the very great decrease in the number of small selectors since the introduction of the Single Tax principle. Those under one acre have decreased one-third, those of one to 50 acres nearly 30 per cent., those of 51 to 250 over 50 per cent., those of 251 to 500 acres over 23 per cent., and from 501 to 1000 acres about 40 per cent., and this notwithstanding the presence of another 116,000 people. This is comparing the reports of the last year of each system.

From the above facts and figures, which are all official, it is absolutely proved that the Single Tax principle does not promote land settlement, nor does it distribute land nor encourage the small settler, even although they do not pay any land tax.

In passing, I may also point out that these facts also prove the complete failure of the Seddon Government as regards land settlement.

The fact is, the small settler cannot exist without the help of his larger neighbour; he must be able to sell some of his labour, and the more the large holders are taxed the less of the labour of their smaller neighbours will they be able to pay for.

With these facts and figures staring them in the face, the Single Taxers persist in telling us that the only way to promote land settlement is by taxing the value out of land. It is quite clear that the principle has failed here. We ought to be a warning to other countries.

It always appears to me that the Single Tax idea is an absurd attempt to engraft the only good thing in a barbaric state on to the highly civilised institutions of the present day. It cannot be done. Owing to the great changes that have taken place the freehold tenure has become an absolute necessity of modern civilisation.

Equality of reward certainly ought to imply equality of service. In the barbaric state there was a very near approach to equality of service. The wants of the community were few, and limited chiefly to procuring food, such primitive clothing as they used, and the requirements of war. To these wants the whole community could, and did, contribute practically equally, therefore they could hold their land in common, as also they did their food supplies.

In our day this is impossible. Scarcely any two people contribute equally towards building up land values; therefore it would be impossible for the land to be justly held in common.

I denounce the Single Tax as the most fraudulent measure that was ever proposed. It would rob the rich, but would fall with the most unerring severity on the very poor, and by none would it be felt so severely as by the widows and orphans. The more I study it the more I am amazed that any man of respectable ability should advocate it. Thank God none of the master minds of the world have given it any support.

More than once I have placed the following questions before the Single Tax leaders, but they decline to reply, saying they are mere matters of detail, and that it is necessary to settle principles before entering on details:—

- How do they propose to secure to the "occupier" the full value of his improvements?
- Do they propose that the Government is to have the right of re-entry for non-payment of rent?
- Is it to be a condition that the Government is to reenter, say, if rent remains unpaid for six months,
- When a property is unoccupied and the improvements cannot be sold, nor the property let, is the owner of the improvements to be charged with the "ground rental value" till another occupier can be found?
- During this period, at whose expense is the property to be maintained in repair, and fire insurance paid?
- Seeing that all freehold security would be destroyed, how do they propose that trust funds, life insurance funds, savings bank funds, friendly societies funds, etc., shall be invested?
- How do they propose that the community generally shall invest accumulated savings?
- Seeing that they propose to absolutely take without payment the best portion of the securities held by the

various life insurance companies, how do they propose to secure to the policy holders that the said policies will be paid as they mature?

- How do they propose to deal with the liquor traffic?

Socialists and Single-Taxers.

Many people attribute our state of social unrest, the ruinous conflicts between labour and capital, the fall in values of land and its products, and our social ills generally to what they are pleased to describe as the "blight," "the curse of Socialism," but how do they account for the fact that we have the same state of things all the world over, and under every form of government, including countries like Russia, where Socialism has had no influence whatever on the Government?

That the trouble exists no one can deny, and I think it is the duty of all right-minded men to earnestly endeavour to find out the cause, and take steps to remove it, and not content themselves with throwing the blame on any one section of the community.

For my own part, I may say at once that I am not a Socialist, nor do I believe in Socialistic methods. But when we remember that this movement has been led by such men as Robert Owen, Karl Marx, Ferdinand Lassalle, Friedrich Engels, William Clarke, William Morris, and many other highly educated and prominent men, it is mere presumption on our part, to treat this movement with contempt, and, without the most careful examination, to speak of it as a "blight" and a "curse."

I have devoted some little time and thought to this subject, and the more I study it, the less I like it; but there is urgent need for something to be done, and done effectively, to give the great mass of people better opportunities for acquiring something more than a bare existence, otherwise this Socialistic wave will spread and overwhelm all individualism.

The question arises, and is worth considering: How did this "blight of Socialism" arise, and why is it with us? My reply is this: That the great growth of riches on the one hand, and of poverty and misery on the other hand, have caused the masses to ask why this unequal distribution should exist, and to seek for methods for bringing about a fairer and more equal one.

During the last few years a great deal has been done to relieve and improve the condition of the poorer classes, but much—very much—remains to be done.

There are many men who do not belong to what are called the masses, men of noble minds and brilliant education and attainments, who have seen the trouble coming, and have cast about for means of meeting it. Among these are the leading Socialists. Many confuse the Socialists and the Single Taxers, whose Socialistic proposal is better known and understood here, but they are totally different. There are many profound thinkers among the Socialists; I do not know of one among the Single Taxers. Their leader, Henry George, is a powerful writer, but if he had been a deep thinker he would long ago have found out that his proposed remedy is not only impracticable but positively mischievous. Probably there never has been another man who while seeking to do good has done so much harm as he has.

By proposing a measure sure to take with the unthinking crowd, and those who had nothing to lose, he frightened holders of real estate and prevented the expenditure of capital. At one time it seemed possible that his proposal might be tried, and investors knew that that would mean a state of commercial and financial chaos, therefore they held back, and vast numbers of people were thrown out of employment.

Both the Socialists and the Single Taxers saw that the trouble arose because the people as a whole cannot obtain land when and in such situations as they want it, and they both thought that the difficulty could be got over by nationalising the land. The Socialists, however, were clever enough to see that if the land were nationalised, that everything else must become national property also, and that individualism must be clean swept away.

The Single Taxers, on the other hand, thought they could nationalise the land, and at the same time retain individualism. The idea is an absurdity: everything goes with the land, and if that becomes national property so must everything else, and individualism must absolutely cease.

I dread the Socialistic movement, and believe it will lead to nothing but evil, but there is no use in blinding our eyes to the fact that it is a growing power, and that it is ably led, and we may rest assured that it is absolutely necessary to arrest the movement by doing something to render the existence of Socialism unnecessary.

We must by some means make the land available. Leaders of thought in England see this, and they hope to do it by means of the allotment system, "three acres and a cow," but so far this movement has failed, and fail it must, until the transit system is so altered that the workers can live on land, and at the same time have cheap and easy access to districts where they can sell their labour. If this were done we should soon cease to hear the words Socialism and Single Tax. Every man who has an acre becomes interested in conserving the rights of property.

It is all very well to rail at Socialism, but we must remember that Socialism, Single Tax, One-man-one-vote are not to any extent responsible for the present state of things, for these movements are but of yesterday. The present trouble is the result of the work of ages.

From remote periods property and the propertied classes have governed the world, and with but few exceptions still govern it, and it is because they have neglected their duties and have so much ignored the wants and requirements of the poorer classes that we have this "blight," this "curse of Socialism" among us.

decorative feature

[unclear: Economic Fatalism]

1899.

for that reason accumulated in fewer hands? To say that would be to neglect the great extension of Joint Stock Company and to ignore the lesson of the Liberator crash.

It will be interesting in this connection to see what advantage is taken of Mr. Chamberlain's Bill for facilitating the acquisition of house-property by the working-classes.

But the important thing to recognize is not so much that the tendencies in any given society may be too various to be comprehended in any one formula, as that the tendencies themselves may be altered by human wills. I am inclined to think that we have got into a way of spelling tendency with too big a T, and man with too small an M. If four or five really accomplished swindlers were to decamp with four or five big municipal balances, I suspect that the tendency towards the municipal extension of industry might receive a check from which it would take half a century to recover.

One of the suppressed postulates of Political Economy hitherto has been that society is *honest* as well as competitive. A monograph upon the economic friction produced by swindles might be extremely valuable.

If one great statesman with the pushing power of Mr. Rhodes and the intelligence of Mr. Balfour were to set to work to read the Report of the Gold and Silver Commission of 1888, and then were to preach Professor Marshall's gospel of symmetallism to the bankers of England (and the congregation would be a small one), they would soon enough persuade the British public of the merits of a scientific international currency. Bagehot told us long ago that the English people was a deferential people. That is one of the little national tendencies which favour the Hero and the Swindler, who are both of them important and incalculable forces in economics and politics, as a recent laborious but uninspired work upon France sufficiently testifies. In any case the cause gains nothing by its fatalistic appendages. Let us travel not whither an assumed historical tendency, but rather, as Plato says, "whithersoever, the argument may lead."

HERBERT A. L. FISHER.

Democracy in New Zealand.

IN looking back, as an old New Zealander, at the political developments in the colony during the past ten years, the feature of the situation that seems to impress itself most vividly on the mind is the contrast between the anticipations then entertained with regard to the new policy, alike by its partisans and by its opponents, and the present outcome in actual fact. In the expectation, on the one hand, not only of the landowners, but also of a great part of the business community then, the wealthier classes in a body were about to be handed over, bound hand and foot, to the "have-nots," to be despoiled at pleasure; property was about to become as insecure as it is in any of the most turbulent of South American republics, and capital was about to seek safety by flight *en masse* from so inhospitable a region. Yet, of course, none of all this, nor anything approaching to it, has happened. New Zealand is, perhaps, now as steadily prosperous as any part of Her Majesty's dominions; and the average business man or sheep-farmer there will probably now tell you that it does not seem to make much difference, in the long run, what political party is in power at Wellington.

On the other hand, the devotees of the new policy cannot look back, I should think, on the history of the ten years during which their chosen leaders have guided the fortunes of the community without a feeling of disillusionment. It will take them, probably, something of an effort to recall their own mental attitude in the early nineties. The House of Representatives met the country in 1891, under the leadership of a gentleman who was an avowed and enthusiastic disciple of the late Henry George. The gospel of Land Nationalization was continually on his lips, and on those of many of his followers. What single, practical step can they point to which has been achieved, even remotely, in the direction of realizing it? The party, moreover, were possessed with the idea that they were about to convert New Zealand into a country where the problems of poverty and unemployment were to be definitely and triumphantly solved. Such evils were due, they held, to the rule of the

propertied classes, whose interests were bound up with the much-denounced competitive system. Now that power was transferred to the representatives of the mass of the population, why, they asked themselves, should such blots on our modern civilization be allowed any longer to remain? They were determined that, at any rate as far as New Zealand was concerned, they should be at once and for ever wiped out; and they entertained no doubt as to the power of their Parliament to wipe them out. Under the new *régime* New Zealand was to become a country where "unemployment" should no longer be heard of, but, on the contrary, where abundance of fairly paid work would be provided for every one who was willing to accept it. So completely were they carried away by their faith in the proximate advent of their millennium, that they began even to be ambitious of making New Zealand their *point d'appui* in the world for effecting the elevation of the human race generally. Members of the popular party in the New Zealand House, who found themselves in Australia, proclaimed to meetings of trade councils there the steps that were being taken in their own colony to do away with capitalism and competition, and to provide the fair living wage, not only for all the working men of New Zealand, but for all elsewhere who sought the hospitality of its shores; and their irresponsible oratory was further endorsed by an official communication from the Minister of Public Works in Wellington. The New Zealand working classes have had many ups and downs since that day. Things are beginning, I believe, to look somewhat brighter with them now than they were a few years ago. In 1895, when I left the colony, so far was it from being the case that an industrial millennium had then been brought about, that wages were lower than they had been for, at any rate, thirty years previous, and work of every sort was, at the same time, more difficult to obtain. Some two thousand persons, no doubt, who were employed on Government roads and railways were receiving better wages than their efficiency might have warranted; as for the remainder of the working classes, the times they were passing through were hard, and the Government was neither doing anything nor attempting to do anything to mitigate their hardness.

It is not very easy, I think, for an observer, who has been accustomed to watch the course of English politics only, to realize fully the character of the political situation in New Zealand, say in 1891. One would have to picture to himself a House of Commons in which the recognized leaders of both our present parties had either not attempted to obtain seats, or, having attempted, had failed in obtaining them; and in which the administration of affairs was handed over to a Cabinet consisting of men whose shibboleths and whose ideals were those of Messrs. Tillet and Keir Hardie. If we conceive such a Cabinet, with an obedient and even enthusiastic majority at their back, we have some conception of the sort of Cabinets that ruled in New Zealand in the Parliaments of 1891 and 1894. The question, then, how it was that so little came of it all, is surely one that at least presents an interesting study in the psychology of nations. On the one hand, the fact seems to indicate that, in English-speaking communities, property and the established order of things have less to fear from even the most complete triumph of a popular party than we are ordinarily inclined to anticipate. On the other hand, to those who entertain unbounded expectations as to the power of the State to remedy human ills, and to effect such revolutions in human affairs as would be involved in the nationalization of the land, or in doing away with or in modifying in any important respect the competitive and capitalistic systems, its lesson appears to be, that when all visible opposition has been conquered, the battle, instead of being won, has hardly commenced. When the task of transmuting theories into practical measures is once set about, it seems that impalpable, but, at the same time, insuperable obstacles present themselves, and, in one way or another, further progress in the collectivist direction comes to a stand still, rather from the lack of inherent motive power than owing to any opposition with which the champions of Socialism can do battle.

A striking instance of the contrast between anticipation and event, between proposals and performance, is to be found in the history of the New Zealand Government's dealings with the land question. The land question, indeed, it must be said, is that on which more than on any other Australasian politics have always hinged. Thirty years ago, the guidance of affairs in New Zealand was pretty completely in the hands of the class that might be called its aristocracy. Wealth and position were almost as necessary then for the attainment of a seat in the local Parliament there, as they are in the Parliament of England to-day. The contrast was frequently drawn between the New Zealand House and the legislatures of the other Australasian colonies. New Zealanders piqued themselves on the superiority, in presence and in demeanour, which their legislative assembly presented when compared with that which sat in Melbourne or in Sydney. It is not impossible that wealth and position would have preserved to this day their natural leadership, had it not been the case that, among the duties of the legislatures, provincial and general, was that of disposing of the waste lands of the Crown. It was, perhaps, inevitable that, if these Crown lands were to be disposed of at all, they should pass largely into the hands of the legislators and their friends, for the simple reason that that class comprised the bulk of those who had money to invest; and it was, perhaps, also inevitable that the land laws should, during their *régime*, have been so framed and administered as to facilitate their passing into their hands at prices which seemed fairly satisfactory to themselves. The time, however, came, and, in many instances, seemed to come very suddenly, when these fairly satisfactory prices appeared, as compared with existing prices, to be preposterously insignificant.

Properties, it might be thirty thousand acres in extent, were seen to be changing hands at £2 per acre that had been bought, only a year or two previously, from the provincial authorities for 5s. per acre; and the sentiment gained ground that the New Zealand public had been defrauded wholesale by those in whom they had reposed their trust. In this condition of the public mind on the land question we have the key to the New Zealand revolution. It had its Philippe Egalité in Sir George Grey. The spoliation of the public estate by the squatters was the ceaseless theme of his eloquence when he entered on his career as a politician in the seventies. Their influence in the State never recovered from the blows he then dealt them.

The main aim of the revolution was to redress this wrong, to some extent real and to some extent imaginary. When Mr. Henry George's book appeared, it chimed in with the public sentiment. Land Nationalization was in the air, and, at any rate as regards its preliminary stage, the expropriation of the holders of large estates, it seldom failed to find favour at the hustings. In 1894 the expropriation proposals got the length of being put into the shape of a Government Bill that was laid before the House of Representatives. As a Bill it would have been drastic enough for a Ledru Rollin or a Louis Blanc. It proposed to give the Minister of Lands power to enter on any estate he pleased, and to take any part of it he chose at his own price. Had it been put through and administered in the shape and in the spirit in which it was proposed, not only would no freehold have been safe, but no mortgage would have been worth the paper it was written on. As the Government had a following of about fifty in a House of about seventy, the outlook was serious. In the face of the fact, indeed, that such a proposal got the length of being embodied in a Government measure, it cannot be held that the fears entertained for the security of property were altogether idle and groundless. It soon appeared, however, that, in running the gauntlet of the House itself—Government supporters though the great majority were—the Bill had an ordeal to pass that was by no means child's play. One amendment after another had to be accepted by the Minister in charge, and as the Bill emerged from Committee, before even it reached the Upper House, it had been transformed into something comparatively innocuous. In the first place, an amendment had been accepted to the effect that, if any part of an estate were taken, the whole, at the owner's option, must be taken also. This did away with the possibility of the eyes being picked out of estates, and the comparatively worthless balance being left on the owners' hands. In the second place, instead of the Minister being in a position to buy at his own price, an assessment board, so constituted as to be independent of political influence, was appointed, by which, in the last event, the price would be determined. In the practical working of the Act, the opponents of the Government have had occasion to criticize them rather for having used it to purchase the properties of their friends and allies at fancy prices, than for having used it to terrorize capital or to harass political antagonists.

So much for the expropriation aspect of the Land Nationalization scheme. For a Government, however, that possessed some millions of acres of waste lands suitable for settlement, there was still considerable scope for bringing into operation the principles of Land Nationalization, even without any expropriation of private owners. Mr. Henry George, as a matter of fact, under some misconception or misinformation, refers to the "Ballance Act" in New Zealand as one which does, to some extent, put into practice his theories. The principle, indeed, of so disposing of the waste lands of the Crown that, in the future, the State should, to a large extent at any rate, profit by the "unearned increment," is one for which in itself there is a great deal to be said. It is not one, however, that finds itself to-day embodied in the New Zealand statutes. Mr. Ballance's Land Bill, as brought down, no doubt provided for a system of "perpetual leases," with periodical resettlements, as in India. By the time that it became law, however, the provision for resettlements was eliminated, and the holder of a "perpetual lease" in New Zealand is now as secure of his "unearned increment" as is the holder of a Scotch feu. In the case of the Village Settlement lands—small blocks on which the Government proposed to locate the unemployed, granting them at the same time loans for the erection of their houses and fencing,—a clause, in the statute dealing with the matter, providing for resettlements was, in the first instance, actually in force. The village settlers, however, agitated against it, urging, no doubt with some force, that the poor man ought to have his land granted to him on terms at least as favourable as those on which his richer neighbours held theirs. It was to no one's interest to contest their claim, so the Government made little difficulty about giving way, and the village settler's allotment now is practically freehold.

In what we think of as State Socialism, there appear to be two distinct principles involved; and, curiously enough, we find them here operating in direct antagonism to each other. On the one hand, there is the principle of subordinating the interests of the individual to the interests of the community; on the other hand, there is the principle of doing away with the existing system of competitive rewards, and of remunerating the individual in accordance with his needs, rather than in accordance with his capacity. In regard to the first—the subordination of individual to State interests—the history of New Zealand politics goes to indicate that, in the Anglo-Saxon world at any rate, a victorious democracy, instead of being likely to push it to undesirable lengths, is much more likely unduly to ignore it. It is a paternal Government, like that of India, that can be trusted to pay an adequate degree of regard to State interests when they come into collision with those of classes or individuals.

The ultimate depositary of power in New Zealand is now the peasant farmer and his wife, and it appears impossible to them to realize to themselves the idea of the State as an entity which has any urgent claims upon them; while, on the other hand, the troubles and the merits of the poor and the pioneer settler appeal readily to their sympathies. If it can be pointed out that his troubles can be diminished at the expense of the land revenue without any special class or individual suffering injury, the claims of the State seem to go down before such an appeal with very little show of resistance.

The other socialist principle, on the contrary—that of remuneration in accordance with needs—seems to be highly effective for a time at any rate, in moulding the policy of such a victorious democracy. In New Zealand its operation was conspicuous in connection with both the land and the labour questions. In regard to both, however, limitations and difficulties soon began to make themselves manifest.

We may glance at it, first, in its bearing on the land policy. I will not, however, endeavour to initiate my readers into the mysteries and technicalities of a colonial waste-lands system, but will confine myself to giving a few salient facts that came under my own observation in the district where I resided—the southern part of the North Island. The waste lands that remained to be dealt with in that part of the country in 1890, it should be premised, were all forest lands. The open land had long ago passed into private hands. The manner in which blocks of fresh waste lands were opened up for sale and disposed of by the former Government had the merit, at any rate, of being simple and business-like. An area of, say, 10,000 acres would be fixed on, and would then be divided up into sections, varying in size probably from 100 to 500 acres. Roads would be laid out through the block, and the main roads would be constructed. A day would then be notified on which the sections would be disposed of by auction, and then those who were prepared to give most for the land would get it. It happened, of course, in some instances—no doubt, indeed, in many—that a sale of the sort would take place when wool was high in price, or when a large amount of loan money was being expended, and when land values, in consequence, were booming. Subsequently, when the reaction came, many of the settlers would be found inevitably to have paid too much for their blocks, and to have landed themselves in difficulties. To the initiators of the new policy, such a consummation as this was altogether abhorrent. Their first step, accordingly, was to do away with all sales by auction of waste lands. The system which was largely substituted for it was what was called the "special settlement" system. Under it, it was open to the intending settlers to form themselves into associations, with ordinarily 100 members in each, and, when thus associated, to take the initiative themselves with regard to the land that they proposed to settle. They would apply for a block, perhaps, of 10,000 acres, to be divided into 100 sections of 100 acres each. These sections would all bear a uniform price, and always a very moderate one, never above £1 per acre, to be paid up in instalments extending over a considerable number of years. It will be obvious at a glance that, in a 10,000-acre block, some of the 100-acre sections would probably be worth ten times as much as others. How, then, were they to be apportioned? The apportionment of the sections was left to the members of the associations themselves to carry out, and their ordinary method was to put the numbers in a hat and draw for them. I have one particular block—the Tiraumea block—in my eye while writing, but many others were dealt with quite similarly. In the case of the Tiraumea block, the association celebrated the occasion of drawing for the sections by a dinner, at which, though not a member, I had the honour of being present. The drawing, it need hardly be said, was a scene of considerable excitement. After it was over, the fortunate holders of the numbers designating the sections fronting the Manawatu River, and within a few miles of the Woodville railway station, received the good-natured congratulations of their less fortunate fellow-members; and well they might. They had secured, without any sacrifice whatever to themselves, beyond the payment of a half-crown entrance fee, properties salable at a moment's notice for at least a couple of hundred pounds apiece. The right to one of the sections was, as a matter of fact, sold next morning for £225, and the rights to others, shortly after, for even larger sums. If any one did not care to go on paying up the instalments on a back section, he had only to throw it up; but even the worst of them were worth holding on to in any case. It was a lottery in which there were all prizes of more or less value, and practically no blanks. The subsequent history of the block is interesting. The very next day, a speculative gentleman in a neighbouring town had his agent buying up the rights of the intending settlers to ten of the most eligible sections. Within a few months' time he again had sold these rights, at a satisfactory profit to himself, to the settler who now holds them, and who had to pay their full value, about £7 per acre, for them. Other portions of the block were subsequently dealt with similarly. Thus, while the resources of the State were dissipated in this amazing manner, the ultimate occupiers and users of the land were not in the least benefited.

When it became apparent that to get one's name down as member of a small-farm association might mean, if one had luck, making a hundred or two at a stroke, or perhaps much more if one was prepared to hold on for a few years, there was, as may be imagined, a run on small-farm associations. To succeed, however, in making money by getting into an association which was worth getting into, it soon appeared, required special qualities and special opportunities, just as much as any other way of making money did. The first thing a settlers' association had to do was to choose an eligible block, and that, with forest land, is not so simple a matter as it

may seem. The next, was to get it granted by the central authorities. Plainly the local politician, who was a *persona grata* at Wellington, and who had access, consequently, to the earliest and best information, would present himself inevitably as the man to whose advice and influence all whose aspirations lay in that direction would resort; and the importance of the Radical members and Radical candidates in their several districts was thus at once enhanced a hundred per cent, by the initiation of the new policy,—and this, it must be said, without any thought of a corrupt aim originally on the part of the Government in initiating it. In the part of the country where I resided it would not be going too far to say that the whole resources of the land revenue, or of what ought to have been land revenue, were practically at the disposal of the "Liberals" for electioneering purposes. It seems, indeed, that always when the State adopts the principle of making concessions to one person or class of persons which, in the nature of things, it is impossible to make to all, the issue is, and must be, political corruption in one form or another. There lies the great difficulty and danger that besets the practical application of the principle of payment in accordance with needs, rather than in accordance with capacity; and it forms a difficulty and a danger that, I think, have not been sufficiently adverted to.

There is a party in the London County Council at present who are in favour of the adoption of a policy that will bring such house accommodation as is now worth 6s. per week within the reach of the class that at present pays only 3s. per week for it, by granting the difference out of the rates. The question is: Will they anyhow achieve their object? New Zealand experience seems to give an answer in the negative. In the first instance, no doubt, the artificially cheapened houses might be granted to a favoured section of the poorest class; but we may be certain that they would not long remain in their occupation. A six-shilling-a-week house with a rent of only three shillings a week, and with practical security of tenure, so long as the rent was paid, would soon carry a respectable sum as goodwill. These sums would probably be realized immediately in almost all instances, and those who had realized them would next set about endeavouring to secure another similar house, and to realize the profit similarly. To effect this, they would inevitably look for assistance to the municipal politician who aspired to obtain their votes. The dereliction of business principles in such matters seems calculated inevitably to corrupt both electors and elected. Every future profit has a present value, and, if the State or the municipality once enters on the course of giving away such future profits, it seems that they might just as well enter on the course of giving away their actual cash in hand.

As regards the new labour policy, its tendency to give rise to political corruption was at least as conspicuous as was that of the new land policy. In the construction of Government roads and railways the time-honoured practice of calling for tenders, and giving the work to the man who offered to do it on the terms most profitable to the State, was done away with. That method, it was said, formed part of the old and vicious competitive system, which it was the aim of the new "Liberalism" to abolish. They substituted for it what they called the system of "Co-operative Works." The word "co-operative" appears to have been made use of mainly because it had a pleasant sound to "Liberal" ears, otherwise its appropriateness is not apparent. The salient features of the new system were that, in the construction of a road or a railway, instead of a few large contracts being let, a large number of small ones were—a change that might or might not be desirable according to circumstances,—and that, further, these contracts, instead of being let to the lowest tenderer, as was usual formerly, were let on terms fixed by the engineer in charge—terms which were intended to be such as would afford a fair living wage to the group of, perhaps, ten or a dozen workmen who took the job. The decision as to what total price for a job would afford a fair living wage, though left, in the first instance, to the local engineer to determine, was subject to review by the authorities in Wellington. Cases were of continual occurrence in which work was allotted at a price at which the labourers alleged that they could not make fair wages. The "Liberal" member or the "Liberal" candidate was, in such a case, of course, again the man to be applied to; and his influence was, in the early days of the new policy at any rate, ordinarily sufficient to get the decision of the engineer overruled, and a higher price given for the work. It was little wonder, in such circumstances, that, when the elections came on, a block vote from the "Co-operative Workers" could, without fail, be depended on by the "Liberal" side. The canvassers, indeed, of the other side knew always, from the first, that it was not worth their while to go near them. They were, as the Leader of the Opposition remarked in the House, "the Praetorian Guard of the Government."

The worst abuses in connection with the system, it must be said, were showing a tendency to work out their own cure before I left the colony. It is significant, however, to notice how and at what cost the remedial agencies were beginning to operate. The original aim of the policy was, as observed above, to solve the problems of poverty and unemployment. It was the practice, accordingly, in the first instance, to send up batches of men, consisting largely of thriftless ne'er-do-wells from Wellington or Christchurch, to the forest districts, and to set them to work there on the construction of roads. The result was that the settlers found the winter coming upon them with no roads made to their homesteads, and, at the same time, saw the money, that ought to have been sufficient to make them, spent on people who, in many cases, passed most of it on immediately to the neighbouring publican. The Government thus found themselves in danger of seeing the

settlers' vote turned against them in a body. They began to perceive that the only way of preventing their "co-operative works" policy from becoming absolutely intolerable to the mass of the thrifty population, was by, somehow or other, securing the performance of work that was fairly well worth the money paid for it, judged by the ordinary standard of wages in the country; and this, while high prices continued to be the rule, could only be effected by confining the employment given to skilled and efficient workmen. The practice of sending up the unemployed from the cities to the forest districts was certainly speedily discontinued, and such road work as there was to be given fell into the hands of the settlers themselves and their sons. The original conception of the policy was thus practically abandoned. It was initiated with the aim of raising the whole level of wages in New Zealand. It was only found possible to make it endurable by taking the existing level as something that was fixed *ab extra*, and over which the Government had no control, and by accommodating to it, as their standard, the terms of the employment which they were in a position to give.

WILLIAM WARRAND CARLILE.

New Zealand.

THERE is, judging by what appears in the public journals, a great anxiety in England to become acquainted with the various social and legislative experiments we are making in the Australasian colonies—especially in New Zealand. It may happen, when what we have done is carefully analysed, that it will be seen that we have no new ideas to offer, but that we have only put into practice very old suggestions.

To understand our experiments, however, the point of view of colonists should be ascertained. Those who have lived in the colonies for over thirty years are struck with the changed view of colonial life which prevails to-day. In the olden days most immigrants came to the colony intending merely a temporary sojourn, and a return to the land of their birth when their fortunes were made. The institutions of the colony were regarded from that point of view. All this has changed. To more than half of our population New Zealand is the birthplace as well as the present home. And there has grown up a strong feeling that no country in the world equals New Zealand in all the elements that go to make for happiness. We are fast acquiring a national spirit and developing a local patriotism. There is, it is true, still a strong "Home-land" feeling, but perhaps that is waning. Not many more than one-fourth of our people have ever seen any part of the United Kingdom, and many of those who were born in England, Scotland, or Ireland were so young when they came to New Zealand that the "Home-land" is but a vague memory to them. They consider themselves as much New Zealanders as if they were native born. This change in the feelings of the people has altered the old point of view, and with that change have followed many other changes in our colonial life. Of course, England herself has changed.

The village life portrayed by Miss Mitford—or even by Charlotte Bronte—is not, I suppose, the prevailing type of village life in England to-day. In the colonies we seem to be drifting further and further apart from the ways of our Mother-land. This may be seen in many directions. Even our language is becoming a distinct type. We use words not used in England, and others in a sense different from English usage. And the pronunciation of our youths is characteristic. If a stranger were to pass down the streets of Wellington or Auckland, and to listen to the ordinary conversation of our youths, he would realise that he was not in an English, Scotch, or Irish town. Nor do we speak as the Americans or Canadians speak, but we are rapidly developing a variety of the English tongue all our own. Our life, also, must be on somewhat different lines from life in England, though, no doubt, it has much in common with it. I judge that there is a considerable difference, from what I learn from those who have recently visited the Home-land, and from the perusal of English books, journals, and newspapers. Our physical environment is considerably different. We have more sunshine and no severe winter. Frost and snow are practically unknown on the sea-coast of the North Island, and even in the South Island the winters are mild compared with those of Southern England. The eyes of the English people do not, however, seem to be turned to the climatic and physical advantages of our life. Social reformers and philanthropists are discussing certain legislative or governmental experiments that we have made and are making, and these seem to be the cause of more debate and discussion in Britain than in New Zealand. We take them as a phase of the necessary evolution of our life. One law for the reform of social abuses has succeeded another, and we did not know that we were making ourselves famous till some able men in London discovered it and told us. Can our experiments, or the reasons why we have made them, be even appreciated if our point of view is not clearly understood?

There are two experiments, if I may so call them (though we ourselves hardly consider that they are experiments), which may illustrate our colonial point of view. The one dealing with Labour, and the other with the attitude of the State towards the Church, will show our view of the functions of the Government, and will serve as a key to explain the principles which guide us. Government is, to us, a powerful institution—as powerful as the Tsar appears to be to his subjects—and it is considered to be benign. The socialistic wave has

reached us, and has affected us. And, although we have not any socialistic societies, nor any community-settlements, we appeal to the Government whenever a social wrong is proved to exist to redress it. Is there anything, we ask, which the State cannot set right? And the reply to our query is, Nothing. Our labour laws are a product of this feeling. They have not sprung into being during the last ten years. They have grown as we have grown, and are the product of prevailing sentiment as to the duty and power of the State to remedy grievances and to promote general happiness. Statutes regulating employment in factories have been on our statute-book for over twenty years. But the impulse to remedy ills by statute has grown much during the last ten years: our appetite in this respect has grown by what it fed on, so that the more laws we pass the more we demand. And with the increase in the number of our laws the drastic nature of their provisions has also increased. The State's supervision over employers and employees has increased, and demands for more laws are still put forward by the trade-unionists.

The present labour laws are not deemed the last that will be required and that must be passed. Perhaps the most characteristic of our labour laws is the Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act. By it a tribunal is created that has the power, on the demand of the employers or employees in any trade, to fix the hours of labour, the wages, the number of apprentices, &c., in that trade, and the decision of the Court must, under heavy penalties, be obeyed. The final tribunal in all labour matters consists of a Judge of the Supreme Court and two assessors, one appointed by the Employers' Association and one by the trade-unions throughout the colony. We have also a law to regulate the hours during which our shops are to be open for the sale of goods. In every borough there must be a half-holiday on one working day in each week, and no employee is permitted to work in a shop on this half-holiday. We have also innumerable Inspectors—Inspectors of Factories, of Shops, of Dairies, of Stock, of Rabbits, &c. And thus the State has affirmed the right to regulate labour. It is not my intention to discuss the provisions of any statute, or to deal in detail with our labour laws. My inquiry is rather as to how the passing of such laws can be explained. We find that individualism, in the old English Liberal sense, is at a discount in our colony. The Government is no longer deemed an enemy of the people, but, on the contrary, it is believed to be the benign father and mother whose every care is for the people, who are not considered capable of regulating their affairs without such assistance. The action of a political party, or a Ministry, may be condemned or denounced, but the Government can be guilty of no wrong, and whenever or wherever a social evil is discovered, an appeal is at once made to the Government to redress it. The omnipotence of the Government is never doubted. What the effect of this change in the attitude of the people to the Government will be we do not know, and few of us have cared to inquire. If we did, and were we to issue any warnings, our warnings would be ignored. Statistics are often quoted to reassure us whenever any qualms of distrust of the results of our efforts come upon us. But statistics cannot estimate or analyse this growing habit of dependence upon the State, and it may take many years before the real effect of our policy can be determined. We are progressing. Our population is increasing. Our death-rate is low. We believe we live in one of the best countries in the world. Food is cheap and abundant; our surroundings are pleasant; as our population increases our wants increase, and what is termed the economic pressure is not yet felt by us as it is felt in older lands. Statistics are quoted to make us believe that we are sailing in the right direction to reach the haven of joy. When an optimistic wish is father to our thought, we find that kind of theorising whence, as Browning says, "a fact looks to the eye as the eye likes the look." Hence in our discussions upon our progress we find it convenient to ignore those statistics that tend to shake our self-complacency, for it has become a fixed idea that all this State interference is right. For example, some Jeremiahs have pointed out to us that, whilst from 1886 to 1891 the number of our factories increased by 308, from 1891 to 1896 the increase was only 205. To appreciate these figures it has to be remembered, first, that our population increased from 1886 to 1891 by 8.33 per cent, and from 1891 to 1896 by 12.24 per cent. The period from 1886 to 1891 was called "the years of depression." The labour laws began to be made more drastic in 1891. The increase in employment and in the value of the productions of our factories was less in the prosperous years than in the years of depression. From 1886 to 1891 the increase in the number of employees in factories was 3538. From 1891 to 1898 the increase was only 1756. The increase in the value of the output was £2,067,458 from 1886 to 1891, but only £775,523 from 1891 to 1896. Until another census is taken in 1901 we cannot judge accurately of what has happened since 1896. There is, however, one result given us by Customs returns that some people do not deem satisfactory. Our population has increased and is annually increasing. We gain a few thousands every year from immigration, and our births exceed our deaths by about 12,000 a year. With this increase of population we should have more factories and more employees in industries, and we should import less and export more manufactured goods. Our Customs duties were increased in 1895, and this should not have led to an increase in imports and a diminution in exports of manufactured articles. The figures, however, tell against us. They are as follows—I shall take the last ten years—In apparel (boots, shoes, drapery, &c.) the imports were in value: 1888, £1,510,013; 1893, £1,908,046; 1898, £1,935,009. Ironmongery, implements, &c.: 1888, £697,784; 1893, £920,626; 1898, £1,502,974. These, no doubt, include many things which we could not manufacture, and the figures may be

used to show that we had a greater purchasing power; but, on the other hand, there are among these imported articles many things which we could well have manufactured.

The values of our exports of manufactured goods (including flax) were as follows: 1888, £253,919; 1893, £358,455; 1897, £204,252; 1898, £194,783. Our trade has increased, though it has not made great strides, but the increases in the exports have come from pastoral and agricultural operations, and these are little affected by labour laws.

The statistics, of our colony will not at present help us much towards realising the effects of our legislative experiments. Many years may—nay, must—elapse before we can ascertain what the results are to be; but, whether they prove beneficial or baneful, we must go on with our experiments. The colonists worship the State and believe that the Legislature and Government can save them from many untoward evils. The other illustration that may be given of this feeling of reliance on the Government is the attitude of the people towards Churches and towards education. State education is believed in, and State aid to Church schools is supported by very few. The Roman Catholic clergy denounce secular and State primary schools, but they have been unable to get any strong support for denominationalism. The idea of allowing Churches to control the education of the young is foreign to the views of the colonists. And as the years roll by the number of those who favour aid to Church schools diminishes. The colonists cannot appreciate the difficulty English statesmen seem to have in dealing with the education question. Take the Irish University question, for example. I have spoken to scores of colonists—men who favour Home Rule for Ireland and have not a tinge of Orange feeling or Protestant bigotry, some of them members of the Roman Church—and they simply cannot understand all the pother over such a question. The solution is so easy and clear to them that they think it is not attempted because of some deep political party consideration. To understand their point of view we have to learn what has been done for higher education in the colonies. In all the colonies the University is a State institution, and not under the aegis of any Church. There are certain institutions called colleges affiliated to the Universities of Sydney and Melbourne. Some of these institutions are connected with Churches; but these so-called colleges are rather of the nature of halls or boarding establishments. The students living there must attend the University lectures and pass the University annual examinations, and the University confers the degrees. New Zealand has a somewhat different and more complicated University system. This was occasioned by the fact that New Zealand, though now one colony, was at first really a congeries of colonies. It was colonised from different centres, and had Provinces and Provincial Parliaments. The late Sir William Fox, in writing on New Zealand, called his book "The Six Colonies of New Zealand." This definition was accurate. The Provincial Parliaments were not abolished until 1876. We began to provide for University education in 1869. We have four cities that are the four main centres of civic life—Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch, and Dunedin. We lack a chief city, the centre and metropolis of the colony, such as we find in all the Australian colonies, which has prevented our having one central University. The provincial element has exercised an influence on the founding of our University. But, strange to say, the point at issue at first was whether we should have an institution for the higher culture in the colony, or should provide scholarships for the brighter youths to enable them to be educated in Europe. Those who favoured a colonial institution won. The Province of Otago, through its Provincial Parliament, founded the first University. Later was established a New Zealand University, which is a scholarship and degree-granting institution alone. It insists on attendance, with certain exceptions, at the teaching University colleges. The cases for exemption are: a student who does not reside within ten miles of an affiliated college, or who is engaged in acquiring a profession or trade, or earning a livelihood. Such students are not required to attend lectures for the degrees of arts, science, or law; but they must pass the annual examinations of one of the colleges. There are now four University colleges—the Otago University, situated in Dunedin; the Canterbury College, in Christchurch; the Auckland University College, in Auckland; and the Victoria University College, in Wellington. All these colleges have professors and lecturers teaching subjects necessary for the degrees in arts, science, and law. Otago has a Medical Faculty and a Mines Faculty, Canterbury an Engineering Faculty and an Agricultural School, and Auckland a School of Music. The examinations for all degrees are conducted by the University of New Zealand and by examiners resident in the United Kingdom. This has kept the standard for degrees high, and it will be admitted that the ordinary pass degrees—B.A., B.Sc., &c.—are more difficult to obtain in New Zealand than in Oxford or Cambridge.

All these institutions for higher education are State institutions, and are endowed and supervised by the State. There are no religious tests, and no Church organisation has anything to do with any of them. The New Zealand University is managed by a Senate of twenty-four Fellows, who were at first chosen by the Government. The Fellows are appointed for life, and if vacancies occur they are filled by the Senate and by the graduates alternately. The University statutes must, before coming into force, be approved of by the Governor. The University colleges are managed by boards or councils, and the modes of appointing the boards or councils vary. The Government has, however, the right to appoint some members on all of the councils. For example, part of the council of the Otago University is appointed by the Government, part by the graduates, and part by

the professors and lecturers. The most recently constituted University college—the Victoria—is managed by a council; part of its members are appointed by the Government, part by the members of the Legislature resident in the middle district of New Zealand, part by the Education Boards of the same district, part by the graduates, part by the teachers in the district, and part by the professors. The regulations or statutes of the college must be approved by the Government; the accounts of all must be audited by the Government auditor; and a report must each year be submitted to Parliament. The Visitor in all cases is either the Governor or the Minister of Education. The appointment of all professors, lecturers, and officers rests with the boards or councils. The Government has no power to appoint any officer. Though they are State institutions, free from any Church control or any religious test, there are found on the various boards ecclesiastics of all Churches. For example, on the Canterbury College council there are four ecclesiastics—an Anglican bishop, a Roman Catholic bishop, a Presbyterian minister, and a Wesleyan minister. On the "Victoria College council there are three clergymen—an Anglican bishop, a Roman Catholic priest (rector of a Catholic college), and a Congregational minister. And on the Senate of the New Zealand University there are four ecclesiastics—the Anglican Primate, the Roman Catholic Archbishop, a Presbyterian minister, and an Anglican minister. No suggestion has ever been made that there should be any religious tests for students, professors, or members of the governing bodies. No Church institution is affiliated to the University. All the teaching and examining for higher education is, like the primary schools, under the control of State institutions. And though this has been the case, there never has been even a suggestion as to the possibility of any proselytising. The students are of all religions, and the professors belong to different Churches or no Church. And the members of the different Churches in the managing bodies of these institutions have worked together harmoniously and without the slightest friction.

During all the time that these University institutions have been in existence there has been a persistent demand by the clergy of the Roman Catholic Church for aid to their primary schools, but they have never asked for aid to establish a University college. They have, on the contrary, nobly aided in the management of our University institutions. We cannot, therefore, understand why the same arrangement that has worked so well with us should be impracticable or impossible in Ireland. That is our point of view, and we are amazed when we read in English journals of disputes, which appear to us to be over trifling matters, when the great need of popularising University teaching in Ireland is considered. To imagine that the only solution is an Anglican University in Dublin, a Roman Catholic University in the same city, and a Presbyterian University in Belfast, appears to us to be midsummer madness. Is the State, we ask, under the control of the Churches? I am not concerned with the rightness or wrongness of our view. We may be altogether wrong in exalting the State over the sectarian institutions of the nation, but we do it. If we had to settle the Irish University question, I believe it would be on some such lines as the following: We should follow the plan of the Queen's Colleges. We should establish a degree-granting University, and perhaps there would be sufficient funds granted to this University of Ireland to enable it to grant scholarships to students who could attend any colleges affiliated to the University. There would then be established in the north, the south, the east, and the west teaching University colleges free from Church control. The University and colleges would be under separate management. The University would be managed by a Senate, partly appointed by the Government, partly by the graduates, and partly by the affiliated colleges. The Senates of the colleges would be partly appointed by the Government, partly by the graduates who had studied at the college, partly by the professors and lecturers, and partly by the local bodies in the district—the County Councils and City Councils. At none of the colleges would theology be taught, and the Churches would have to institute their own theological colleges without Government aid. Trinity College would become the University College for Dublin; part of its endowments, now being used for theological teaching, would be given to a theological college if the Irish Church established one. The University and colleges would receive such endowments as their necessities required, and in time new and other colleges might be required in other centres. Under such a University system Catholic need not vex Protestant, nor Protestant Catholic, and there would grow up, perhaps, a true national feeling of brotherhood, that seems as lacking in Ireland as in many other countries. It would be a State system and based on citizenship, not on Church membership or Church organisations. And as the Imperial Parliament has declared that Ireland does not require a State religion, can it be said that she requires a University system based on Church organisations?

This is the point of view of the majority of the colonists. The Church and State are kept apart, and we believe that that is the only policy that can give us freedom and true equality as citizens. No one says that our University system has weakened the power of the Churches over their own church members, or that we are less touched with religious emotion than our kin across the seas. We have erected magnificent church buildings, we have quite an army of ecclesiastics, and our Church organisations are active, strong, and zealous. And the State has gained by the separation of Church from State, for we have relegated theological discussions to the Churches. They are outside of politics.

May it not be necessary to strengthen the affection of the people for the State so that the perennial struggle in older lands between Churches and the State may cease? The colonists, as has been said, are being trained to

look to the State for most things which they require. This may be a phase of our evolution. The time was when the Church loomed largest in the ideas and imaginations of the people. With us the State holds that position. Humanity, it has been said, cannot get on without institutions. Is the State to take the place of the Church? If it is to do so, it must become altruistic and dispense favours. This may explain why it is that in the colonies the functions of the State have been greatly extended in all directions. But who knows but that this increase of State duties and worship of the State may not be a phase of our growth and pass away, just as the domination of the State by the Church is passing away in all nations? The growth of the power of the State has its dangers; but such a power centred in one organisation, and that under democratic control, may prove much less mischievous than power centred in sectarian organisations, which tend to separate citizens and destroy true brotherhood.

These few observations are not offered as a defence of, or apology for, our point of view. This point of view of the State's position and functions exists. It is the stage in politics that we have reached—whether it shows progress or retrogression it is not for me to say. The liberty of the individual is not so sacred in some directions as it was, but it is more so in others. There is a tolerance of opinions, and there is an altruism and a growing civic conscience, that will compensate to some extent, perhaps, for the curtailment of freedom of contract, and for the interference between employers and employees.

Many explanations may be given for our point of view. It has to be remembered that in starting a new colony there is no co-operation amongst the immigrants. The Government is their co-operative association, and it is some time before private associations or companies can be formed. Individual effort can do little without co-operation, and the early immigrants were not capitalists. The Government must perforce do many things that in older countries are left to private enterprise. And as the government of the colony is in the hands of the people of the colony there necessarily is developed this feeling of the power, the wisdom, and the benevolence of the association called Government. And bit by bit its power has extended until the Government has come to occupy a position and importance entirely disproportionate to the position occupied by Governments in the opinion of people in other countries. But, whatever the genesis of this feeling, it exists, and it has to be reckoned with by colonial statesmen and understood by our foreign critics.

Whether our experiments have any lessons for our Mother-land, or whether they can help to point a way to solve her burning questions, it is difficult at this distance to say. To appreciate our attempted solutions, however, it is necessary to understand our point of view. And perhaps it is necessary also to remember our environment. We have many advantages. We are possessors of a country having five-sixths of the area of England, Scotland, and Ireland, with a climate of great variety, extending from the sub-tropical North to the temperate South, with no extremes of heat and cold, and without the droughts or floods of Australia or the hurricanes or blizzards of North America. The scenery of our country cannot be excelled, and its productions are varied and abundant. We are also the healthiest country in the world, for our death-rate is often under 10 per 1000 in a year. Our people are few—under 800,000—and we lack and shall lack great cities with their inevitable slums, or great concentration of people. Our manufactures are small, and our labour troubles can, consequently, never be very acute. Situated as we are we must escape, in their accentuated form, many of the troubles of the older land, though the recent decrease in our birth-rate would seem to show that we, as well as the inhabitants of Europe, have an economic problem. There is, however, no sign amongst our New Zealanders of physical, intellectual, or moral decadence. Our young generation can hold their own and compare favourably with their fathers and mothers. But our time has been but short. One of our colonies—Canterbury—only celebrates its jubilee next year. It may take us fifty years more before we can see the effects of our experiments. If they fail with us they must fail everywhere, for our lines have been cast in pleasant places. And if we succeed, perhaps our success may be due as much to our environment and to the qualities of our race as to our laws. Some of us may have our doubts whether in other lands differently situated our experiments can be models for universal adoption.

ROBERT STOUT.

Front Cover

Freedom of Thoughts Speech in New Zealand.

Price 2D.

A Serious Menace to Liberty.

Mr Seddon, Premier, Mr J. Grattan Grey, Journalist,

An Interesting Correspondence.

No. 1

Printed at the City Printing Coy (Wright & Grenside), FitzGerald's Avenue, Willis Street, Wellington, April 2, 1900.

Preface.

To The New Zealand Public.

I See by this morning's "New Zealand Times" that the Premier has thought fit and proper to make public in the Dunedin Star portions of the correspondence which has passed between himself and me concerning my views as a Journalist upon the Transvaal War.

This most extraordinary and unexpected action on the part of the Premier relieves me from observing longer silence on the subject; indeed it becomes necessary that I should be heard in self-defence.

Taking events in the order of their occurrence, it is incumbent upon me to devote some attention to the doings of the "Dunedin Star" man, and the active part he has taken in the matters disclosed by the correspondence.

Not content with reproducing my article from the "New York Times," the "Dunedin Star" man assailed me in the coarsest and most vindictive terms—in language which one might expect from some ignorant and infuriated fish-fag, or from that Dublin virago whom the great Daniel O'Connell once wagered to enrage and then subdue by the vocabulary of mathematics. In fact, if I had been at the mercy of this ferocious man in Bond Street, there is no doubt I should have been in the shoes of the rollicking hero in "Maritana"—"ordered to be shot at seven." But like Don Caesar de Bazan in his time, I escaped that shocking penalty in mine, and am still in the bosom of my friends. As it was, he could only urge upon the Government the necessity of visiting me with that punishment which was beyond his own power to inflict, and apparently nothing but my immediate dismissal would satisfy him. His persistency was shown in a way which the following little narrative sufficiently illustrates. A few days after his tirade in the "Star," it so happened that the Premier journeyed to Invercargill to attend a banquet given in honor of the Hon. Mr Ward. In the "Star" of February 1st, the following telegram appeared, dated Invercargill that day, from its Special Reporter, under the big head line, "Brought to Book"—

"I have the best reason for saying that the "Evening Star's" article calling attention to Mr Grattan Grey's criticisms in the "New York Times"

of colonial policy has been brought under the notice of the Premier. But for the fact that Mr Grey is an officer of Parliament, and therefore under the direct control of the Speaker, and as practically there is no Speaker at present, immediate action would be taken. It may, however, be taken for granted that the Government intend to prevent Mr Grey, while drawing colonial pay, from repeating the attacks on the Colonial policy he has been in the habit of forwarding to the American press."

The Reporter "had the best reason for saying," Ac., Ac. Of course he had, but he might just as well have been candid, and said for a fact that the "Star" article *had been* brought under the Premier's notice, and by *whom* the little comedy was so ill-disguised.

A few days after the appearance of the "Star" article, a very able and manly letter from the pen of Mr Wm. Hutchison, ex-member of the Housed Representatives for Dunedin City, was published in the "Star." That letter not only demolished the "Star," so far as its attitude in regard to myself was concerned, but it was also an eloquent protest against what that gentleman rightly considered to be a most serious menace to liberty. As I consider that every lover of liberty in New Zealand should have an opportunity of perusing Mr Hutchison's letter, I now give it the wider circulation which the issue of this pamphlet will ensure to it. The letter is as follows:—

Freedom of Speech.

To the Editor.

SIR,—Your publication on Monday last of a letter written by Mr. Grattan Grey, of the "Hansard" staff, to the "New York Times" has betrayed you into an advocacy of intolerance, against which, I hope, you will permit me to protest as mildly as I can. I may not blame you over much; Jingoism is in the air. During the last few weeks some of my best friends have written and talked as much rhodomontade about war and glory as would more than suffice for a whole generation—sheer rhodomantade without either rhyme or reason, the "Absent-minded Beggar" included. What fun could have been made of a large portion of it; but the subject is too serious for fun or even an approach to it. "You speak of going to war," says a lady who has much at stake, "as if it were going to a wedding." A wedding indeed—the wedding of death to many a brave heart. What dreary days and sleepless nights this war has already brought to many thou ands of homes. Here are our own

young fellows—standing or lying on some veldt strewn with shot and shell, ruined tumbrils, and dead men and horses—in constant danger. It is very pitiful and very cruel; and all for what? But the residents for the most part maintain an uneasy silence, unwilling to add to passions already angry and excited.

Occasionally, however, one must speak even as a measure of self-defence, and this case of Mr. Grey is one in point. This gentleman differs from you, as well as from a large majority of colonists, on the Boer war. He does not think sending contingents from New Zealand necessary, and generally disapproves of the stir which has been made. He may be wrong in these opinions; and it is part of your duty, having published his letter, to show that he is so. Simply to say, as you do, that his statements are offensive and inaccurate, as well as "couched in a sneering form of language," is hardly enough. But I am not concerned to maintain the correctness of Mr. Grey's opinions; they speak for themselves. I am, however, concerned to maintain his right, and the right of every New Zealander, to express their views, whether popular or unpopular, on every public question that may arise. Diffidently, but with unwonted confidence, I stand by the right; all the more when I find it has no friends in high places. What do I read in the "Star" of last night? This, namely, that Mr. Grey's letter had been brought under the notice of Mr. Seddon, and that but for there being no Speaker immediate action would be taken in regard to it. The meaning of that intimation is very obvious. It is intended to punish Mr. Grey for publicly expressing opinions on the war contrary to those held by the Government. Coming events cast their shadows before.

I hold no brief for Mr. Grey, but I am sorrowfully convinced that freedom of speech and what Milton described as "the liberty of unlicensed printing," are just now seriously menaced in this colony. I do not heed much that babbling fellow, the man in the street, or even the crowd, when they hinder men from saying what they will; nothing so unstable as a crowd. But the case assumes a graver aspect when men in responsible positions take upon them at public meetings, not only to assail freedom of speech, but to suggest special treatment for those who indulge in it. If you will allow me I will show how it develops in Dunedin. A gentleman holding the office of Public Prosecutor for Otago is reported to have used this language: "Nor was this a time for criticism. Every man who criticised the policy of the British Empire at the present moment was a traitor, and ought to be hounded out of it." If so, Mr. Public Prosecutor, you have a duty to perform, and I say to you as Hamlet said to the player: "Leave thy coarse faces and begin." The writer of this letter holds Imperialism and the Boer war arising out of it to be terrific evils. He does not write anonymously; he is within your jurisdiction, hound him out or hound him down if you dare. Perhaps, however, I am attaching too much importance to the sayings of one who, although a high official, is good-naturedly credited with speaking first and thinking afterwards.

It is impossible, while on this subject, to avoid referring to what Mr. Justice Williams said regarding it. At a large meeting in the Agricultural Hall he spoke as follows: "If anyone says to you 'I don't approve of the war,' then there is only one answer: 'Sir, you have got to approve of it. When your mother is in trouble it is your duty to help her even though she may to some extent have brought her trouble upon herself.'" I have the greatest respect for Mr. Justice Williams, if he will allow me to say so, and I don't think, from his point of view, the case could have been better put, but the least said of its logic the better. I can only suppose that in the furore of cheers and songs and martial music—an atmosphere so different from that to which he is accustomed—he was carried away by the crowded and enthusiastic meeting, and said more or less than he intended. Does Judge Williams think that an honest man should go about among his fellows day by day saying fine things about Imperialism and its war, when he believes them all the time to be outrageous wrongs? That is in effect what the Judge's dictum amounts to; it, however, suggests but poor specimens of manhood, and I at least must respectfully decline to follow it. The simile of the mother is very fine, but it lacks applicability. Children who do not help their mother when in trouble are not worth their salt, but the kind of help depends entirely upon the nature of the trouble. The Eastern sage has told us long ago that the mother may forget—alas! it is an everyday experience; a knock on the head, some mysterious illness, may turn a sweet and loving woman into a raving maniac. She is to be tenderly cared for, but she may not be allowed to work her will. She must be restrained. And our British Mother would just now be all the better of a good deal of judicious restraint.

But I pursue the subject no further. Be assured it is no pleasant experience to be compelled to differ from friends and neighbours on a matter of momentous importance, but there are times when what one believes to be the interests of truth and humanity forbid the suppression of opinions, however unpopular, and this appears to me to be eminently such a time.

I am, etc.,

February 2nd, 1900.

William Hutchison.

In Dunedin last week the spirit of Jingoism was at fever point. In addition to the excited City population

itself, thousands of people from the country had poured into Dunedin to witness the despatch of New Zealand's fourth contingent to South Africa. The opportunity, therefore, especially in that inflamed condition of people's minds, must not be lost to publish portions of the correspondence behind the back of an absent man. The whole business was evidently pre-conceived to fit in with the occasion. It is clear that the Premier must have carried the documents with him to Dunedin for that special purpose.

Thus I find in the Dunedin "Star" of March 23, the very eve of the departure of the Fourth Contingent, when the whole place and people were in a whirl of warlike excitement and enthusiasm, the correspondence introduced under the glaring head lines:—

"The Chief of Hansard."

"Avows Himself A Pro-Boer."

"And Glories in His Rank Republicanism."

Then follows this preface:—

"Some time after his arrival in Dunedin last night a member of our staff waited on the Premier at the Grand Hotel and endeavoured to elicit information on matters of general importance. Amongst other matters Mr. Seddon was questioned regarding an article which had appeared in this paper taking Mr. Grattan Grey, chief of the 'Hansard,' to task for his strictures published in the "New York Times" on the Colony's attitude on the war in South Africa. The Premier said that, the "Star" having published the attack, he deemed it right that the paper should be allowed to have Mr. Grey's rejoinder. Parliamentary officers are under the control of Mr Sneaker, and as there is no Speaker till the new House meets it is impossible that any action can be taken till June next. Parliament, however, would have to deal with the matter at once. Had Mr. Grey been a Government officer, the Premier said that he would at once have taken such action as would have prevented a repetition of an offence which was clearly setting at naught the decision of a parliamentary body (vide the report of the Printing and Debates Committee herewith), since the sanction of Parliament had been given to the despatch of the First Contingent to the front,"

It will thus be seen that once again the Dunedin "Star" man, to Use an expressive vulgarism, was quickly "on the job." I ask the public if it was Fairplay to select such an occasion to publish these portions of the correspondence? Was the fact of doing so not calculated to seriously prejudice me in the minds of the excited residents of Dunedin and those who had come in to witness the departure of the Contingent next day? Nay more, was it not also calculated to prejudice me beforehand in the eyes of that very tribunal to which my case was to be referred hereafter? Most certainly it was. Was it fairplay? Was it manly?

As to the scandalous aspersions cast upon me by the glaring head-lines I have already quoted, they shew an amount of personal hostility and maliciousness which is shocking to contemplate or to think possible as between one man and another. They are, to say the least of them, cowardly in the extreme.

But I am not the only one who has been stigmatised by offensive epithets because I hold certain views upon the Transvaal War; and amongst others thus attacked is a gentleman (a brother Journalist) who has not escaped insult and abuse, although he is distant 16,000 miles from his unscrupulous and venomous detractors. Has not our Agent-General, the Hon. W. P. Reeves, been accused as I have been and shamefully slandered behind his back? Has not a prominent citizen of Dunedin charged Mr. Reeves with sending Pro-Boer despatches to this Colony, and has he not demanded that Mr. Reeves should declare himself? Has not the Agent-General even been made the subject of a cartoon, in one part of which he is represented as a sanguinary sans-culotte of the Reign of Terror species, despatching a pro-Boer cablegram to the New Zealand Government as "Citizen" Reeves, and in another part of the same cartoon, dressed in the pink of fashion as Agent-General, sending off another cablegram to quite a different effect?

As a great deal of misunderstanding appears to exist in the public mind with reference to my position, it is necessary that I should put people right on that subject. I am not, and never have been, a Civil Servant, and am subject to no Civil Service Regulations. During my 24 years' connection with the New Zealand Parliament I have continued the pursuit of my journalistic profession in accordance with the distinct understanding upon which I entered that service. The faithful and efficient discharge of my Parliamentary duties is a fulfilment of the contract on my part, and there my obligations to Parliament end. No one has ever dared to insinuate that those duties have not been performed faithfully and well, and with the most scrupulous impartiality. Governments and Parliaments have come and gone during the last quarter of a century, but my position was never challenged until last session, when my political opinions and criticisms as a Journalist raised the ire of certain politicians, whose attitude towards me was subsequently ridiculed by the "Westminster Gazette,"

"Review of Reviews" and other equally reputable and influential periodicals.

In further confirmation of the original understanding upon which I entered the Parliamentary service 24 years ago, I now publish the written contract (under the hand and seal of the Premier), under which I accepted the office of Chief of the Hansard Staff:—

96/1771 "Premier's Office, No. 682. Wellington,

11th June, 1896.

SIR,—I have the honor to inform you that you have been appointed Chief Reporter of the Parliamentary Hansard Staff *vice* Mr C. C. N. Barron, retired. Your salary will be at the rate of £400 per annum as from 11th June, 1896, with liberty after completion of Hansard each session to take outside work.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your most obedient servant,

J. GRATTAN GREY, ESQ., R. J. Seddon."

Assembly Buildings, Wellington.

Let the people of New Zealand make no mistake about it—this is a matter which strikes deeply at the foundation of their liberties—freedom of thought and speech. An effort is being made to exercise in New Zealand a press censorship which would not be attempted, I believe, even in autocratic Russia, and to prevent freedom of opinion. I should be an unworthy member of the honourable profession I belong to if I allowed myself to be dictated to by any Government or party as to what I shall write, or shall not write, in my capacity of Journalist.

I should be wanting in manliness and self-respect if I allowed myself to be placed in such a dishonourable and humiliating position, and if I tamely submitted to the surrender of my civil and political rights for the mere sake of the personal sacrifices I might thus escape from at the cost of independence and honour. I do not happen to be built that way, however, and it is in the name of Liberty that I resent this attempted interference with my rights, and with the pursuit of my profession.

What I now want the public of New Zealand to do is to carefully read and analyse the correspondence, to seriously ask themselves—What is British liberty, fair play and justice? and to pronounce their verdict accordingly.

There is an honourable way and there is also an arbitrary, illegal, and dishonourable way of terminating a contract, if that be desired. The choice of alternatives I leave to those undertaking the responsibility.

J. Grattan Grey.

Wellington,

March 27th, 1900.

While this pamphlet is passing through the press I am in daily receipt of numerous letters from correspondents, many of them utter strangers to me, expressing concurrence with my opinions with regard to the Transvaal War, and their appreciation of my courageous expression of these views. I feel deeply indebted to these correspondents for their sympathy and encouragement.

One of my correspondents, a perfect stranger to me, but whose personal acquaintance I hope to form, writes to me from Dunedin in these words: Permit me to express my sympathetic and full concurrence with your views on the Transvaal War. I hope one day will be disclosed how the existing excitement in New Zealand originated and has been worked up. *It was not spontaneous.* With this conviction, and having just witnessed here the enormous programme in getting away the Fourth Contingent, the fraudulent and selfish elements obviously at work afford the strongest emphasis to the courageous expression of opinion by yourself. That it should be possible, already in New Zealand, for political and selfish strategy to attain such proportions, would afford alarm were it not for the declarations and consolations recorded in Holy Writ, Psalm 37."

From Auckland comes a communication signed by several gentlemen, from which I quote as follows:—"Dear Sir, We the undersigned beg to offer you our sincere sympathy in respect to the unjust persecution you are now suffering for your manly, courageous and feeling conduct in reference to the present

wicked, unrighteous and cruel war now being carried on by Britain against the Boers, and we assure you that every sentiment you have or may express is fully and heartily concurred in by us. We are one with you in our opinion of the Jingoistic spirit which is at the present time rampant in these Colonies, and we are of the opinion with you that at no far date a reaction will set in. There are hundreds of *genuine* liberals, who feel on this matter as we do, and if you like to send up any kind of a petition or testimonial we can get it signed by quite a number."

Telegram from New Plymouth;—"Kindly allow sympathiser to express friendship and admiration your noble fearlessness in just cause."

Already, two Journals of high standing—the Wellington "Evening Post" and the Christchurch "Press"—have ably championed the cause of freedom of opinion.

Commenting upon the proposal to call Mr Grattan Grey to account for his article in the "New York Times," the Christchurch "Press" says:—

"It is simply monstrous to talk of punishing Mr Grey because he happens to hold certain unpopular (and in our opinion incorrect) views on the Transvaal question, and chose to give expression to them in an American paper. We doubt whether if, even in Russia, such censorship of the press would be attempted."

J. G. G.

decorative feature

The Transvaal War.

PREMIER'S OFFICE, WELLINGTON,

6th February, 1900.

SIR,—My attention has been called to an article in the Dunedin "Evening Star" of the 29th of January last, which quoted what purports to be extracts from a letter written by you dated from Wellington, 27th October, and published in the "New York Times" of November 26th, commenting on the action of this and other Australasian Colonies in connection with the despatch of Contingents to the Transvaal, and I shall be glad to know if you really are the author of the letter in question.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your obedient servant,

R. J. Seddon.
J. GRATTAN GREY, Esq.,
Chief Hansard Reporter.

Wellington Terrace,

12th February, 1900.

The RIGHT HON. R. J. SEDDON, Premier,

SIR,—Your letter dated the 6th instant *re* the Transvaal War only reached me to-day. As my files of American papers have not come to hand for several months past—a matter which I intend to inquire into at the Post Office—I am not in possession of a copy of the "New York Times," nor of the "Evening Star" mentioned in your letter. If you will kindly supply me with a copy of the "Star," in order that I may see the extracts mentioned, I shall have pleasure in supplying you with the information you desire.

I remain, Yours truly,

J. Grattan Grey.

PREMIER'S OFFICE, WELLINGTON,

13th February, 1900.

J. GRATTAN GREY, Esq., Wellington Terrace,

SIR,—The Premier has directed me to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday's date, and in reply to say that he has not got a copy of the Dunedin "Evening Star," but desires me to send you an extract from the paper which purports to be your letter or a portion of it.

Yours obediently,

Alex. Willis.

(From The "NEW YORK TIMES," November 26th.)

"Throughout the whole of the British Colonies in these latitudes the people have gone wild with excitement over the declaration of war between Great Britain and the Transvaal Republic. There is no limit to their enthusiasm, and the whole of these democratic communities have been suddenly infected with Imperialism of the most pronounced type. Nobody—very few, at all events—pauses to inquire whether the war is a just one, or whether England has any right to interfere with the internal affairs of the Transvaal. The only thing that concerns them is that Great Britain has resorted to the arbitrament of superior force, and, the Mother Country having done this, the Colonies rush to her assistance in crushing poor old Oom Paul and the comparative handful of people in the Transvaal, who consider they have a right to govern themselves without foreign interference or dictation. Everybody feels, of course, that the Republic must go under, and the immorality of the principle that might is right is completely disregarded in this wave of Imperialism that has swept over the whole of the British possessions on this side of the globe. No sooner was the news received of the declaration of war than offers of assistance were cabled to the Imperial authorities from all the Governments of Australasia, and these were at once accepted, more, perhaps, on account of the moral effect they would have upon other nations than because of any substantial assistance the Colonies would lend during the progress of hostilities, because, all told, the combined contingents will not exceed a thousand combatants. To New Zealand the honor belongs of being the first to despatch its mounted rifle corps of 212 officers and men a week ago, and to-day the transport will leave Melbourne, conveying to South Africa the total strength from the Colonies of Victoria, New South Wales, Queensland, South Australia, Western Australia, and Tasmania. To outside nations it would appear not a little odd that self-governing Colonies, 7,000 miles away from the scene of strife should send off bodies of men to do battle against people they have had no quarrel with, or that they should think it necessary to assist in the subjugation of a people who claim the right of self-government the same as they do; but the jingoistic spirit at the Antipodes is too inflamed just now to care anything about the rights or wrongs of the question. What is uppermost in the public mind is that the Transvaal Republic, as a nation, must be effaced, and the whole of the South African Continent painted an Imperial red from the southern limits of Cape Colony to the Equator. Of course, no one for a moment doubts that England can accomplish this unaided by Colonial troops, and why, therefore, should these distant Colonies interfere at all? In money alone, it will cost the principal of them £50,000 a piece before they have done with the business. Victoria, New South Wales and Queensland have voted £30,000 each, and New Zealand £5,000 in excess of that amount; but if the war lasts for six months they will require to make calls upon their respective Treasuries, which will bring each Colony's contribution up to at least £50,000. When enthusiasm cools down, no doubt people will begin to think that the money would have been spent to better purpose on public works within the Colonies themselves, but they cannot help remembering the fact that a precedent has now been established, and that the Colonies will have to take similar action upon any future occasion, even without any justification for the belief (as in the present instance) that the safety of the Empire is endangered."

WELLINGTON TERRACE, Wellington,

15th February, 1900.

The RIGHT HON. R. J. SEDDON, Premier,

SIR,—I am in receipt of your letter of 13th instant, enclosing an extract from the Dunedin "Evening Star" of 29th January, containing portions of my article to the "New York Times," published in that influential journal of 26th November, 1899.

I will preface my reply to your request for information as to the authorship of that article by observing that this is not the first occasion on which this same individual connected with the Dunedin "Evening Star" has displayed the strongest possible animosity against me under the cloak of anonymity, and has shewn personal malice to an extent which must meet with the reprobation of all honest, upright and respectable Journalists. The

individual in question, however, is not a Journalist of any weight or position outside the parochial radius of that paper's circulation, and very little within that limited area. Professional etiquette, straight-forwardness or the instincts of journalistic camaraderie could not be expected from such an uncultured source; and I leave him, as all paltry things like him should be left, to the contemplation of his own littleness and to the enjoyment of whatever fruits may come from the ventilation of his jealousy and maliciousness. He has my assurance, however, that whether or not he succeeds in his present attempt to do me an injury, it is a matter which will neither derange my appetite nor induce insomnia.

As to the article contributed to the "New York Times" from which the extracts have been republished, I beg to inform you that I was the author of that article, and that I adhere to the opinions therein expressed, regardless of consequences.

In the first place, let me inform you that throughout my life I have belonged to the party of peace, and have been an uncompromising opponent of recourse to war for the settlement of international difficulties. I had made a special study of the Transvaal Question, had read all the available literature connected with the subject from every standpoint, and had become, as an impartial and conscientious observer of events, a stanch adherent of the humane and enlightened policy of England's greatest commoner. Mr. Gladstone, with regard to the Transvaal Republic. When war was first hinted at in the winter months of last year I could not bring myself to believe that hostilities would actually eventuate, and made no disguise of my sentiments that if war did ensue, it would be one of the most unjust and unrighteous wars recorded in history. I could not, however, believe that the British nation would allow itself to be deluded by a band of greedy and grasping capitalists into undertaking a war against a people whose right to self-government had been fully recognised; for I maintain that it is a war which has been fomented by capitalists, and it is lamentable to think that so much precious blood has been and will be spilt and so much treasure expended at the instigation of these moneyed magnates for purposes of their own aggrandisement. Does anyone in his proper senses, anyone with the smallest atom of intelligence or fair-mindedness, really believe that but for the gold and diamond discoveries in South Africa the Boers would ever have been disturbed in their isolation? All candid and thoughtful men, however reluctant they may be at this juncture to confess it, must feel in their hearts that the greed of unscrupulous capitalists is in truth the real *raison d'être* of the present deplorable conflict, the primary cause which lies at the bottom of the hideous tragedy which is now being enacted in South Africa.

Immediately before and after the commencement of hostilities I regarded with deepest sorrow the wave of jingoistic hysteria that inundated these Colonies—the unreasoning and unthinking manner in which this jingoistic spirit was fanned until provincial jealousies and rivalries have now actually developed in this frantic desire to send contingents to South Africa beyond anything that was ever contemplated when the movement began.

When I considered the marvellous wealth of Great Britain, her inexhaustible resources in men and money, her population of forty four millions of people to draw combatants from, her powerful Navy to defend her against any possible or probable concert of European nations, I could not suppose that England required assistance from her far-off Colonies in settling her differences with a comparative handful of people like the Boers—two hemmed-in Republics in South Africa, without a seaboard and without ports for replenishing supplies which in course of time must become exhausted. All these considerations forced me to the conclusion that it was an act of the supremest folly to drain the Colonies of their population for the purpose of doing battle seven thousand miles away in a struggle about the eventual issue of which there could not be the slightest anxiety or doubt.

If it was considered necessary to impress foreign powers with the moral lesson of Colonial loyalty and enthusiasm by the despatch of a first contingent from each, does it not strike one that the good effect of that lesson is likely to be destroyed by the sending of contingent after contingent upon the same unfortunate errand? Will not this apparently unrestricted exodus to South Africa create an impression in unfriendly quarters that England is in extremities, and that her prestige and prowess are in imminent difficulty and peril? I am not so pessimistic as to suppose for one moment that she is, or is at all likely to be, in such straits, or that her foremost prestige amongst the nations of the earth stands the slightest danger of not being maintained in this war with the Boers. But as tin Australasian I protest against this serious diminution of our population, against this maddened rush from our shores when, if we look to our own requirements, we want to keep every man of them here. What is the state of the defences in any one of the Australasian Colonies? Will anyone say for one moment—or if he does say it, does he really believe it?—that our own defences are in an effective condition? Is there any difficulty in realising the awkward position these Colonies might be placed in at any moment in the event of any European complications that might arise? In this position of affairs, why send the best physical types of our young men, the very flower of our population, out of the country, when it is population, and population of that stamp, we stand most in need of? Why contribute funds to the wealthiest nation on earth when the money could be more wisely and legitimately expended in placing ourselves in a position to repel an enemy?

In the pursuit of my journalistic profession I have given expression to these views. That they are not popular with the present unthinking and uninformed multitude I doubt not; but they are my deep-rooted and conscientious convictions nevertheless; and if I am to suffer for the candid and fearless exposition of them, I find solace in the belief that they will be acquiesced in eventually when the feverish pulse of the majority gets restored to its normal condition, and calmness supplants the existing excitement. It is all very well for people to shout themselves hoarse, to be carried away by waving banners and by the intoxicating influences of martial airs; only wait until the score comes to be reckoned up, until the piper has to be paid, and depend upon it they will dance to a less agreeable tune. At the same time, I feel convinced that even in this small community there are hundreds, nay thousands, of people who think exactly as I do on the subject, and only refrain from giving vent to their feelings in order to escape insult and abuse from persons who have allowed this demon of jingoism to make captive of their reason and to warp their better and calmer judgment.

It is one of the highest functions of every honest, well-meaning and straightforward Journalist to do all he can on occasions such as this to stem the current of popular frenzy, to inculcate the salutary ideas of moderation, and to strive all he knows to direct public opinion into the best and safest channels. In my humble capacity this is precisely what I have endeavoured to do, profoundly and conscientiously believing that I was doing right, and believing also that I was living in a free and enlightened country. Is it possible that I have been under a delusion all the best years of my life, and that I am now to realise that freedom of thought and speech in New Zealand—that boasted palladium of individual and collective liberty—is nothing but a myth after all?

I remain, Yours truly,

J. Grattan Grey.

41, WELLINGTON TERRACE,

February 13, 1900.

W. GRAY, Esq., Under Secretary, Post and Telegraph Department,

SIR,—It is a remarkable fact—an extraordinary coincidence to say the least of it—that ever since the "New York Times," and my literary connection with that great newspaper was made the subject of a debate in Parliament last session, my files of American papers have not come to hand, although previously they reached me at regular intervals. Will you kindly make inquiries into the matter, as I am entirely at a loss to understand how the files have gone astray.

I remain, Yours truly,

J. Grattan Grey.

GENERAL POST OFFICE, Wellington,

15th February, 1900.

Subject:— Complaining that copies of the "New York Times" posted to you have not been received.

SIR,—I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter on the above-noted subject. A reply will be sent at an early date.

Yours obediently,

W. Gray, Secretary.

J. GRATTAN GREY, Esq.,

41, Wellington Terrace, Wellington.

[NOTE.—It is again a remarkable fact that a day or two after the despatch of my letter of 13th February, my files of American papers by that month's incoming San Francisco mail duly reached me, but the missing files complained of have never yet come to hand.—J.G.G.]

GENERAL POST OFFICE, Wellington,

20th February, 1900.

SIR,—Referring to your letter of the 13th instant, stating that your files of American newspapers have not for some time back come to hand, I have to inform you that there is no trace in the post office here of any papers addressed to you. Any that may have reached Wellington would have been delivered in the usual manner. If you will, however, specify what papers are missing the Department will, if so desired, make enquiries about them through the Postmaster-General, Washington.

Yours obediently,

Norman Rose,
J. GRATTAN GREY, Esq., *pro* Secretary.

41, Wellington Terrace, Wellington.

The Samoan Question.

WELLINGTON TERRACE, Wellington,

21st February, 1900.

The RIGHT HON. R. J. SEDDON, Premier,

SIR,—In order to forestall any further crawling officiousness and malignity on the part of the Dunedin "Star" man, I beg to inform you that an article of mine on the Samoan Question appeared in the "New York Times" of December 24th, 1899. I have now the honour to forward the subjoined extracts for your information.

I remain, Yours truly,

J. Grattan Grey.

[From the "New York Times," December 24, 1899.]

"No more unwelcome tidings could have been wafted to Australasia than that Great Britain had come to an arrangement with Germany to hand over to that power the control and management of the lion's share of Samoa. The transfer has occurred at a time when there is little disposition to call into question the wisdom of Great Britain in surrendering Samoa without previously taking the Colonies into her confidence on the question. The outbreak of the Transvaal war has brought with it a tidal wave of Imperialism all over the Colonies of Australasia, and the feeling is so intense that for the moment the Colonists generally are blind to the danger of having a great European power like Germany brought into such close proximity to their shores. Had the proposal been put before them in a time of peace, there would have been a howl of indignation from all the British dependencies in these seas, and a stubborn diplomatic effort to prevent Germany from obtaining the foothold she has gained in Samoa.

"Powerless as the Colonies now are, without any hope of getting the thing undone, a strong undercurrent of feeling prevails that Great Britain has not treated the Australasian Colonies as she ought to have done, and this sense of injustice will become intensified with the restoration of peace and a more thorough realisation of the danger to which Germany's presence as a close and powerful neighbor exposes us. It is well known that Germany's interference in Samoan affairs has always been repugnant to the wishes of the majority of the inhabitants of that country, and no less to Australasians, whose chief desire has ever been to keep foreign European control out of the Southern Pacific as much as possible. To this end, resistance has always been offered against the acquisition of the New Hebrides by France, and, in spite of this, Samoa has been quietly

surrendered to Germany, as an expedient of British policy to cultivate the friendship of that nation in a fleeting emergency.

"The only atom of consolation we can discover in the arrangement is that Tutuila is to be American, and that an alliance between the two great English-speaking nations of the world can at any time minimize the dangers arising from such an undesirable Germanic proximity to our coasts. One immediate effect of the banding over of Samoa to Germany will be this:—It will impress the Colonies with the necessity of inaugurating and gradually perfecting a combined system of defence on land and sea, as well for internal safety as for the protection of their commerce with the outside world, and the insuring of a greater influence in the councils of the mother land."

NOTE.—Nearly three years ago, in the columns of the Melbourne "Age" I warned the Governments of Australasia of the designs of Germany upon Samoa. The substance of that warning was immediately cabled back to New Zealand; and the Premier, on being interviewed by a local press representative pooh poohed the idea, and declared that "there was nothing in it." I pointed out in the "Age" that there could not be the slightest doubt, from information in my possession, that Germany meant to acquire Samoa. That intention was only postponed through the outbreak of the Spanish-American war. So far from there being nothing in the warning, there was unfortunately too much in it, and the surrender of Samoa and its partition between Germany and America have come about exactly as I described in the "Age" nearly three years ago. But for the laissez-faire attitude of Mr. Seddon and similar inactivity on the part of the Governments of Australia, this regrettable consummation would not have happened. A combined and vigorous protest on the part of the Governments of Australasia at that time would have upset the intentions of Germany, because England would never have dared to disregard the wishes of combined Australasia upon a question of such vital importance to these Colonies. As it is, we have now an undesirable neighbour like Germany at our very doors, and to the apathy and want of foresight of those in authority must be attributed this lamentable issue of events.

—J. GRATTAN GREY.

decorative feature

City Printing Coy. (Wright & Genside), FitzGerald's Avenue, Willis Street, Wellington.—April 2, 1900.

Front Cover

God's Work by Restored Apostles. Also An Answer to Bishop Wallis DIOCESE (ANGLICAN) OF WELLINGTON To his Charge of Spiritual Error Against this Work.

Price 6d.

"Watchman, what at the night? Watchman, what of the night? The Watchman said, the morning cometh, and also the night; if ye will expire, enquire ye: return, come."

By J. Moore Ritchie MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL.

Wellington. N.Z. Printed at the EVENING POST OFFICE, Willis Street, and published by J. MOORE RITCHIE, ST. JOHN'S, Coromandel Street. 1900

Preface.

THE author of this pamphlet is alone responsible for its publication. It has no other authority.

The facts given in relation to Divine interference in the Church and the restoration of Ministry as in the beginning, are gathered from living witnesses, the author's own experience, and the writings of some who have fallen asleep.

No attempt is made to defend the people who recognise God's mercy in restoring Apostleship. They know that the charge of "error" brought against them arises through ignorance as to their place in, and relationship to, the Church Universal; and that thereby misapprehension and even prejudice are entertained towards them by their brethren. This position, it is hoped, they are prepared to endure with charity and patience.

Nor is any attempt made to defend the truth. That would be presumption. It is omnipotent, and, sooner or later, will correct error and drive all evil into eternal oblivion. But it is both duty and charity to make prominent neglected or forgotten, yet momentous, aspects of truth. Such are dealt with in this pamphlet.

In the measure that truth is known, and acted upon, is the true stature of manhood attained. All truth is summed up in man—the Man, Christ Jesus.

A portion of this pamphlet forms a comment upon the address given by Bishop Wallis at a meeting of the Wellington; (Anglican) Synod.

For Bishop Wallis as a man, and honoured servant of God, only the highest respect and affection can be held by all who have the pleasure of his acquaintance. It is to be regretted that, under a supposed sense of duty, he has made and published statements that call for correction.

Religious controversy has been called "the scab on the Church." It is at no time desirable, and as far as the

subject will permit, has been avoided.

For the sake of convenience the subject-matter has been divided into three parts, viz.:—

- Bishop Wallis's address, followed by a comment showing misconceptions on his part.
- A sketch of the condition of the Church, past and present: as indicating the necessity for a continued, I or for restored Apostleship.
- Evidence of the restoration of Apostles and other Ministries, Sacraments, Gifts, and Ordinances, as all the beginning.

The writer, in view of rapidly-approaching judgments on the Church and Christendom, will be pleased to communicate I with any who desire to learn more about the facts stated.

J. Moore Ritchie,
St. John's,

Coromandel Street, Wellington, N.Z.

August, 1900.

God's Work by Restored Apostles,—Also—An Answer to Bishop Wallis' Charge Against This Work of Spiritual Error.

"Five years ago I solemnly declared in this Church that I was ready with all faithful diligence to banish and drive away all erroneous and strange doctrine contrary to God's Word, the Lord being my helper. I am bound, therefore, by a most solemn obligation to warn you, teachers and representatives of the Church of Christ in this land, against a serious error which has spread, and may yet spread more widely, among members of our own body; I do not think it at all likely to affect our brothers of Briber Christian denominations."

These words were spoken in the address delivered by the Bishop presiding at the "opening of the Second Session of the fifteenth Synod of the (Anglican) Diocese of Wellington, in St. Paul's Pro-Cathedral, on the evening of Wednesday, 27th June, 1900."

Such expressions from a Bishop of the Anglican communion, and under the circumstances in which they were uttered, demand the most careful consideration of every thoughtful Christian. They suggest that the speaker, labouring under the responsibility of his office, appeared to discern dangers of the gravest character threatening the Christian Church.

What he considered these dangers to be, he described in terse language in his address, the substance of which follows:—

[For convenience in reference, the various points of the Bishop's address have been numbered.]

During the last two years, in this province, although not in this Diocese, Churchmen have been admitted to Holy Orders by persons popularly known as "Irvingites," and I grave violations of Church order have been committed, of which many of you are aware. I wish to speak of this party with the greatest possible tenderness. It numbers amongst its members three or four of our most devoted and unselfish Churchworkers. With several of its leaders I have had frequent conversations, and I believe that they are earnestly I striving to follow the leading of the Holy Spirit. I trust that in nothing that I shall say to-night I shall misrepresent their teaching, and so put a new obstacle in the way of their return to us.

It is but just to state that they have always vigorously repudiated the title "Irvingite," which partly for lack of a short and intelligible designation, and partly on account of I a misunderstanding of their history, has been (1st) generally applied to them. It was in the church served by the Reverend Edward Irving, a Presbyterian minister (*) of the Established Church of Scotland, that the supposed gifts of prophecy and tongues were publicly exercised, and this occurrence naturally had a strong and permanent influence on the so-called Irvingites, who believed in the reality of these gifts; but Mr. Irving was never recognised by them as a leader. The name by which they have registered themselves is the "Catholic Apostolic Church," but here again I am bound in justice to them to add that they do not presume to assert that they, and they only, belong to that Church, which they define as "the company of all who are baptised in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." They claim to be a part only of this company, and that part which is most in harmony with the will of God. "walking in holiness and righteousness," "receiving all the true creeds of the Church, (‡)

and all its sacraments and true doctrines, and combining into one all that is elsewhere held in separation." Since then they obviously need to be distinguished from other members of the Church of Christ, and the name Catholic Apostolic Church does not distinguish them, we may, perhaps, speak of them under a title which I know to be acceptable to some at least of their number, "Adherents of the Restored Apostolate."

(2nd) For this is their Cardinal Doctrine, that in these last days twelve Apostles have been raised up to succeed the Apostles of old, or rather the twelve who were the first Apostles. These new Apostles are appointed "to be the heads under Christ, and supreme rulers of the Catholic Church; to be the fountains and the teachers of the doctrine of the Church; and lastly, to bestow the Holy Ghost by the laying on of their hands, whether for sealing all who believe, or for ordaining the ministers of the House of God." They are distinguished from all other ministers by this that they "are neither of men, nor by man; but by Jesus Christ and God the Father, sent forth immediately and directly." Since Apostles are "necessary to the true growth of the Church," it is held that the sin of man prevailed to defeat God's purposes, and that for this reason the Church has been without Apostles from the end of the first century to the beginning of the nineteenth. Meanwhile "a measure of the Holy Ghost has been given by the laying on of bishop's hands, and grace has been (†) bestowed in the Sacraments, administered by those whom they ordain." But those Sacraments, "being now administered by men who received their commission through inferior means, and unto a people who, as a body, could not be receiving the full measure of the Holy Ghost—seeing that the ordained channel for that end was lacking—having ceased to be the living realities they were intended to be—the faith, which in its wane could not retain the principal ministries of the Church, was insufficient to apprehend the full blessing in the Sacraments." [unclear: (3rd)] Accordingly our own priests are invited to submit to a [unclear: rite] prescribed in the Liturgy for "Confirming the Orders of [unclear: such] as have been ordained Priests by the Laying-on of hands of the Bishop." It is there declared that "the due order and perfect way of God, in calling and admitting men to the order of the priesthood, is that they should be designated and called by the word of the Holy Ghost, through the ordinance of the prophet; and afterwards be ordained by the laying-on of the hands of Apostles or their delegates, God hath, however, revealed to us that, in mercy to His Church, He hath been pleased, since the absence of Apostles, to ordain men, both to the priesthood and to the episcopate, by the hands of bishops; thus . . . ensuring the continuance of the Church, until He might again restore Apostles and confirm through their ministry those things which have been done to His glory during their absence." The priest who comes to receive confirmation of his Orders has to declare that he is fully persuaded that he has already been truly and validly ordained. He is asked "Do you confess your own shortcoming in the grace of the priestly office through the omission of (God's) ordinances?" His reply has to be, "I acknowledge and confess these ordinances, and confess my own shortcoming in my office through the omission of them." and he further has to promise that he "will receive and obey the doctrine and commandment of the Apostles."

(4th) The Liturgy contains also an "Order for the Laying-on of Apostles' Hands" upon those who have been baptised; but no indication is there given, that any gift of the Holy Ghost has been imparted by the laying-on of the Bishop's hands in Confirmation.

(5th) So stupendous a claim as that made by these new Apostles, or by others on their behalf, has never been offered for acceptance by Christian men, with the single exception of the claim of the Bishop of Rome, since the close of the New Testament Canon. (6th) Who are these Apostles? When and how were they appointed? What are their credentials?

(7th) It was not unnatural in the early part of this century for men to read a prophecy of the Lord's speedy return in the events of that time. The horrors of the French Revolution of 1792, the struggles of the first Napoleon for universal dominion and the agitations which afterwards culminated in the many revolutions of 1848, inclined many thoughtful persons to believe that the great apostacy was at hand which should precede Christ's final coming. Surely at such a crisis the Lord would visit His people and speak strength and comfort to the remnant which trusted in Him. In the years 1832 to 1835 it was believed that this had come to pass. Twelve men were pointed out as Apostles by the "word of prophecy," that is by the Holy Ghost speaking through the lips of men; and on the 14th July, 1835, finally "separated" for their ministry. Christendom was declared by another utterance of the same "word" to consist of twelve tribes, each of which was assigned to an apostle. England and the United States were the tribe of Judah, Scotland and Switzerland together made up the tribe of Benjamin. From these tribes the Apostles were to gather the one hundred and forty and four thousand mentioned in the Revelation of St. John, and to seal them on their foreheads, that they might be delivered from the great tribulation. All these Apostles have died but one, (8th) Francis Woodhouse, who must now be a very old man. The promise of obedience "to the doctrine and commandment of the Apostles" means therefore now obedience to the directions of a single man.

What proofs of this apostleship are offered? For to those who know and love the Lord Jesus Christ it is simply incredible (9th) that, having given us no warning in the written Word of what He was about to do, but having promised that (10th) the Spirit should abide with us for ever. He should suddenly entrust to a band of

men the guidance (B) and government of His Church with authority to decide doubts and controversies; and should withhold from His people signs whereby they might be recognised. Remember, it is not urged that these Apostles merely fulfil such an "Elias ministry" as was; foretold in Malachi iv., 5, 6; (c) and, as many have thought! by our Lord Himself (Mark ix., 12). They are sent not merely to prepare the Church for His last coming; they are not simple messengers, but (D) rulers with supreme power, whom to ignore and disobey is treason to the Church's Head.

(11th) What then are the signs of these Apostles? Not miracles, it is answered; these may be shown to the heathen, I but not to Christians. The matter is "not to be degraded into an affair of signs and wonders as if we were unspiritual, unbaptised. Jews and heathens;" the only signs that are given are the speaking with tongues and prophesying. May we look to the deeds or words of the Apostles? I know of book of their Acts; and in the Great Testimony which there have composed, apart from such sentences as those I have already quoted, there is hardly anything which has not been spoken and believed by ourselves and many others. (12th) What test can we apply? Only, I think, the words of their prophets. For if prophesying is one of the signs given, and if it was by the word of prophecy that the Apostles were shown to be from God, then in the words of the prophets we may hope to find a test of the truth of their claims. You can read these words for yourselves in accounts given by others of the "Adherents of the Restored Apostolate," or better still, in the volumes of the Angels' Record, which can be obtained from members of that body. I shrink from giving pain to some whom my words may reach, by reading and criticising before you what they believe to be the direct utterances of the Holy Spirit of God. You can read the words for yourselves, and decide whether as regards insight into God's ways they are worthy to be ranked with the words of the writers of the New Testament, or even with those of the great spiritual leaders of this century.

Let me add two things more.

(14th) First, the Adherents of the Restored Apostolate are in reality a distinct body. Although in our country districts, where their numbers are few, they allow and even encourage their fellow-adherents to take part in the worship of our Church, yet in large towns they meet in a building of their own, and use their own forms of prayer. Where their number is small, they are loyal members of (15th) the Church; where it is large, they separate themselves from us. They have in no way fulfilled their hope of (16th) helping forward the union of Christians, for which they and we alike pray. They do not call Christians of various bodies to a neutral ground where they may (17th) stand side by side, nor do they offer us great truths (18th) which will reconcile and include the various truths we hold separately. Their doctrines approximate most closely (19th) to those of the Tractarians, with the beginning of whose movement the beginning of their own synchronised. They condemn the distinctive tenets of the Church of Rome and of the Churches of the East; they acknowledge no man as validly ordained unless he has received the laying on of the hands of Bishop or Angel; they teach the Baptism of infants.

(20th) Secondly, their teaching obviously leads those of our clergy who accept it to undervalue the unspeakably precious gifts they have received at their Ordination in comparison with the new gift which the Apostles or their delegates are empowered to bestow; and to attribute, as we have seen, their shortcomings, in part at least, to the lack of this gift. And if these clergy are faithful to their new leaders, they are bound in conscience to do all in their power to bring the children whom they have prepared for Confirmation to receive a gift far greater than Confirmation can bring, bestowed in the laying on of the Apostles' hands.

I have tried to speak with the greatest possible fairness of this movement which has lately begun among us, quoting in all cases from their own writings for the doctrines taught by the so-called Irvingites. I trust I have spoken with gentleness also.

(21st) Had we ourselves believed less in human systems, and more in the continual presence of God the Holy Ghost in His Church, the trouble might have never arisen.

The lessons which I think God means us to learn from this movement are to ponder more diligently the prophetic portions of the Bible, after our forefathers' example; to keep constantly in our hearts the solemn truth that the Lord will come suddenly and may come soon; and to watch and pray always that we may be accounted worthy to escape all the things that shall come to pass, and to stand before the Son of Man.

In the historical part of this address there is not much that exception can be taken to, but several points maybe indicated:—

1st. The Bishop appears to be not well-acquainted with the history of the work that he criticises.

He assumes that events connected with its origin began with, or in the congregation of the Rev. Edward Irving, Presbyterian minister, of London. This is a common error. (*)

The first events that may be said to have had a direct bearing upon the work which followed, were spiritual utterances heard among members of a Roman Catholic church in Karlshuld, Bavaria. January, 1828. The pastor, or priest, in charge was Johan E. J. Lutz.

About two years afterwards (1830) utterances of a similar character were heard among members of the

Established Church of Scotland, at Port Glasgow, on the Clyde.

Again, in 1831, the wife of a solicitor, member of the congregation of the Rev. Baptist Noel, Church of England, spoke in prophecy; and, still later, members of Mr. Irving's congregation (Regent Square. London), as well as other people in different denominations, exhibited similar spiritual manifestations.

But these details only affect the matter as showing that the work did not begin in the congregation of nor with the person whose name is so generally attached to it.

2nd. The Bishop affirms that the "Cardinal Doctrine" of this people is that "twelve Apostles have been raised up to succeed the Apostles of old," et seq. This statement is presumably a lapsus on his part.

The people referred to most certainly believe that the Lord is again manifested in an Apostolate as in the beginning; but the doctrines held by them as "Cardinal" are those held by the Church Universal, and expressed in the three creeds known as the "Apostles'," "Nicene," and "Athenasian," or, as the Bishop in the earlier part of his address quotes, "receiving all true creeds of the Church." (‡)

3rd. When priests ordained by Bishops desire to serve as ministers under restored Apostles, it becomes necessary before being so used that they have their orders confirmed by Apostolic benediction. In no other case is such benediction given to the clergy.

4th. Candidates for sealing, by the laying on of Apostles' hands, are taught that a measure of the Holy Spirit is given to all who are confirmed by the hands of a Bishop (see Bishop's quotation †), but not the full Apostolic measure, which can be given only by Apostles or those directly delegated by them.

5th. These claims may appear what the Bishop terms "stupendous," but they simply mean that the authority of a restored Apostleship is the same as that claimed for the first twelve. This position is only logical, and if it be proved that such a restoration has taken place, what rest, gratitude, and joyful obedience should be the result.

6th. Who these Apostles are, their credentials and appointment, will be considered in the latter part of this pamphlet.

7th. This paragraph records some very startling *facts*, and yet not so startling as the circumstances would have been, had the Lord not interfered.

When the characters of the persons whose minds were exercised by the events referred to are taken into consideration, as well as the events themselves, the fact that becomes startling is that so few to-day know anything, or so little, about a movement comprehending with its catholic spirit and order what many Christians desire (and have been seeking) as a means of bringing unity and peace to the Church.

8th. The fact of only one of the twelve restored Apostles being left (and he an aged man) is suggested as a difficulty. But if the previous statements concerning this ministry be true, where is the difficulty of discerning in that "very old man" the grace of Apostleship. Is his case very different to that of the Apostle John in his later years? Nor, it is to be feared, his treatment either. St. John complained of a bishop of his day, one Diotrephes,

(a) 3 Epis. John v., 9, 10.

refusing his Apostolic rule; and, at an earlier period, St. Paul made complaints of similar treatment from others

(b) 2nd Tim, i., 15: iv.. 10.

9th. But what is referred to as specially "incredible," is that no Divine warning is given concerning the restoration of Apostleship. This, if true, may be incredible to some, and yet it would not be without precedent. Two examples may suffice.

When the Lord chose his twelve He gave not the slightest intimation that He intended to choose other seventy, and yet we find such a ministry chosen and sent forth with much the same credentials as the twelve had (before our Lord's resurrection), and doing very similar work, but under slightly different circumstances
Luke x., 1-17

More remarkable still was the appointment of Barnabas and Saul to the Apostleship

Acts xiii., 1-3; xiv., 14.

. After Judas fell, the Apostolate was completed by the appointment of Matthias to take his place. The promise that the Apostles were to "sit on twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel"

Matt, xix., 28.

, suggests the thought that the Apostolic College was then complete. Yet, some years afterwards. Barnabas and Saul were added without any previous intimation. Paul's call to this ministry is rendered more remarkable both by his statement that he was "as one born out of due time"

1st Cor. xv., 8.

—Ektroma (margin, "abortive")—as though his Apostleship indicated some future aspect of the Lord's work to the Gentiles (to whom he was the Apostle)—and also by his saying that he was "not one whit behind the very chiefest Apostles"

2nd Cor. xi.,5.

Is the action of the Lord in manifesting Himself in an Apostolate in our days more incredible than His adding these two men—Barnabas and Saul—to the first twelve, thus making fourteen in their days? Of the two circumstances, the restoration of this ministry in our days might be supposed to be the more needed, inasmuch as there is a great necessity for a Divinely appointed central authority for government and appeal. Barnabas' and Saul's election to the Apostleship does not appear to have been needed to provide such government in their days, as it already existed in the twelve.

But to come back to the Bishop's statement that the Lord has "given no warning in the written word of what He was about to do," et seq. (i.e., restore the Apostolate)—is this correct? Some discern many warnings, or rather promises, of such a restoration. One reference has been quoted by the Bishop (Mark ix., 12).

In the last words of the Old Testament Scriptures it was promised through the prophet Malachi—"Behold, I will send you Elijah the prophet before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord; and he shall turn the heart of the fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to their fathers, lest I come and smite the earth with a curse "

Mal. iv., 5.

Our Lord (Mark ix., 12) connects the promise of Elijah's coming with the ministry of John the Baptist. This is made plain by comparing Matt. xvii., 12, and Matt. xi., 13, 14. His words in the latter passage are:—"For all the prophets and the law prophesied until John. And if ye will receive it, this is Elias, which was for to come." The angel also, who prophesied of John's birth, said—"He (John) shall go before Him (Jesus) in the spirit and power of Elias, to turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the disobedient to the wisdom of the just; to make ready a people prepared for the Lord"

Luke i., 17.

This Elias ministry was fulfilled in John in so far as he, (" the messenger before the Lord")

Mark i., 2.

, prepared a people for Christ at His first advent. But our Lord also referred to another and subsequent form of this Elias ministry, which was to precede and prepare for His second advent. When asked by His disciples about the coming of Elias, He answered, "Elias truly shall come first and restore all things"

Matt, xvii., 2.

This restoration, according to Malachi and the prophecy of the Angel to Zacharias, was to be a means of "preparing" people for the Lord;" and was to be connected with, and to precede, the great and dreadful day of the Lord.

Such a ministry is also distinctly pointed to in the parable of the Ten Virgins

Matt xxv., 1-13.

The key to the understanding of the times of application of that parable is in the first-word of the chapter. "Then"—that is, having immediate relation to the time of the Bridegroom's coming—is found a people, symbolised by the number of the Kingdom, all of whom are looking and waiting in hope for the coming Bridegroom. They all have lamps (Psalm cxix., 105), but five lack the necessary measure of oil. Spiritual slumber overtakes them. During slumber a Messenger, going before the Bridegroom, sounds forth the cry—"Behold, the Bridegroom cometh." Afterwards the foolish virgins discover their lack of oil, and are directed to them who apply (or minister) what they need, but are too late.

There are many to-day who have heard the cry. Some of them suppose that they have all they require in the lamp. Others have discerned a special ministry (sent ones, i.e., Apostles) and means of preparation, and have sought for and received the fuller measure of oil. Through this ministry there has been a restoration of all that the Church has lacked, since the ministry of the first Apostles ceased to be manifested: and by this means a people (firstfruits) are being prepared to meet the Lord at His coming.

10th.

John xvi., 14.

It is true that, according to our Lord's promise, the Holy Spirit has been ever with the Church. This truth every baptised believer realises in his experience: but what are the instruments by which He is to testify to the Lordship of the Son, and to lead the saints on to perfection) Are they not "Apostles, Prophets, Evangelists, Pastors, and Teachers?" These are the gifts of Jesus to that end

Ephes. iv., 11-16. (1) 1st Cor. xii.—Nine gifts of the Spirit are mentioned. Gal. v., 22, 23—Nine fruits of the Spirit are mentioned.

If, as is affirmed, some of these ministries were intended to cease in the early age of the Church (the

Scriptures give no such intimation), who is going to draw the line as to what were to cease and when? The Plymouthists say that since the first Apostles fell asleep, they having fulfilled their purpose, all official ministry ceased: and that now the Holy Spirit is in the Church lead into all truth by ministration through every member of the Body. This, if logical from their standpoint, is simply spiritual anarchy. But is any other section of the Church on this matter much nearer the truth?

(B) The government of the Church is entrusted to some "band" or bands of men (whether Divinely authorised or not is another question), which use authority to decide doubts: certainly not without controversy. No common centre of appeal is recognised by the whole Church, except the written word, which each denomination interprets its own way. The result is the present divided and painful state of the Church Universal.

(C) Whether the restored Apostles fulfil the "Elias" ministry as foretold in Malachi iv., 5, 6 (and commented upon by our Lord, Matt, xvii., 11), is a question that can only be decided by the results of their ministry. The work is not done in a corner, and the facts concerning God's operations in and by it are not to be lightly disputed, and invite the closest honest investigation.

(D) If the restored Apostles are Messengers from God, to "ignore or disobey" them is indeed treason to the Church's Head.

John xiii., 20.

But this is equally true of all Messengers sent by God, whatever their mission may be: how solemn a thought is this!

11th. The signs of the restored Apostleship should be such as are peculiar to the Apostolic office or ministry.

The gifts of the Spirit (1) were among the signs that should follow them that believe. They were distributed severally to all members of the Body, therefore are never advanced either by the Scriptures or those gathered under restored Apostles as proofs that the possessors of them are Apostles.

e.g. Philip, who was a Deacon, did many wonderful works when preaching to the Samaritans, but could not fulfil the Apostolic act of conveying the Holy Ghost to the converts whom he had baptised

Acts viii.

If then these gifts be the inheritance of all the baptised they cannot be the distinctive signs of Apostleship. A time is spoken of

Matt, xxiv., 24

, and possibly upon us, when the powers of evil, by mighty signs and wonders, shall seduce from the truth, those who regard such signs as evidences of Divine power and authority. A restored Apostleship is one of God's means of protecting His people from these Satanic deceptions.

12th. Too great care cannot be used in the judgment of what is professedly the voice of the Holy Ghost in prophecy. Paul's warning to "despise not prophesyings" is as necessary to-day—possibly more so—than when uttered. The "stammering lips and other tongue;" with precept upon precept, little by little—at: Isaiah

Isa. xxviii., 11.

prophesied would be the means by which the Lord would lead His people—seems, where manifested, to be a stumbling block and offence to many.

But the experience of over 70 years has demonstrated, to those who have given heed, that the Holy Ghost, the Comforter, speaks again through prophets as of old.

The prophetic gift, any more than any of the other eight, is not a test of the restoration of Apostles

Mk. xvi., 17.

. It existed long after the death of the first fourteen

Spiritual gifts continued in the Church till the century.

, and was manifested at least seven years before the restoration of Apostles in these days

See "Narrative of Kurlshuld."

Prophecy is a gift that all may desire. But the person manifesting this gift is not to be the interpreter or judge of what the Holy Ghost through him is speaking to the Church

1st Cor. xiv., 1-31.

Sometimes evil spirits imitate the Divine afflatus, and warnings are given in the Scriptures concerning them, and means for their discernment

1st John iv., 1-3.

By a clear apprehension of the credentials and functions of Apostles, it is possible to determine the signs of their ministry.

As has been quoted, their credentials are that they are neither of men nor by men, but by Jesus Christ and God the Father, sent forth immediately and directly
Gal. i., 1.

The credentials of the first twelve involved more than this. In the choice of one in the place of Judas, Peter stated "that of these men which have companied with us all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and out among us, beginning from the baptism of John, unto that same day that He was taken up from us, must one be ordained to be a witness with us of His resurrection"

Acts i., 21-26.

Barnabas and Saul had no such credentials. Paul certainly had not companied with the disciples during the time referred to, and there is no evidence of Barnabas having seen the Lord at any time.

At what time these two men were called to be Apostles there is nothing to show. Some think that it was about twelve years after the day of Pentecost. Their work as Apostles appears to have begun after their separation to the work, as recorded in Acts xiii., 1.

Apostolic functions are as clearly indicated in the Scriptures as are their credentials:—

- Apostles ordained all ministers. The only ministers chosen by the people were deacons. When the first seven were elected they were brought before the Apostles, who ordained them by the laying on of their hands
Acts vi., 6.
. Presbyters or elders were chosen and ordained by Apostles
Acts xiv., 23.
, but it was first indicated by the voice of the Holy Spirit, through prophets, who were to be elders
1st Tim i., 18; iv., 14.
- The Apostles conveyed the gift of the Holy Spirit or sealed those who were baptised
Acts xiv., 6.
. By this act the disciples received the earnest of their inheritance
Ephes. i., 13, 14.
, and evidence of the power received was manifest in the gifts of the Spirit.
- They were judges and ministers of discipline and correction in the Church Universal, all other ministers being subject to them
1st Cor. v., 5; 1st Tim. i., 20.
- They were the Wise Master Builders who prepared the "living stones" for their places in "that Holy Temple, a dwelling-place for God"
1st Cor. iii., 10-16; 1st Peter ii., 5.

These are Apostolic credentials, and, in condensed form, some of their functions.

Whether such "signs" as may be discerned in the fulfilment of these functions, are found in the restored Apostleship, is for inquirers to discover.

Those who know most about the matter affirm with heartfelt gratitude that all the signs and grace of the Apostolic minister are present and experienced.

14th. What the Bishop would imply by saying that those gathered under restored Apostles are "a distinct body," appears to be that they are not specially joined to some sect or denomination which is divided from, and at variance with, the other sects or denominations.

As our Lord and His disciples were neither Pharisees, Sadducees, Essenes, nor Herodians, but simply members of the commonwealth of Israel, so this people recognise neither Paul, Apollos, Cephas, nor even Christ in division, but are members of that one Body composed of all who are baptised into the Name of the Holy Trinity. "By one Spirit we are all baptised into one Body"(1).

The use of the designation Catholic Apostolic Church does not (as the Bishop quotes) imply that they alone compose that Church, nor that they claim any special right to the name in contrast to their brethren; but is a protest against all sectarianism, and the only name that comprehends all Christians. If any of the baptised choose to particularise themselves by some name implying a difference, then the responsibility is their own.

15th. It is true that those gathered under restored Apostles form separate congregations. This arose in the first instance from the action of the various denominations. Any persons who recognised the restoration of Apostles as the work of God were "put out of the synagogues," and were refused all church fellowship.

Thus were the homeless ones driven to seek shelter, ministry, and blessing elsewhere.

But it may be answered, now that these restrictions have been largely removed, there is not the same necessity for separate congregations.

As previously shown, to join any sect or body would be to deny the catholicity of the Church. Those gathered under restored Apostles appreciate the privilege of communion with their brethren, whilst protesting against their divisions.

16th. How far the Lord by His special work has helped forward the "union of Christians" depends upon (a) how far His people have discerned it to be His work; (b) how far they have been faithful to his revealed mind and purpose.

Any special work of God produces a double result upon the observer—(a) the revealing of the hearts of His people, i.e., the discovering how far they desire His interference, or to follow their own ways; (b) the discovering and gathering together of those who are willing to "follow the Lamb whithersoever He goeth." These latter people become recipients of a special measure of the grace of God, and thereby are enabled to help their brethren as they could not otherwise have done.

John the Baptist (an aspect of the Elias ministry) did not succeed in preparing Israel to meet the Messiah: but in his case, as also by restored Apostles, a witness was, and is, being given as to the means of unity and preparation for the fulfilment of God's purpose.

In the present work, a firstfruits are being gathered—an earnest of the great harvest to follow, and which is to be gathered under very different circumstances.

17th. These truths are of the utmost moment; therefore Christians of every denomination have been, and are, invited to discuss them from the "neutral standpoint" of the Scriptures.

18th. If there are aspects of truth more than others calculated to bring about the unity of the Church, they are contained in that "Blessed hope and the glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ"*, and in the restoration of the ministry for the preparation of the Church to meet her Lord with joy at His coming.

It is too evident to all spiritual observers that the Church as a whole, in her present schismatic condition, does not desire, and is altogether unprepared for, such a consummation; nor, indeed, is any denomination prepared for, even if, as is the case, some are expecting. His coming.

19th. The Bishop would trace in this work under restored Apostles "some resemblance to the late Tractarian movement." The leaders of that movement sought for some ground of unity between the greater divisions of the Church, and also endeavoured to get churchmen to apprehend the deeper mysteries of the Sacraments. But whilst the present work aims at these amongst many other objects, it shows that the means of attainment is not by compromise, urging the claims of some particular denomination, nor any wisdom of man, but by the restoration of the one hope, and also ministry given by our Lord at the beginning. Such a thought seems never to have entered the minds of the Tractarians.

20th. It is charged against this work that it causes clergy who receive it to undervalue the "unspeakably precious gifts they have received at their ordination."

In answer to this, one of two things must be true—either that a full Apostolic measure of grace is conveyed by Episcopal ordination, or a lesser measure.

The Bishop evidently does not believe that a measure equal to that claimed for the first twelve (or fourteen) is given. Such a claim he regards as "stupendous."

Then only by the restoration of a ministry having powers equal to the first Apostles can the larger be given, and this must include and confirm the lesser Episcopal measure.

This is also true of sealing by the laying on of Apostles' hands. (See Bishop's quotation†.)

21st. It is indeed true that had the Church realised as she ought to have done the continual presence in her midst of the Holy Spirit, she would have permitted His voice to have been heard through the prophets, and thus have had continual light to lead her. His testimony ever is the Lordship of Jesus as her Head: not only as Bishop, but also as the Apostle and High Priest of her profession. As Israel had the Urim and Thummim—light and judgment—so the Lord gave the Church prophets and apostles, counsellors and judges, for rule and ministry till He came.

The loss of these is the cause of the confusion and weakness everywhere manifest. Only by their restoration and recognition can the Church be healed. Then through His Apostles—sent ones—will Jesus again be discerned as the Master over His own house.

Now that the various points touched upon by the Bishop have been considered, it is difficult to discover the need for the strong assertions and warnings given in the opening sentences of his address.

It is evident that his limited knowledge of the work criticised has led him into grave misconceptions of its character and authority.

The doctrines quoted by him as held by this people are those held by the Church Universal.

Their recognised ministry is that found in the Church in her primitive condition, and as given by the Lord Jesus for the perfecting of the saints.

Their recognition of spiritual gifts, tried by the Scriptural test (*), are those promised to believers and manifested through the seal of the Holy Ghost.

What the Bishop appears to take exception to, is that which he defines (mistakenly) as "their Cardinal Doctrine." That is, the claim that the Lord Jesus—"the Apostle and High Priest of our profession"—as a "Son over His own house," has specially interfered to put His house in order. That members of the Body of Christ (represented by Apostles and Prophets), long inactive, and powers of the Spirit, long latent, should again, by the impartation of fresh spiritual vitality, become active and manifest, appears to him to be "stupendous" and "incredible."

Christians have become so familiar with schism and confusion as to have practically lost sight of the "One Body," and to suppose that the existing conditions must be according to the mind of the Lord. Where there is some idea of catholicity it is too often expressed, by word and action, in hoping for, striving to, and supposing that, eventually all other sects will be absorbed into some pet denomination.

If these comments upon the Bishop's address are necessarily in some measure controversial, they are tendered in the kindest spirit.

It is hoped that they, and the matter which follows, will help to correct common misconceptions held by the Bishop and many earnest Christians concerning the work of God.

Whilst all admit that the Church as a whole is in a deplorable condition, and that in every denomination there is room for much improvement, they suppose that if matters are allowed to follow their natural course, gradually there will be evolved the desired end.

When such thoughts or hopes are held, no necessity can be discerned for any special intervention of God in His Church.

Any evidence adduced to prove such interference, is either ignored or explained away.

In the following pages, First—a rapid glance will be taken at some of the more salient points of Church history, in which it will be shown that not only have bishops failed to keep unity, but in nearly all cases, were the cause of the schism that divides the Church. Secondly—Evidence, with which most people are not familiar, will be given to prove that the Lord, in love and mercy, has intervened in the present condition of the Church, and restored the only means by which her unity may be brought about. Whilst, for reasons to be shown, that end has not been accomplished, an important end has been, by which the Church shall be led on till she arrives at unity.

In Adam and Eve God shadowed forth His great purpose in Christ and the Church.

Adam was created to be God's vicegerent on earth, and to him was given dominion over every creature. In this rule Eve—bone of his bone and flesh of his flesh—was partner and helpmeet. These, by disobedience, forfeited their place and lost dominion and the Kingdom.

To the "last Adam"—God's incarnate Son—was committed authority to redeem the forfeited dominion and Kingdom for man and thus establish God's eternal purpose.

As it is written of the Son, "A body hast Thou prepared Me—Lo I come to do Thy will, O God." And again, "Thy throne. O God, is for ever and ever, A sceptre of righteousness is the sceptre of Thy Kingdom."

The Son, according to the good pleasure of His will, from eternity chose certain members of the human family to be fellow heirs with Him in His Kingdom.

They who are called to this honour comprise all who are baptised in the name of the Holy Trinity, irrespective of time, place, or people. Their attainment to the place unto which they are called depends upon their using the means that will make their "calling and election sure."

Of the Kingdom of the Saints it is declared "the Kingdom and I dominion, and the greatness of the Kingdom under the whole heaven shall be given to the Saints of the Most High, whose Kingdom is an everlasting Kingdom, and all dominions shall serve and obey Him."

This is the inheritance of the Church—the Second Eve.

By the incarnation of the Son of God (who becomes thereby the last Adam) she is made "bone of His bone and flesh of His flesh." and to be His Bride and helpmeet.

Before her Lord went away to "prepare a place" for her, He promised to return again to take her to be with Him.

During His absence she is to witness on earth to His resurrection and power, and to be a minister of His grace and health to sin-stricken, suffering humanity.

A stranger in a strange land, she is to be in the world as her Lord was.

She is to endure being misunderstood, and to suffer in humility and patience; to show the spirit of love and beneficence, even to those who revile and persecute her.

To enable her to fulfil her ministry and witness, the Holy Spirit is given to abide with her. He is to comfort, enlighten, and aid her to make intercession for all. Apostles, Prophets, Evangelists, and Pastors are given to nurture, instruct, and guide by the Holy Spirit into all truth, and prepare her to be presented as a chaste virgin to

be the Bride of Christ at His coming.

The "blessed hope" placed before her therefore is the "glorious appearing of the great God and her Saviour Jesus Christ." Not till then is "mortality swallowed up of life," and "the promises made to the fathers fulfilled," and salvation realised.

For this consummation not only the Church, but every creature, is waiting in expectancy. Then shall the nations of the earth be saved. Then shall righteousness cover the earth as the waters cover the seas, and all shall know the Lord, from the least even to the greatest.

Whilst her judges and counsellors (Apostles and Prophets) lived, this hope remained firm, and for several centuries afterwards it continued to give strength to persecuted Christians, and enabled martyrs to endure their torments, not accepting of life in the hope of the "better resurrection." But gradually hope and patience failed—self-seeking men and "wolves in sheep's clothing" crept into the Church, bringing error, confusion, and many commotions.

Heresies and schisms, kept in check with difficulty during the Apostles' lifetime, in their absence became numerous and daring. The judges (Apostles) having passed away, there remained no central court of appeal. Councils of Bishops were called, but generally the determinations of these Councils tended rather to increase the confusion and schisms than diminish them.

The Church, in her emergency, with enemies around and traitors within, appealed to the civil power in the person of the Roman Emperor Constantine, an unbaptised man, who at her expressed desire, became the President of her Councils. She, who was elected to be the Bride of the Lamb, chose to form an adulterous relationship with the kings of the earth. What a rapid decrease of faith and hope is pictured here!

The Gospel of the Kingdom and the Coming of the Lord gradually ceased to be preached, and she herself narrowly escaped becoming Arian and denying the Lord that bought her.

Conscience stricken fear took the place of love and hope. A theory of the Lord's coming as *Judge* at some long distant day and of the general resurrection was retained and taught; and men said on Sundays, "I believe . . . He shall come again to judge the quick and the dead." But the Coming of the *Judge* is not what men *hoped* for: and they also said, "I look for the resurrection of the dead and the life of the world to come," but they ceased to look for the resurrection *from* the dead: and the life of the world to come became to them the place and state the soul went to after its separation from the body.

In the VI. Century the great controversy between the Bishops of Rome and Constantinople as to supremacy began. This controversy continued with great bitterness till the XIV. Century, when the contending Bishops excommunicated each other; and thus the great schism that divided the Western and Eastern Churches was consummated.

Various circumstances favoured Rome, and she rapidly increased in power. In her assumption of supremacy she said—"There is but one name in the world, and that is the Pope; he only can use the ornaments of Empire; all princes ought to kiss his feet; he only can nominate and displace Bishops and assemble and dissolve Councils. Nobody can judge him; his mere election constitutes him a saint; he has never erred, and never shall err in time to come; he can depose princes, and release subjects from their oaths of fidelity!"

This assumption as supreme bishop rested professedly on the "Petrine" claim, and upon the promise of our Lord that the presence of the Holy Spirit would not allow the gates of hell to prevail against the Church, and would lead her into all truth.

By these expressions it is explained that the Church in Council could not err, but through her head, the Pope, speaking *ex cathedra*, was infallible.

These claims of Rome were admitted at some time by every section of the pre-Reformation Church.

When the Church ceased to preach the Gospel of the Kingdom and the Coming of Christ, the form of her teaching was, that the preaching of the Gospel would be the means of the rapid conversion of the world and preparation for the coming *Judge*; at Whose Coming all the righteous would be gathered into the Church and the others consigned to endless woe. She also began to interpret the Messianic prophecies which spoke of the glories of the Kingdom of God, as applying to the Church during her earthly sojourn and in the absence of her Lord and King.

The XV. Century was noted for another great schism, more comprehensive and far-reaching in its results than that between the Eastern and Western Churches. The *Reformation* in its upheaval of religious thought, not only was the means of making prominent forgotten and hidden aspects of Divine truth, but also brought to the surface a latent and lawless condition of spirit that startled Christendom and endangered all rule and authority. Evil spirits stirred up the passions and avarice of the masses, leading them to the committal of every excess. The Church of Rome had long bound men's reason, conscience, and judgment, the results of which were now being made manifest. Contending parties hurled at each other epithets of the coarsest and most opprobrious character, and charged those who differed from them with the most dishonest motives; professedly acting for the honour of God, and as being guided by His Spirit.

It is to be observed here that each party, from opposite standpoints, were professedly contending for pure Christianity, and desired that the Church should be brought back to her primitive or virgin condition.

An opportunity was really then afforded to Christendom of seeking for God's aid and interference, and for His restoration of the ministry which the Lord gave in the beginning for the perfecting of the saints and the union of the Church. But instead of doing this, the opposing parties, for protection of their positions, appealed and became subject to the civil princes, rendering their Babylonish captivity more absolute.

Rome at an early period appealed to the civil powers to deal with "refractory heretics for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit might peradventure be saved, yet though as by fire." The reformed churches, in the name of discipline and for the suppression of heresy, also persecuted those who refused to conform to their doctrines, and handed them over to the civil powers to be dealt with. The Church of England, under Mary (Tudor), caused to be put to death many of her children who held Reformation doctrines, and under Elizabeth, similarly treated those who held the doctrines of Rome; whilst under the Stuart Dynasty, she persecuted all who would not conform to her ritual and doctrines. These facts also apply in some measure to other reformed churches of the times.

Each sect excused its drastic action as necessary for the suppression of heresy, but regarded all its own members who suffered at the instigation of rival sects, as faithful martyrs for the truth, and looked upon those who put them to death as enemies of the Gospel.

How low had the Church fallen when such means were thought necessary to bring about unity, and testify to the saving love of God!

When by the Reformation men's minds were freed from the ignorance and superstitions imposed by Rome, there was a rapid reaction and increase of knowledge. Where Divine aid and light were not sought after, private judgment rapidly evolved sceptical rationalism. In "Catholic France," where the authorities of Church and State had not stopped short of treachery and murder to suppress reformation doctrines, this sceptical restlessness had taken a deeper root than elsewhere.

Consequently, in the XVIII. Century, Christendom was again shaken to its centre by the events of the French Revolution. After centuries of misrule the people of France broke their ecclesiastical and civil bonds, and a raging torrent of clamouring passions, the result of long pent-up wrongs, burst forth and threatened the existence of both Church and State.

Unless by studying the writings of that time, not only of France, but of Europe generally, imagination can hardly grasp the then existing conditions of society. So corrupt bad the Church become in France that, under the terror of the leaders of the Revolution, the Archbishop of Paris and two thousand priests denied the Christian faith, and went over to the Atheistic revolutionists.

Whilst the Reformation upheaval caused spiritual and religious excesses in contention for a pure Christian faith, the French Revolution was a bold and blasphemous attempt to destroy Christianity as obsolete superstition, and in its place to substitute man's unguided reason, which the leaders of the masses symbolised by a woman of loose character seated upon the Altar of Notre Dame, at Paris.,

To obtain this so-called "liberty, equality, and fraternity," the most horrible tyranny was practised, and rivers of innocent blood shed. And this by France, professedly the eldest son of the Church, encouraged by apostate bishops and priests.

The principles enunciated by the leaders of that Revolution, though apparently stultified by the rise of Napoleon Buonaparte to sudden accession of power, remained simply in abeyance, and gradually began, and continues, to permeate all nations of Christendom; so that whilst, during the present century, activity—greater than anything hitherto—is shown in missionary effort and propagation of the Gospel to heathen nations, the baptised are rapidly lapsing into a more hopeless heathenism.

In this opening of the XX. Century the family of nations designated Christendom, professed believers in and followers of the Prince of Peace, are not, as was hoped they would be, "beating their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning books," but, as foretold and exhorted to by the Prophet Joel, ire "beating their plowshares into swords and their pruning hooks into spears," and "waking up their mighty men of war." These nations tremble beneath the tread of their myriad armed hosts, preparing for an Armageddon more terrible than anything recorded in history.

Not only is this the condition as between nation and nation, but there is an ever-increasing substratum of discontent the subjects of which will join with any heathen or antichristian power to further their ends, their purpose and determination being to destroy all authority in Church and State. Every relationship in life is strained; interests of employer and employed are brought into direct conflict, in the insatiable thirst for riches and pleasure. In the social life, morals are rapidly deteriorating, and family relationship held but lightly. The so-called masses are filled with envy of all who are in authority or affluence, and under self-seeking demagogues are devising means by which they may, without labour, share those riches and the supposed pleasures bound up with them.

The excuse of these professed reformers, as leaders of associations under various names, is "to benefit the poor and down-trodden," but in most cases notoriety and self-aggrandisement are the greater motives. They professedly regard science as the regenerating power of society. One of their antichristian aims is therefore the seizure of all Church emoluments to this end.

In the midst of this prevailing confusion, schemes innumerable are proposed by the Church to prevent the people from altogether drifting away from Christianity. Societies and confederacies are organised, with a view to amuse if not to instruct.

Whilst Protestants are ever ready to charge Rome with making the end sanctify the means, they themselves use means, to increase their revenue, which have similarly no Scriptural warrant, and are often specious evasions of the laws of the land.

Expediency is the rule. This spirit is encouraged by the Church, by her advertising largely, as benefactors, those who subscribe to her funds; and not always is she too careful of the means by which the money may have been obtained. It is said that money must be had to carry on the work of the Church. People pay for the amusement afforded, utterly careless of the use that the money is put to. It was asked of old, "Who hath required this (sacrifice) at your hands?"

The payment of God's tithe is regarded as Utopian and impracticable. It is the exception to regard it as a debt, or duty, to God—the fulfilment of which should be known to no man.

Where is the recognition of "Christ as a Son over His own house?" The answer usually is, "We have the Spirit to abide with us and to lead us into all truth till the end of the age." Yes; and the Lord is faithful to His promise. The Holy Spirit, the Comforter promised, has never been absent from the Church; but has she been led into all truth? No! she has held back, "and followed too much the devices and desires of her own heart." She has made alliances with the kings of the earth, "and preferred the institutions of man to those of God." She has "resisted and hindered the manifestation of the Holy Ghost."

To affirm that each section of the Church has been led in all its action by the Holy Spirit is worse than profanity. God cannot contradict Himself. He cannot in the Church of England elect and consecrate Bishops, and in that of Rome condemn the act as rebellious blasphemy that can have no other effect than the condemnation of all engaged in the act. Nor can He elect in Rome an universal Bishop with supreme power, and in Constantinople, (Moscow), or Canterbury condemn His own election as an act of schismatic arrogance and false pretensions. Nor, again, can He, through the Bishop in Canterbury under one prince, teach certain doctrines and explain the necessity of Sacraments as means of salvation; and, by the Bishop of the same church under the following prince, condemn this teaching as unscriptural, unauthorised, and idolatrous—the practice and faith in which is heresy that can only be atoned for by such torture as may be inflicted by the civil powers under the instruction of the Church.

In modern times, because of the even balance of parties joined with religious apathy, the torture of "heretics" has ceased. But schisms have increased, not only as dividing church from church, but in each church there are usually three parties: which may be distinguished as Ultramontanes or high-church; Broad-church—usually heretics; and Evangelical or low-church. These parties are often more divided among themselves than from other churches.

These and innumerable other instances that could be quoted are examples of what has been done professedly by the light and guidance of the Holy Spirit through the Bishops, heads of the Church, who claim to have authority and wisdom to guide and rule her as the successors of the Apostles.

It is true—most true—that the Holy Spirit has ever been with the Church, to guide her so far as her actions of schisms, expediency, trust in earthly princes, and earthly ambition have not proved hindrances. But how far these have hindered His guidance is only too manifest.

As a Church, she represents a Temple in ruins. Parts of the building have been taken away and built up into other buildings, of which it is claimed of each that if it does not constitute the whole Temple, it is at least the most important part of it. Over these buildings various names have been written, till men have lost nearly all idea of the form and order of the structure originally intended, and remain satisfied with the fragment.

This sketch of the history and condition of the Church under bishops and others, in the absence of Apostles, brings before us the sad fact that after nearly 2000 years of the preaching of the Gospel of Christ, its professed believers are more divided now than at any previous time. Heresies and apostacy abound and increase on every side. The signs of the times indicate that shortly it will be as it was in the "days of Noah."

Nevertheless, the Church is chosen to be the Bride of the Lamb, and God's purpose in her cannot fail. He still regards her in the pitifulness of His great mercy, and would raise her out of the low estate into which she has brought herself; but before this can be done, she must be brought to discern the need of confession and of seeking forgiveness for everything wherein she has, in any measure, gone away from God's ordinances and grieved His Holy Spirit.

She has not yet come to this condition; and it is to be feared that only through terrible judgments—which

are looming up on every side, and by which every earthly prop and safeguard, all earthly things that she has in any measure trusted in, shall be snatched from her—will she in despair be compelled to seek her God, with her whole heart, in confession and tears.

It will be with her as with ancient Israel—the example of which is put before her, but, alas! so far in vain.

While she is not unobservant of the ominous signs of the times, and discerns evidences of a gathering storm, she hopes that as previous storms have passed, so may this.

"Judgment must begin at the House of God"—and some of her children have been deeply impressed by events that indicate that judgment has already begun at the Church. They realise that by this means she will be cleansed and prepared as Heaven's witness to God's love, salvation, and order! But the Lord, before proceeding with His strange work of judgment, sends special messengers to warn His people (as Noah went to the antediluvians and John the Baptist to Israel). Such messengers have gone forth calling the Church to repentance, and gathering together all that give heed. Evidence of this is given in the following pages by a statement of facts which have taken place.

But some are disposed, without examination, to question the facts, which appear to them undesirable. They are of such spirit as those were, whom Paul addressed in the words, "Beware, therefore, lest that come upon you which is spoken of in the prophets . . . Behold, ye despisers, and wonder, and perish: for I work a work in your days, a work which ye shall in no wise believe, though a man declare it unto you."

The purpose of these pages, however, is not accusation, but the desire to make prominent, facts in the dealings of God with His people, the knowledge of which should make all pause and consider.

The startling events of the French Revolution caused many to consider the signs of the times, and to prayerfully study the Prophetic Scriptures. There was also a longing desire for greater spiritual vitality in the Church.

Expression was given to that desire by the Rev. James H. Stewart, a clergyman of the Church of England (but at that time, 1826, residing at Nice on account of bad health), by his issuing a pamphlet containing a proposal and invitation to clergymen of all denominations, to unite with their flocks in prayer on a certain day in each week, to ask of the Lord a special pouring out of the Holy Ghost.

This proposal was so much in unison with the feeling of the religious world that the pamphlet rapidly ran through three large editions. Later, an abridged edition was issued by the Tract Society, whereby the whole Christian community was invoked to unite and "to take the Kingdom of Heaven by violence" until this outpouring was vouchsafed.

Mr. Stewart afterwards travelled about the country to establish prayer meetings for the same object, and his endeavours were attended with abundant success.

In the same year a number of ministers and laymen of different denominations agreed to meet once a year for a fortnight I at a time, that they might more frequently and more fully unite in prayer for the outpouring of the Holy Ghost upon the Church; and also that they might read together and meditate upon the unfulfilled prophecies of the Bible. In consequence of this, there met at Albury Park (the seat of Henry Drummond) the first week in Advent, 1826—and on four subsequent occasions (1826-1830)—a company of from 40 to 50 persons, clergymen and laymen. One of the most interested and regular attendants was the Rev. Edward Irving.

Whilst these conferences were being held, the remarkable spiritual manifestations previously referred to took place in Karishuld, Bavaria: in a district called the Donaumoos.

That district had been noted for its unsanitary condition, irreligion, and consequent immorality. A godly priest of the Roman Church named Johan Lutz had therefore been sent to take spiritual charge, the happy result being the conversion of the people to righteousness and true godliness.

Being instructed in the doctrines of the Roman Church, what she terms "premillenarianism," and condemns as such, would be unknown to them—and equally so, that any change could or would be made in that ministry of which they regarded the Pope as the head and successor of St. Peter.

At the commencement of Lent—Ash Wednesday fell that year, 1828, on the 20th of February—a powerful spirit of prayer came over the hearts of the people. During half the night, indeed in some cases the whole night through, many felt themselves constrained to pray—and even young persons devoted hours to prayer.

An exceeding quietness of spirit took possession of the Church, and a holy earnestness filled all hearts. It was at this time, that is to say, at the end of February, 1828, that some persons, a man and two women, commenced suddenly to speak under the influence of a higher power.

This was new to Lutz, and quite unexpected by him. He asked the persons what it was that was passing in them. They answered. "We know nothing of that which we utter until we commence to speak; a power comes upon us, and the words which we are to speak are given to us."

Lutz knew these persons to be both faithful and conscientious, and therefore he believed what they told him and received in faith the words which were spoken through them.

The first word spoken in the power was the following:—"Know ye not, ye children of God, that ye are

living in the last days, in the days in which the Lord will come? Know ye not that before the Lord comes He will give again apostles, prophets, evangelists, and pastors, and churches as at the beginning?" Other words were—"Ye are living in the time when Jesus will awaken the sleeping ones." "The first resurrection is near. This generation shall live to see it."

The words—"This generation shall live to see it" and "The Lord gives again apostles and churches as at the beginning" were often repeated.

Another word was—"Oh, understand ye, and believe what the Lord Jesus and the Apostles have spoken. Believe ye the promises of God. Search ye the Scriptures, and see whether ye are not come to the time of which the prophets of old have spoken."

Again, "The Lord will pour out His Spirit as at the beginning;" and again, "The Lord will once more offer His Gospel to the whole of Christendom, and to all nations, and then shall the end come."

They were also exhorted by the words of the Spirit to value the Sacraments. Holy Baptism was to be honoured as the laver of regeneration, and those who would go to Communion must first of all have renewed their baptismal vows. It was told them that the Lord Himself would gather a people out of the different confessions, in which He would fulfil all the good pleasure of His will, and until then they were to remain quiet and to wait.

In addition to the words spoken in the Spirit, there were other spiritual communications, such as visions and dreams, and to Lutz himself it was revealed through a vision that the Lord would again send forth Apostles.

The result of these gifts being permitted by Lutz was his deposition from the Church of Rome, but this will be touched upon later.

Two years after this, in April, 1830, similar occurrences took place in Port Glasgow, on the Clyde, Scotland; in this instance the persons exercised were members of the Presbyterian Established Church of Scotland: people of quiet unostentatious piety, named McDonald. The utterances were of a similar character to those at Karlshuld, and much light was thrown on the Prophetic Scriptures which speak of the Messiah's coming and reign.

The burden of the utterances was—"The Lord is near—the Lord is near," and a continual witness was given to the Incarnation of our Blessed Lord.

An observer says that it is impossible to describe the solemnity and grandeur, both of words and manner, in which those exercised gave testimony to the judgments coming on the earth; but also directed the Church to the coming of the Lord as her hope of deliverance. They are totally devoid of anything like fanaticism or enthusiasm; but on the contrary, are persons of great simplicity of character and of sound common sense. They have no fanciful theology of their own: they make no pretensions to deep knowledge: they are the very opposite of sectarians, both in conduct and principle: they do not assume to be teachers: they are not deeply read: but they seek to be taught of God, in the perusal of and meditation on His revealed word, and to "live quiet and peaceable lives in all godliness and honesty."

Those who had come from different parts of England to visit Port Glasgow, and recognised the work there to be of God, returning, declared their convictions to the different religious circles with which they were connected—of whom some received with joy the report of their brethren, and thanked God for His infinite mercy. Among such the former prayers for an outpouring of the Holy Ghost were renewed with intense earnestness, I now not only wishing but hoping to receive from God an abundant answer: boldly pleading that what they had witnessed and heard of in Scotland, God would bestow on them also.

It is a fact, to be noted because it has been ignored by some who have set themselves to misrepresent the course of events connected with the development of the Lord's work, that though utterances in the Spirit commenced in Scotland in April, 1830, there were none in England till May, 1831: but there had been remarkable cases of healing previously vouchsafed in answer to prayer.

Many were the cases of long-continued sickness, of serious accidents, of incurable disease, of sudden seizures, as by the immediate hand of God, for some purpose personal to the individual, or connected with the circumstances of the congregation, in which, in answer to the prayers of those acting as ministers of God, whether in preaching without or in teaching within the limits of the congregation, the healing was as immediate, as plainly discernible, as the disease had been. Many were the cases of Satanic possession wherein deliverance was obtained. Many were the answers to the unrevealed thoughts of men's hearts by which, as by signs confirmatory, the weak faith of the people was strengthened, and their wavering confidence restored.

The first manifestation of the gift of spiritual utterance in England was in London, through the wife of a solicitor who was sent to Port Glasgow to report on what was taking place there. The lady was a member of the Church of England under the pastoral care of the Rev. Baptist Noel.

But during the course of that year—1831—various persons, members of the Church of England, Presbyterian Church, and other denominations, received the same gift of spiritual utterance.

The burden of the prophetic utterances in England, as was the case in Germany and Scotland, was the

speedy coming of the Lord to set up His Kingdom in the earth—the judgments about to fall upon Christendom—the sorrow of God over His scattered and desolate flock—His Love which still lingered and longed to save—the humiliation and glory of Christ, and the necessity of a work of recovery and re-building in the Church to prepare His way.

The greater number of those used of the Lord in spiritual utterances were either cast out, or at best, left to themselves by their pastors—who did not recognise these spiritual manifestations—and found present protection and liberty under Mr. Irving, who had long been testifying from his pulpit, as well as by his writings, that Christendom had become corrupt, and that the Lord was at hand.

Not long after these occurrences Mr. Irving, with his congregation, consisting of more than 500 communicants, was turned out into the streets of London naked and bare, following the voice of the Holy Ghost, speaking with stammering lips and another tongue. And this was a sign that God would henceforth lead His people forward, not by might nor by power, but by His Spirit. And He speedily rewarded the faith of His people by raising up Apostles, Prophets, Evangelists, and Pastors, not for those only who believed in and followed the voice of the true Shepherd, but for all who will receive His gifts and acknowledge His ways. Thus had God rewarded the faith of those who were not ashamed of tongues and prophesyings, when all the world was despising and scoffing at them. (Is. xxviii., 9—13.)

The doctrines preached by Mr. Irving, and for which he suffered, and was counted a heretic by his countrymen, especially by the clergy of his own land, who, almost to a man, were against him: were—that Christ died for all men; that He took our common nature, subject to all the consequences and penalties of sin; that the Lord Himself was personally holy, free from all sin, original and actual; that those who are regenerate are brought into a state of holiness and purity, wherein, by the grace of God they should ever abide; and that the gifts of the Holy Ghost are the endowment of the Church, and should be manifested in those who are regenerate, as the firstfruits of the Kingdom, and the earnest of the glory to be revealed; that Christendom had become corrupt, having the character of the Babylon of the Revelation; and that the Lord was at hand to judge the apostates, and to save those who would turn unto Him.

At the close of the following year—1832—a new and important step in the progress of the work was taken. From the first there had been much said in the prophetic utterances of the need of a body. When the reality of the prophetic gift had been fully established by the experience of three years, the office of Apostle, which in its full development and proper form had been in abeyance since the death of John, was again revived. The Apostolate to the Gentiles, of which the beginning and pattern were in Paul, was restored. As the mind of God concerning him was expressed to the Church by the Holy Ghost speaking through prophets at Antioch (Acts xiii., 1—3), so now it was by the same voice of prophecy that the Lord's will was made known that others should serve Him in the same office.

It is the Comforter who, in the absence of Christ, calls men to be Ministers of His house. Not merely by spiritual conviction in the heart of the candidate, but also by audible voice through the prophet, does the Holy Ghost nominate to the priesthood, as of old. It is true that the Lord Jesus Christ, and not the Holy Ghost, is Head of the Church. The call to office through a prophet is not therefore creative and constitutive, but a revelation of the will of God, and is effectuated by ordination, as the act of the Lord through His ministers.

In the case of Apostles, no ordination is possible. The laying on of hands at Antioch was not for consecration, but for separation—"Separate me Barnabas and Saul unto the work where unto I have called them"—and for dismissal with the blessing of the Church, that they might enter upon that higher ministry unto which, not man, but God, had called them. Matthias was not ordained (Revised Version), but "numbered with the eleven."

In the case of an Apostle, the call of the Holy Ghost is God's witness to the fact that a Divine appointment has been made.

It was on this ground that a member of the Church of England, a layman who had previously fulfilled no ministry was received as an Apostle.

The circumstances of this revival of the Apostolic office are remarkable, as they afford a proof of the presence of design on God's part in the work, and the total absence of design on the part of the instruments employed.

In 1832, at a meeting for prayer, held in a private house, the gentleman already referred to was declared by a word of prophecy to be an Apostle.

However unexpected such an announcement was, it met with immediate response from many hearts.

It was not till some months later that the Apostolic office was brought into exercise. Then the Apostle was directed through one of the prophets to go and ordain as an Evangelist a voting man who, full of zeal and love, had long laboured in visiting the poor and preaching to them the glad tidings of salvation.

In 1834 six persons had been designated to the Apostolic office. Under them the Ministries of Priest and Deacon were brought out, and much light was given on the order, sacraments, and ordinances of the Church.

Mr. Irving, after having been driven from his church in Regent-square, when most of his elders and several of his deacons followed him, was directed to confine himself to the work of a preacher, or deacon.

Some time afterwards he was put in charge of the church in Gordon-square as Angel, or Bishop.

In the latter part of 1834 he visited Glasgow and held conferences with various clergymen, to impress upon them the reality of the work of the Lord's restored Apostles. On December 8th he died, and was buried in the crypt of the Cathedral in Glasgow.

To one who was with him during the six weeks prior to, and at his death, he expressed his perfect conviction of the truth of that work in which he had taken a part.

Having stood faithfully to the Lord's work, amidst misrepresentation and persecution, he waits his reward in the day when his testimony concerning the doom of Babylon and the coming of the Lord shall be corroborated.

About six months after his death, the Apostolic College was completed by the call of other six persons to the Apostolate.

The twelve were, on the 14th July, 1835, solemnly separated in an assembly of the churches to their appropriate work, and commended, with imposition of hands and words of blessing, to the grace of God.

They were shortly afterwards directed, by prophetic voice, to retire for twelve months for the study of the Scriptures, prayer, and meditation, and to have the open ear to hear, morning by morning, what the Spirit would say to them. Thus were they to be prepared for the more efficient performance of the work to which they had been called.

One of their first acts subsequent to this was to prepare a testimony, which, in January, 1836, was presented to the rulers in Church and State throughout Europe. In this testimony, the evils pervading society in all Christian lands were traced to their true spiritual source—the departure of the Church of God from her true standing. The hope of the Lord's coming was held up as the only promise of deliverance: and the recovery of the original structure and endowments of the Church was testified to as already begun in preparation for the approaching Kingdom of Christ.

Hitherto the Apostolic Ministry, as the Chief Ministry commissioned immediately by the Lord, and from which all the other ministries receive their authority, was the one towards which the attention of the Church had been principally directed; but at this time the Lord, through the prophets, gave further light regarding the operation of the fourfold ministry of Apostles, Prophets, Evangelists, and Pastors, upon the Church at large.

In the Church the order of the Ministry is threefold, viz:—(1) Bishops or Angels; (2) Priests or Elders; and (3) Deacons. Each of these orders of ministers has a fourfold character, viz:—: Apostolic, Prophetic, Evangelical, and Pastoral. And this fourfold character in each order of ministers is only the development of the fourfold office of our Lord Jesus, the Great High Priest over the House of God.

Jesus alone is the Apostle of God, the *Sent* of the Father the Ruler and the Judge, with full power over all flesh and over all the creation; claiming for Himself, as the *Sent* of the Father, all rule, all authority, all judgment, with power to give life and to take it away, to bind and to loose, to remit sins and to retain them. And this authority He exercises by His Apostles, who following His example, are now the servants of all; but shall be assessors with Him on the thrones of judgment, as is seen in Rev. iv., where the twenty-four thrones of the Elder? represent the first and second Apostleship in their office of rulers and judges.

Jesus alone is the Prophet, by Whom the mysteries are revealed, by Whom the Scriptures are opened, by Whom the things to come are foreshown. And the Apostolic and Prophetic offices together are the twofold instrument whereby the Lord not only makes known to His Church the full mystery of the Gospel of Christ—that mystery hid in God from the beginning, and which is now revealed to the Apostles and Prophets by the Spirit—but brings out, in the order and constitution of the Church, the unsearchable riches of Christ, the treasures of wisdom and knowledge hid in Christ—"to the intent that now unto the principalities and powers in heavenly places might be known by the Church the manifold wisdom of God."

Jesus alone is the Evangelist, the Messenger of glad tidings, the Herald of salvation. He alone is the Pastor and Shepherd of Israel.

In the Fourfold Ministry is the going forth of that fourfold grace of the Lord Jesus Christ which He has in Himself, and which He ministers through the vessels whom He chooses. They are symbolised in the river divided into four heads, which waters the garden of God: they are the streams of the river which make glad the city of God, the holy place of the tabernacles of the Most High. They are the four living creatures of the Revelation.

This fourfoldness of Ministry is also brought out as far as possible in every congregation.

As Christ, the Angel of the Church Universal, has under Him a fourfold Ministry of Apostles, Prophets, Evangelists, and Pastors, so in each separate church or congregation, there should be the Angel, representing Christ, and with him elders, prophets, evangelists, and pastors. Thus the local church becomes a miniature of the Church Universal.

Deacons are chosen by the people and ordained by the Apostle or Angel of the church in which they are to minister. The deacon's office is to assist in the public services of God's house; they are to be counsellors to the people in matters secular, to attend to the poor, and they are also used to preach. There are also deaconesses, who render assistance in the oversight of families and single women.

Shortly after the delivery of the Testimony, the Apostles were directed by prophetic voice to visit the nations of Christendom and search for the truth remaining in each church. Most of them accordingly proceeded on their mission early in 1838, some of them remaining at home to conduct the affairs of the church.

This work occupied two years. In this journey they gained large and very valuable experience.

Partly as a result of this visit to the nations and churches a Liturgy was framed combining the excellencies of all preceding Liturgies, and yet constructed upon a basis distinct from all others.

It was directed that there should be an Altar in each church, upon which the elements for communion were to be consecrated. Vestments were also introduced as seemly symbols of the glory and beauty of the Church's endowment and of the virtues and graces of the Bride of the Lamb.

Nothing in the service of the Church should be regarded as insignificant, nothing as mere form, nothing as unreal. Worship should not only be in spirit, but in truth.

As the recognition of the work by those in Germany (previously referred to) is interesting, as showing in a special manner the leading of God, a sentence here in addition may be instructive.

Mr. William Caird, the first Evangelist ordained under Apostles, was sent on a mission to Germany in 1842. In his journeying he was brought into contact with the Priest Johan Lutz, of Karlshuld. In the course of conversation Caird referred to the work under restored Apostles in England. Lutz exclaimed—"What? Apostles? I have been waiting for Apostles and for a special work of God in the Church for fourteen years." Mr. Caird, full of interest and surprise, listened intently to Lutz's narrative of what had taken place in his church and of his later experience. The result was that Lutz, after instruction, accepted the work, but was in consequence deposed from his priesthood by the Church of Rome. Shortly afterwards he became, and served as, a minister under restored Apostles. He, with Mr. Caird, wrote, amongst other works, a very full commentary upon the Scriptures, called "God's Purpose with Mankind."

Whilst the movement under restored Apostles was at first chiefly confined to Britain and Ireland, it rapidly extended to other countries, especially North Germany, where many churches have been organised. Congregations are now found in nearly every land where liberty of worship is given by the laws.

The reasons for these pages are not only to correct misconceptions, held by the Bishop in common with others, but also to bring before earnest inquirers after truth, facts concerning the momentous work of the Lord, which has been going on in the midst of the Church for the last 65 years. (This work has existed in New Zealand for over 40 years.) Many are unfamiliar with these facts, which are of unusual spiritual character, as has been shown, and demand the most serious investigation.

They, like other facts, are open to investigation: for this work was not done in a corner. The London "Times" and other newspapers in Britain and on the Continent devoted column after column to the subject, till the excitement consequent upon the action of the Rev. Edward Irving permitting the manifestation of the gifts in his church, died out.

One or two examples of the spirit of these prints towards the work is shown by the following quotations:—"A virtuous horror was expressed lest this obscure handful of people should demoralise the land, and cause Britain to become a disgrace among the nations through its sufferance of such 'blasphemous fooleries'" ("Times"), "disgusting profanities" ("Morning Chronicle"), "wild delusions" ("Record"), "extravagancies" ("Christian Observer"), "infatuated talk" ("Evangelical Magazine"); the latter religious publication comforting itself with the pious consolation—"but happily the ministers and office-bearers of Regent-square Chapel (Rev. E. living's) are in no affinity whatever to the rest of the Christian world."

The "Times" (London), in discussing the cause of many remarkable healings which had taken place, some of them from (humanly speaking) incurable diseases, arrived at the conclusion that "whatever may have brought about the cures, miraculous interposition could not be admitted."

Where such a spirit exists, no evidence would be accepted.

This disingenuous and dangerous evasion of facts is common in human nature. It arises largely from compromising environment. Many persons suppose themselves to be honest seekers after truth. They profess to be ready and anxious to learn, that they may obey. But when some unlooked-for aspect of truth arises, demanding action that would be unpopular, or misunderstood by others, plausible reasons present themselves for evasion of duty.

The facts presented in these pages are given to convince the reader that Apostles have been restored to the Church. Enquirers are reminded that in these days of many deceptions, keen spiritual discernment is required with honest and prayerful enquiry.

The prejudiced sectarian, who outside of his own coterie cannot discern any action of God, will probably

either evade the whole question, seek for distorted and untruthful statements or point to some unfaithful and unwise representative of the work, as a reason for rejecting it.

Doubtless in the days of our Lord's sojourn on earth, the action of Judas, or possibly of the impetuous Peter and other disciples, would form some of the excuses for rejecting the Christ of God.

Such questioners must take the consequences of their own spirit and action. The facts still remain.

That the work is not of man must be self-evident. The forms of spiritual gifts manifested in Germany and Scotland were not only not sought after, but came unexpectedly to both those exercised and others who were observers. That they were not of Satan is evidenced by the fact that through them strong testimony was given to the incarnation of our Lord, the value of sacraments and the coming again of Christ in flesh: these truths being denied by all evil spirits.

Seeing that earnest prayer was made by many persons in different sections of the Church for an outpouring of the Holy Spirit, what other conclusion can be arrived at than that these manifestations were the answers to these prayers? It is true that they came in other forms than were expected, nor did they appear at first amongst the persons who were praying for the outpouring of the Spirit. But when these heard of what had taken place elsewhere, and sought to learn more about the matter, they were convinced that the Lord had answered them; and the more so when, in answer to more urgent prayer, the same gifts were exercised by some of themselves.

In the restoration of these gifts each section of the Church was put upon its trial.

Whilst they tried to explain away the healings, the "stammering lips and other tongue" made them angry. "The foolishness of God" doth not commend itself to men.

As has been shown, the voice of the Holy Ghost was heard first in the Church of Rome, in prophetic utterance through some of her more faithful children. But she sternly forbade such "irregularities," and finally excommunicated the priest and those with him who recognised the Lord's work.

Utterance in the Spirit was afterwards heard amongst members of the Established Church of Scotland. She, too at once forbade permission for the Holy Ghost to speak at her services and drove from her midst one of her most spiritual and talented ministers for permitting it.

The Church of England was also tested by spiritual utterance through her children, but the Bishop of the Diocese, without enquiry, forbade the matter as "irregular and delusive."

Thus did people who asked for miracles as evidence of God's work treat the miraculous.

The action of the various denominations, when tested, implied that none of them either expected or desired any interference on the part of God in His house: they preferred their own ways and schemes: the same spirit is still manifest.

The Church as a whole fails to realise that she is in Babylonish captivity.

When she despised prophesyings, rejected Apostles, and admitted an Emperor to sit in her Council as President, she was married to the world; it was a compact between the two parties—the Church was consenting. From that time—rapidly—the spiritual gifts with which she had been endowed for healing and blessing ceased to be exercised.

Now that these gifts have been restored, her rejection of them is largely responsible for the rise and strength of modern spiritualism and kindred evils. Many of the baptised are led to seek spiritual manifestations and healing from occult evil forces exercised by demons through human agency. They are thus brought under obligations to the powers of evil, the final result of which will be most disastrous. Only by deep repentance, confession, and the act of God in absolution can these people be freed from the chains by which they are bound.

The Church in a large measure fails to discern these and other dangers by which she is surrounded and beset. This not only applies to State Churches, but to others that, while separating themselves from, or being opposed to State relationship, have only gone off the main thoroughfares of Babylon to build houses of their own in the lanes thereof, and thus added to the schism and confusion already existing.

What God looks for is the confession on the part of the Church Universal of every step by which she has declined from Him, from the days of the first Apostles till this present time, for it is only by retracing her steps that she can recover her freedom; and if there is any step of declension which she will not confess, then she will not recover her position by that much; but will stop at some stunted growth and never reach the measure of the stature of the "fulness of Christ."

Previous dispensations ended with apostacy and judgments, and the Christian Church is warned that this dispensation is to end in apostacy, judgments, and tribulation as much greater than previous tribulations, as the light and responsibility of this age are greater than any age that is past. Then will be the hour of temptation that is to try them that dwell upon the earth.

The disciples were exhorted to "watch and pray that they might be found worthy to escape all these things . . . and to stand before the Son of Man."

In Rev. xiv. a company, defined as the firstfruits, is represented as standing on the Mount Zion before the Son of Man.

In Rev. vii. the same people are represented as being sealed by an Angel from the rising Sun (Messenger like unto John going before the Sun of Righteousness).

Another company is referred to (verse 9) as having come out of the tribulation the great (see Greek), and "who have washed their robes and made them white in the Blood of the Lamb."

That terrible blast, the French Revolution of last century, was but the precursor of a coming tempest that will not cease till every ordinance of God in Church and State be swept away. Out of the seething waters (many peoples) shall come forth the Antichrist—he, too, shall have his seal to mark off his own.

As God's people Israel had a choice given them of receiving Christ or Barabbas, so the baptised, under more trying and terrible circumstances, shall be compelled to choose between the Christ of God and the Antichrist.

It is to be feared that by no other means will the Church be brought or driven into unity. During the tribulation of that time her members will form the "harvest"—that great "multitude gathered out of all nations, kindreds, people and tongues, who have washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb." That time is not far distant.

The Lord's coming draweth nigh. His first thought is of His sleeping ones—the many who have suffered torments for His name's sake—and all "the dead in Christ." They form the blessed and holy ones "who shall have part in the first resurrection".

"The rest of the dead lived not again till the thousand years were finished."

The Lord before going away, when speaking of His coming again, said to His disciples, "And then shall appear the Sign of the Son of Man in heaven" (Matt, xxiv., 30).

This referred to some evidence that would be given to the Church implying that her Lord's coming was near.

It also indicated that, on her part, preparation to meet Him would be necessary.

The few facts given in this pamphlet (more particularly the latter part) demand the prayerful and honest investigation of every spiritual person.

As has been shown, the Lord began His work by impressing many of His people with a deep spirit of intercession, for the whole Church.

Clergymen and laymen of the Anglican and other denominations were led to meet and pray together, and continuously, for a pouring out of a larger measure of the Holy Spirit.

Their ideas were not the restoration of miraculous gifts, Apostles; but to receive deeper spiritual emotions which would lead to more consistent practice on the part of professing Christians.

Contemporary with these prayers, but among spiritual members of a Roman Catholic Church, in a secluded part of Germany, spiritual powers, in all respects similar to those manifested in Apostolic times, were again seen and heard.

Shortly afterwards similar powers, including wonderful physical healings, were manifested in Scotland among Presbyterians. Later the people in England, who had been praying for the outpouring of the Spirit, hearing of what had taken place in Scotland, by more earnest prayer received the same gifts.

They "had asked for bread." Had God given "them a stone?"

The results of this spiritual power, to them that discerned it, were recognition of long-neglected and forgotten aspects of truth; deeper spiritual apprehension of the sacraments, ministry, and ordinances of God's house; a broader catholic spirit, and realisation of the need of special and continuous intercession in the spirit of the Intercessor and Great high Priest) for the whole Church.

The "harvest" is not yet; but the "Sent Ones" of Christ have prevailed to gather a Firstfruits.

This work is "the Sign of the Son of Man in Heaven."

"God would have healed Babylon, but Babylon would no be healed."

Finis.

decorative feature

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Front Cover

Educational Institute of New Zealand. The Report of the Seventeenth Annual Meeting Of the Council of the Institute Held At Timaru, January 2nd, 1900. New Zealand Whitcombe & Tombs Limited Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin. 1900

New Zealand Educational Institute.

The Seventeenth Annual Meeting Of the Council of the Institute Was Held at Timaru on January 2nd, 1900, and Following Days,

When Were Present:

President:

- J. A. Johnson, M.A., Timaru.

Secretary:

- W. T. GRUNDY, WELLINGTON.

Treasurer:

- T. HUGHES, B.A., CHRISTCHURCH.

Members of Council:

- MISS SHREWSBURY, M.A., Auckland
- R. D. STEWART Auckland
- H. NEWTON Auckland
- S. H. FERGUSON Auckland
- E. N. ORMISTON Auckland
- T. H. GILL, M.A. Wellington
- F. BETHUNE Wellington
- G. H. PARKINSON Wellington
- W. EUDEY, Otago
- A. TYNDALL Otago
- W. DAVIDSON Otago
- H. MACDONALD Otago
- I. J. JEFFERY Otago
- J. GRANT Otago
- W. MCELREA Otago
- T. W. AMBROSE, B.A., N. Canterbury
- W. BROCK Canterbury
- F. J. ROWLEY, B. A. Canterbury
- R. B. RYDER Canterbury
- J. VOSS, N. Canterbury
- W. MCLEOD, B.A., S. Canterbury
- A. C. BLAKE Canterbury
- W. MACANDREW, Southland
- C. W. G. SELBY Southland
- A. E. FEATHERSTONE Southland
- D. MUNRO, B.A. Southland
- F. G. GIBBS, M.A., Nelson
- G. J. H. HARKNESS. B.A. Nelson
- J. HISLOP, Hawke's Bay
- R. B. HOLMES Bay

- O. JOHNSON, Taranaki
- J. K. LAW, Wanganui
- H. GRANT Wanganui
- P. E. STEVENS, Waikato
- J. J. HENDERSON, Westland
- H. SMITH, B.A., Grey
- D. A. STURROCK, Marlborough

First Session.

JANUARY 2ND, 1900, AT 10 A.M.

The President, Mr. J. A. Johnson, M.A., in the chair.

MINUTES.—The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

WELCOME TO THE DELEGATES—The President introduced his Worship the Mayor of Timaru and the Hon. the Minister of Education, both of whom extended a cordial welcome to the Council to Timaru, and wished the Conference every success. The Hon. the Minister of Education intimated that it was the intention of the Government to introduce a Bill into Parliament during the coming session providing for a colonial scale of staff and salaries. The intimation was received with continuous applause.

The Rev. Mr. Barclay and Mr. Inspector Gow also welcomed the delegates on behalf of the South Canterbury Education Board.

VOTES OF THANKS.—Votes of thanks were passed to these gentlemen for their cordial welcome.

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.—The President then read the following address:—

COUNCIL OF NEW ZEALAND INSTITUTE.

TIMARU,

2nd January, 1899.

THE INADEQUENCY OF THE PRESENT PROVISION FOR THE TRAINING OF TEACHERS.

SINCE the meeting of the Council last January the most noteworthy event from the educational standpoint is the Conference held in Wellington. For the first time in the history of the colony, there met in conference representatives from the three bodies that have most interest in primary education—members of the Boards, inspectors, and teachers. One of the chief results of the deliberations of that Conference is the abolition of the rigid individual standard pass, and the substitution in its place of a scheme implying a certain degree of freedom of classification in our schools. It is not my intention to refer in any critical spirit to the new regulations which are now in our hands. Time alone will show how the details of the system will work in actual practice. It is our duty to welcome with joy a change that the leaders of our Institute have been working for during several years; it is difficult to construct, it is easy to criticise; and now that we have the principle affirmed, we can leave the adjustment of details to the future.

Now, what will this change mean for us, the teachers of New Zealand? Will it mean a relaxing of effort, a diminution of work, a less strenuous striving after success? None of these things are implied in the change: but this is implied that greater responsibility is thrown upon the shoulders of the teachers, with possibilities of much harder work and of more careful educative effort, but work and effort under much better conditions. We see in the change that the Department is prepared to place more confidence in its servants than has been the case in the past: in fact, it is willing to give each man under its control the opportunity of working out within certain prescribed lines the powers that he possesses as an educator. But, while this aspect may have its important bearings on the work and success of the teacher, one must not overlook the duty that devolves upon the Department of seeing that its teachers are properly equipped for their work. It is the right of every teacher to be well-trained; few can claim to themselves the privilege of being classed under the category "born teacher"; the great majority have to be made. This "making" implies a slow process of careful work directed towards those ends that experience teaches are necessary to secure success. The young teacher must not be left in the

early years of his career to the chance of mere haphazard method. Years of blundering means years of discouragement, and discouragement is perhaps the most potent factor in crushing energy and in paralysing effort. It is necessary also to combat the idea, still held by many, that anyone can teach without any preparation. In the past the man in the street considered himself quite competent to teach the teacher, quite competent without previous thought or training to educate the young. That there can be any such principle as the application of ideas to the work of the schoolmaster seems to these people an absurdity, and that ideas so applied are verifiable and capable of systematization is beyond their comprehension. Hence the "craftsman" idea of the schoolmaster's work, and the unwillingness to admit it a place beside that of the doctor and the lawyer. Failures in other directions—sticket ministers, ladies and gentlemen of reduced means—seek refuge from the buffets of the world in some retreat with the word "Academy" printed over the door. These people think that they have only to speak to be heard, only to talk to instruct, only to open a book to set all the powers of the mind to work, only to wave some magic wand over the head to stir the brain cells into keen activity. In regard to no other profession do we find such opinions held. No unskilled man is allowed to practise the art of healing, no "bush" lawyer permitted to plead in our Courts. The field of operation in the one case is the human body, in the other principally dry parchments; but the teacher has to labour upon that subtle entity, the mind. Surely, then, his is the work where the most skill is required, and which demands the longest period of probation. It is with this period that I wish to deal particularly in what I have to say to you. I notice that previous presidents have touched upon the question of training only incidentally; I wish to give to it the whole time at my disposal, because I consider this a question of paramount importance. First, I will touch upon the historical aspect, and give you a necessarily brief survey of what is done in other countries. I will place alongside of our system those of other lands, in order that you may see our deficiencies by the method of contrast. I will then outline a scheme which I consider within the bounds of possibility for our colony—a scheme which will lack only one requisite for its attainment—money. You remember how John Buskin, in an eloquent passage at the close of "Praeterita," asks what Britain and France might have been had the Christian faith been held by both nations in peace in the pure air of Heaven. We may equally speculate upon the great future of this nation, if we can only by united and concerted effort intercept some of the gold that finds its way into the national waste pipes, and direct its flow into the coffers of the Minister of Education.

In France the Normal Schools sprang out of the very turmoil of the Revolution. Both in the seventeenth and the eighteenth century the opinion had been held that it would be useless to open schools, unless good teachers had been previously trained for them. The need for these found expression in the report of Lakanal, in 1794. He wrote:—"Are there in France, are there in Europe, are there in the whole world, two or three hundred men competent to teach the useful arts and the necessary branches of knowledge according to methods which make minds more acute and truths more clear, methods which, while teaching you to know one thing, teach you to reason upon all things? No; that number of men, however small it may appear, exists nowhere on the earth. It is necessary, then, that they be trained." The result of this appeal to the National Convention was the establishment of the Normal School at Paris, a school that was to be the type and standard of all others. Men from all parts of France were to congregate here were to go forth to the provinces and establish other schools of training, each subsidiary to the great central school. A great scheme this, although somewhat imperfectly carried out. It built public instruction in France on a sure and firm basis.

About the same time Herbart was labouring in Germany in the cause of proper educative methods. Mere lecturing did not satisfy him. "Education could not merely be taught; it must be demonstrated and practised." Daily for an hour he took the best of his young men and trained them to continue the work he had begun. They became inspired by his enthusiasm, and permeated with his method. Hence the teaching of the Swiss reformer Pestalozzi bore more fruit in that country than it did elsewhere. After, Jena, the German, following the lead of Queen Louisa, Stein, William Humboldt, and Fichte, placed all hope of national reconstruction in the establishment of a thorough system of national education. The first care of these reformers was the establishment of training schools for their primary teachers. Of the success of the German system nothing further need be said; the Prussian schools stand to-day in the front rank. In Denmark, where education is far advanced and educative needs are kept in the foreground, training schools are recognised as a necessity. State Normal Schools have been established in Fonia, in Jutland, and in Sieland. Here the student passes through a prescribed course, determined by his future aims as a primary or as a secondary school teacher. This distinction is notable. We seem to recognise that some training is required for the primary schools, but for the higher work in the secondary schools no qualification is needed, except a University degree implying certain attainments in arts and sciences. There is no greater anomaly in any scheme of higher education than the English idea that an arts course can give a man the power of imparting his knowledge to others, and that it implies skill to train the faculties of the mind. The people of Denmark are wiser than we are. They insist that the higher a man intends to go in the profession the more thorough shall be his training. Turning to England, we find a great stir in recent years among educationists in regard to this matter. The contentions and arguments of the leaders for reform are

well expressed in an article in Vol. 2 of "Special Reports on Educational Subjects," by Mr. J. J. Findlay, formerly Principal of the College of Preceptors' Training Department for Teachers in Secondary Schools. The author laments that "the immense majority of teachers in England have resisted any proposal for devoting time and money to the study of education." Evidently the circumstances at home are somewhat parallel with our own. Teachers in New Zealand are afraid that schools for this study will be established at their expense. Hence we find that at the annual conferences both at home and abroad, while there is much discussion on grants and standards, on examinations and scholarships, on the system of passes and on freedom of classification, there is a strange silence on the necessity for a closer study of the fundamental questions that underly the work of the teacher. It has even been argued that teaching is not a profession, and that, therefore, no preliminary study of principles is needed. England, however, is awakening to her responsibility in regard to the early years of her future teachers. There is a strong demand not only that the primary school teacher shall pass at least two years in the serious study of the essential principles of his profession, but also that the secondary man, as in Denmark, should be required to undergo the same course. Once the only qualification needed for the master whose duty it was to guide and to manage sixth-form boys was the education of a gentleman, implied in an Oxford or Cambridge degree. It was an easy matter for an educated man to enter a schoolroom and control, guide, and direct boys at the most unruly age. Experience and repeated failure have disproved this theory. Conspicuous successes there have been—men who by a kind of intuition and by consummate tact have found little difficulty in successfully coping with all the initial difficulties of the schoolroom. The history of such men as Arnold, of Rugby, seems to contradict the assertions of those who plead for training. But this conclusion is premature, for a close study of the lines and the work of even the best will show that for years before success came many of our noted schoolmasters were mere empiricists, who were learning their business at the expense of their pupils. The headmaster of the Carlyle Grammar School has cleverly satirised the arguments of those who, from isolated cases, conclude that early training is unnecessary and even pernicious. He says: "There is little trace in the lives of even our greatest schoolmasters of any consciousness that questions in regard to the fundamentals of education need consideration. In intellectual ability and force of character our great schoolmasters will bear comparison with the leaders of any profession; but for want of the scientific spirit, and of any comprehensive and systematic study of the theory and methods of education, they have been too often but brilliant amateurs. This is in part the secret of the astonishing argument so often brought against training, that it destroys originality and tends to produce a dull adherence to a narrow groove. Our best schoolmasters have been conspicuous for freshness, force, and originality, and they have been untrained; therefore, let us avoid training, or we shall lack originality, freshness, force!" Starting from a consciousness of the failures of the past, Mr. Hardy pleads for some system to replace the haphazard method of previous years, some system that will tend to break down the amateurishness that has hitherto characterised the profession. It is evident from the 1899 Code that much has been done in Britain to meet the demands for training, and further reform is not far distant. Last year, when legislation of a far-reaching character was being enacted for the extension of University work in London, it was suggested to establish a Faculty of Education side by side with the Faculties of Science, Medicine, and Law; and it has been pointed out that the resources of London offer an unequalled field both for research and for professional training in education. No one will deny that such an innovation will mean an incalculable gain to the teacher of Britain. Such a college will become a centre of educational method for the whole Empire. It is not beyond the dream of possibility that the best of our teachers of the future, instead of playing the role of Macaulay's New Zealander, may find their way to the lecture-room of a London Professor to study the fundamentals of their profession.

One important change in connection with the training schools is being advocated by educationists at Home. The student has under the present arrangements to struggle at the time that he is in training with his arts and science course, and to prepare himself for his departmental examinations. Consequently the main aim of the school is often lost sight of, and the greater part of the time is given to preparation for examinations, which work naturally occupies an exaggerated place of importance in the student's eyes. We find that the Normal School student often looks upon the time given to the practice of teaching as so much waste, and that he will by all means in his power try to secure leave of absence from the hours given to that work. There is much need for reform here. The arts examination and the University course should be finished before the student commences his course of training. Then a year devoted solely to the history of education, to well-defined methods, and to practical application of theory in the practising schools, ought to be sufficient to lay the foundations of a successful career. Under our New Zealand system, this year of his life is usually spent by the young teacher in walking the streets of our town, waiting for something to turn up. Habits of laziness and indifference are easily contracted, and great must be the confidence of the authorities in the moral stability and the firmness of will of our young men when they thus cast them adrift at the threshold of their careers. When the degree has been gained, and the arts course in a sense finished, the student is at a critical stage, and needs some outlet for his energies. This is the proper time to enter the training college. Get together in these schools twenty or thirty

young men, and, independently of the influence of the Principal, each one's outlook becomes widened by contact with his fellows. All, of course, become imbued with the spirit of the head, who is a master in the art of education: one from whom radiates an enthusiastic desire for improved method, improved machinery, and unattainable ideals. Grandeur and simplicity are his characteristics, and these qualities presuppose elevation of character and singleness of aim. But apart from this personal influence of teacher upon taught, the students breathe an atmosphere of healthy rivalry that is found only where large numbers congregate. They discuss, argue, compare, note, eliminate the bad and imperfect, assimilate the good and the true. The horizon of the narrow, mechanical, rule-of-thumb pupil teacher is no longer limited by the shadows of the schoolroom. He now sees that he has entered upon a profession which offers a life-struggle for something that can never be reached, As in all art, so is it in the art of teaching, A man's reach should exceed his grasp, or what's a heaven for"? The student-teacher in learning this has got something more precious than if he were endowed with ability always to top the percentage table in his Board's annual report.

With your indulgence, I shall now outline for you the best system of training with which I have come in contact. I find it in the Province of Ontario. We are led to expect something striking and original from a people who make and administer a regulation of this nature: "Every Public School teacher shall attend continuously all the sessions of the Institute of his county or inspectorial division, and in the event of his inability to attend shall report to his inspector, giving reasons for his absence." We expect much, and we are not disappointed. Perhaps the most valued feature of the system of this province is the stress laid open the necessity of giving all teachers right up to the University Professors a thorough training in the science and art of teaching. "No teacher of a High or Public School receives a permanent certificate who does not possess qualifications of a threefold nature—(1) scholarship, (2) a knowledge of pedagogical principles, and (3) success shown by actual experience." In order to carry out this programme, splendidly-equipped Normal schools have been established, where students go after they have completed their University course. In this matter of training the system is most searching. Let me quote from the report: "In the establishment of training schools it is assumed that the different grades of schools—Kindergarten, Public Schools, and High Schools—require teachers of different qualifications, whose professional attainments should be gained at institutions specially provided in each case for the purpose. With this view there have been established in Ontario the following training schools for teachers:—

- Kindergarten, including the local schools of this kind, where the training is given for assistants' certificates, and the Provincial Kindergartens connected with the Normal Schools, where the training is given for directors' certificates.
- County Model Schools, where all public school teachers receive their first professional training, and from which third-class certificates valid for three years are awarded.
- Provincial Normal Schools, for the further training of Public School teachers who desire to obtain second-class certificates, and which are valid for life.
- The School of Pedagogy, for the training of those who desire to obtain certificates as first-class Public School teachers, assistant High School teachers and specialists in one or more of the six departments of Classics, Mathematics, English, Modern Languages, Natural Science, and the Commercial Course. This school also gives the professional training which, with the necessary scholarship and experience, enables its graduates to obtain subsequently certificates as Public School inspectors or principals of High Schools and Collegiate Institutes."

This scheme commends itself as a complete and thorough one for all professional requirements. The authorities seem to have made the acquirement of a First-class Certificate a matter of the greatest difficulty. Recognising that a man may take a University degree and even go through a course of training, and yet fail when given sole charge of a school, a permanent certificate is refused until the Inspector has reported that the teacher is capable of continuous and effective work. The lowest grade certificate is valid only for three years. If the holder fails to work for a higher, or gives unmistakable evidence that he has mistaken his calling, he must retire and give place to a better man. Compare this with our system: a pupil teacher may show no capability for the work he has undertaken; yet he is permitted to continue, much to his own discomfort and to the disadvantage of the school that may be unfortunate enough to get him afterwards as an assistant. In Ontario not only are the incapables weeded out, but there is a chance for the capable man to work his way to the highest position in the profession. Nearly all the inspectors are men who commenced at the lowest rung of the ladder, and who, having climbed themselves by slow degrees through all stages, are capable of sympathising with the men still engaged in the drudgery of the lower schools. Who will deny that this is a good plan? Should not our Primary School teachers look for promotion to the Secondary Schools? Some people are still antiquated enough to consider that there is a great difference in kind between the work of the primary man and that of his fellow-worker in the secondary school. In Canada the difference is considered to be one in degree only—in fact, in literary and in scientific attainment. Given that the primary man has the necessary scholarship, he is the one who has the first

right to vacancies in the secondary schools. As has already been said, each department has its own training colleges, but there is no difference in point of method. All grades up to the University are controlled by the same central authority, and thus overlapping and isolation are prevented. The results of the system are thus summed up by John Millar, B.A., Deputy Minister of Education. The system of education in Ontario is worthy of a free people. Its fruits are not difficult to discover. Among the boys and girls of the backwoods, as well as among those of the largest cities, there is a hungering and thirsting after knowledge. To equip the children for the battle of life by giving them a moral and intellectual training is the laudable ambition of the parent in every part of the province. An enterprising, industrious, and law-abiding population controls the destinies of the country. Proud of their province, hopeful of the Dominion, and attached to the British Empire are the people of Ontario. No narrow patriotism characterises the inhabitants of Canada. The educational problem has been worked out in such a way as to destroy largely the evils of bigotry and intolerance. To this cause is attributed the success in welding together people of different nationalities and of different religions." And let it be noted that great emphasis is laid on the fact that the schools are under the care of men thoroughly equipped by years of training to carry out the high ideals of the promoters of the system. We in New Zealand may or may not be on a par with this favoured province of Canada. All that I wish to emphasise is this, that education in Ontario is built upon the foundation of a solid and systematic training of all teachers, primary and secondary. It seems to be axiomatic that any system of education that omits such provision cannot be productive of the highest possibilities. Ontario teaches us that training is the *first* thing to be provided for in any national scheme.

In Australia each colony has its own regulations for the control of the primary schools. All, more or less, depend upon the pupil teacher system for a supply of trained teachers. I have been in communication with the several Boards, and will summarize for the Council the replies I have received.

The inspectors of Queensland seem to be well satisfied with their present supply of teachers. The only regulation bearing upon training reads: "Head teachers are required to give special attention to the training of their pupil teachers; in the instruction and management of a class." General-Inspector D. Ewart, in his last report, refers to this very matter of the supply of teachers. He strongly favours the present system, and seems to imply that it is well suited to the needs of his district. He writes: "There are no adult teachers to be had for the mere picking up. They do not grow wild in the bush, They are not to be found wandering about in the ranks of the unemployed. They have to be made, and to grow, and to be waited for. We have made them out of pupil teachers all the time, and we must continue to make them that way until a better way is found; and a better way will not be sought for till the present way fails. Three of the eleven inspectors are natives of the colony, and ex-pupil teachers of our own training, and they are not less valued than their brethren for attainments, school masterly skill, activity of mind and body, judgment, tact, worldly wisdom, and common sense. The directness of the training of the pupil teachers in the actual work of the schools, according to the ordinary conditions of colonial life, seems to peculiarly fit our needs, and to make up largely for the want of a more philosophical training, and I confidently appeal to the best of the teachers who have come to us from the training colleges of the home lands if they have not had to let go something of what they were taught is scholastically correct in order to meet their work here." As long as the Chief Inspector holds these opinions, Queensland remain without her training colleges.

In New South Wales the pupil teacher system is supplemented by partial training in the colleges. There are two such schools—the Fort-street Training School and the Hurlstone Training School for Female Students. Into these schools are received annually three classes of candidates—namely: *Scholarship Candidates*—Thirty pupil teachers whose term of service has expired, and who have obtained the highest marks among those passing the entrance examination. *Half-Scholarship Candidates*—Twenty pupil teachers whose term of service has expired, and who have obtained, after the first thirty, the next highest marks among those passing the entrance examination, and are prepared to pay half the cost of their maintenance while in training. *Non-Scholarship Candidates* Other pupil teachers who have passed the entrance examination, and are prepared to pay the whole cost of their maintenance while in training."

The obvious criticism on this system is its limitations. Looking up the New South Wales reports for 1898, I find that there were under the Department 608 pupil teachers, while in the two training schools referred to above there were only students, all of whom had won scholarships. Thus only a small percentage of the pupil teachers of New South Wales receive any training outside the years of apprenticeship.

In the days of Gladman, Victoria led the way in respect to the teachers she produced. Many of the young men who had been trained in the Melbourne School found their way to New Zealand, and received some of the best appointments. Their training was manifest from the skilful and efficient manner in which they conducted their classes and schools. When depression came to Victoria, teachers suffered with the rest of the population, and the training schools were crippled. In the days of prosperity provision had been made not only for a large central Training College in Melbourne, but also for district training schools, not exceeding twenty in number in various parts of the colony. The pioneers of the system seem to have made most elaborate provision for the

training of the young teachers of Victoria—a system which has not been realised in its entirety. It is intended, however, to open a Training College at the commencement of this year for the fanning of pupil teachers who have completed their course. The present regulations will then be superseded, and a new order of things established. A point to be emphasised is this, that the authorities recognise strongly that the pupil-teacher system is most inadequate for the equipment of efficient and capable teachers. The Victorian inspectors voice this belief in their reports. Mr Frank Tate wrote in 1895: "The schools should be sowing seeds of fuller, broader, gentler life and be fostering them, should aim at turning out children on the road towards becoming cultured men with beautiful manners and noble instincts, men who are capable of sound thought, and who are imbued with high ideals of life and life's work. Now, schools can only do this when they are staffed with teachers who are educationists, not school shopkeepers, who are professional men and not mere artisans, who are shepherds for love of the sheep and not for the sake of the wool and fellow." Again, at the third annual Conference in 1897 we find him advocating that arrangements should be made for a steady supply of trained professional teachers, and at the conclusion of his report for 1898, as Inspector of Schools, he respectfully draws the attention of the Department to the following points:—

- There is need of some special training for young teachers in the work of the country school prior to their appointment to the charge of such schools.
- Many teachers would benefit materially if they could occasionally visit approved schools under the direction of the inspector.
- The magnitude of the inspector's routine duty leaves him almost no time for what could be made his most valuable work, viz,—Giving stimulus and direction to teachers' ideals and methods."

In South Australia the schools seem to be be staffed with men who know their Business. Some of you will remember how enthusiastically Mr. White, of Dunedin, spoke of the Adelaide schools when he returned from Australia three years ago. Now the beginning, the middle, and the end of the South Australian public school system was one man—the late J. A. Hartley. Satisfactory as was the system of training for the colony, the Inspector-General yet supplemented it by giving his Saturday mornings to lecture on method to teachers, young and old, who assembled in Adelaide from all the surrounding districts. Student teachers at present spend at least twelve months at the Training College, studying half their time id teaching the other half. A proposed extension of the present system will come into force this year. Facilities are offered by the University which will enable every trained teacher in future to acquire a degree in Arts or Science, together with a diploma in education. We thus see that both Victoria and South Australia are unsatisfied with their present means of supplying trained teachers, and are proposing and carrying out reform in order to provide for these beginners the means of gaining knowledge of method, and to give the facilities for experience in the application of theories.

We are all well acquainted with the several arrangements made by the Boards [*unclear: of*] New Zealand for the training and supply of teachers. The vote for Normal schools was taken away twelve years ago, and it is no exaggeration to characterise that saving as the most seriously retrograde step in the history of our system. In [*unclear: two*] out of the four districts the training schools were continued, the expenditure in them unfortunately coming out of the maintenance allowance. In the other districts the Boards depend for the supply of trained men on the pupil teachers, Many of these secure their E or D certificate at the end of their four years' [*unclear: course;*] they are then cast adrift until some suitable vacancy occurs; then they continue [*unclear: in*] gain experience as masters of small country schools, or by acting as assistants in large schools. He who is fortunate enough to obtain an assistantship has [*unclear: some*] chance of gaining further knowledge of method and of gradually getting an [*unclear: insight*] into the finer requirements of the profession. But consider the case of an arena man who passes from a bad school conducted by an incompetent or lazy master [*unclear: to*] a small country school, where he has in a measure to work out his own [*unclear: salvatica*] Surely the memory of a year's work in the training school where all the [*unclear: angularities*] ties were rubbed off in contact with other students would now be an ever-bubbling well of inspiration. Such A man begins his professional career severely handicapped. The only outside help comes from the inspectors; and it is no doubt [*unclear: due*] to their kindly advice and skilful guidance that so many men who commence [*unclear: under*] such adverse conditions as those described above rise gradually to the front [*unclear: rank*] Unfortunately, our inspectors have been so hampered with the preparation [*unclear: of*] percentage tables and reports that one short day in the year is all the time [*unclear: a*] teacher can reasonably expect to get from them for the more important work [*unclear: of*] direction and guidance. On the other hand, many men who promised well [*unclear: have*] in such cases stagnated and failed. Devoid of innate vitality and native [*unclear: resource*] and removed from the chance of outside influence, they gradually work into [*unclear: a*] groove, and by the sheer force of dogged perseverance manage to pass through [*unclear: the*] annual parade day with a fair amount of credit. But in the smaller districts [*unclear: the*] worst feature of our present system is not altogether such a failure as the one [*unclear: I*] have outlined. The best of our young teachers are made to suffer, and this [*unclear: from*] no fault of their own. The status of the teacher is even in danger of [*unclear: being*] lowered. After passing through his

pupil-teacher course, many a lad has to wait for two or three years before securing a permanent place. During this period [unclear: of] waiting, the most precious years in a young teacher's life, there is danger [unclear: t] there will be a serious deterioration in the direction both of scholarship and [unclear: of] professional skill. Having this prospect in view, the parents of our best [unclear: pupils] often discourage them from entering the teaching profession, and thus the [unclear: quality] of the supply is likely to deteriorate. If our system were a truly national one, [unclear: ll] had the same opportunities for training, and if our young teachers had [unclear: the] doors of the schools in all parts of the colony open to them, then this danger [unclear: would] be considerably minimised. Some of the Boards have made wise provision [unclear: t] prevent their pupil teachers from drifting in this way. In Wellington they are [unclear: ow] called upon to retire at the end of the four years, They remain as ex-pupil [unclear: teachers] at the senior salary, and are promoted to assistantships as opportunity [unclear: occ]. Practically the same system holds in Southland, in Grey, and in Marlborough. [unclear: Is] Taranaki the evil above referred to came under the notice of the present [unclear: Inspector] and he added the regulations in regard to ex-pupil teachers. Ex-pupil [unclear: teachers] remain for five years, and are retained often in a different school at a salary of [unclear: £47] a year. Mr. Spencer writes that this plan works very well; the regulation in regard to practice in different schools is one that is commendable as a step in the direction of widening the experience of the beginner. It must be evident to every-one that the Boards ought to make some arrangements to prevent their future schoolmasters from being out of employment during the most susceptible years of their lives. It is a period of danger to the unemployed—a period when one's best efforts should be given to strenuous and careful work.

Turning to the future, let us examine the possibilities of this colony in this matter of training. It is true that to pull down is comparatively easy; to build up, much more difficult. But to construct schemes on paper is not beyond the powers of any of us. To move the official mind to put such schemes into actuality is a much more serious business. Indirectly we have criticised our present system by putting it beside the records of other countries; directly by showing its defects, as evidenced by observation and experience. First I see no hope of any change until the training of teachers is administered directly by the central department, and not left to the Boards. The teachers of the colony should be relieved of the suspicion that the continuance of Normal Schools is conditioned by reduction of salaries. The two schools at present in existence should be better equipped, better endowed, and more generously staffed. Colleges in Auckland and in Wellington ought to be sufficient to overtake the work of the North Island. The latter should be especially equipped to undertake the higher work of training, a school where the best students from each province may be sent, by means of scholarships, to complete their training for secondary work and for the work of inspection. More than this is possible. We notice that each of the Colleges of the New Zealand University has its special faculty: Auckland has music, Canterbury has an Agricultural College, Otago is proud of her Medical and Mining Schools. Why should not Victoria College emulate the example of these? And what better special function can she assume than to foster within her walls the Science and Art of Education? Were she to do this, Victoria College would become, in a real sense, the Alma Mater of the teachers of the colony. The goal of the students in these Colleges ought not to be the D Certificate. No one below this standard should be admitted. To teach the Science and Art of Education and to foster professional enthusiasm and genuine love of teaching ought to be their aim.

It will probably be said that this scheme is purely Utopian, and that such aspirations will never be realised within the experience of the present generation of teachers. My answer is that educational reform is in the air, and we know not what a few years may bring forth. If we put aside all thoughts of future possibilities the question still remains, "Can nothing more be done with our present machinery?" I am sanguine enough to believe that much can be done, and that with little additional expense. The new regulations open the door for the realisation of reform in many directions. I believe that inspectors have in the past been labouring in many cases to improve the efficiency of their schools and teachers, too much by criticism rather than by guidance. Let us look at the matter from the teachers' standpoint. Many of us who are headmasters are entrusted with the care of young, untried teachers for the first few years of their careers, suppose we set these beginners certain work to perform, and at the end of a stated period examined and criticised the results. If we did nothing further than this, would there be much to wonder at if the expected improvement did not result from the periodic criticism? But no Headmaster works on such a plan as that. He knows the difficulties before the young teacher, and seeks by daily guidance, by the force of continual example, and by criticism that is not felt as criticism, to lead his pupil into the path of success. The inspectors have themselves complained that they have not had time to give such attention to those of their teachers who need it. We hope that the new regulations will set free these gentlemen, who are our masters in method, to do much more of this educative work. The time will come when we will see the Inspector entering the school of a man who has not been altogether successful and saying to him: "I have looked into your career as a teacher and find that you have not had many opportunities of seeing good work. I have come to spend a week in your school—not to report on your teaching, but to show you how I think your school might be conducted. You sit at the table there; all I ask from you is to observe and to note."

Fellow-teachers, would not such help do more for the cause of education than loads of reports stored away in the shelves of our education offices? But you ask, where is the week to come from? Saved from the time now spent in minute examination of the school that has "efficiency" written on the faces of its teachers, and in which good work is evidenced by the very tone of its class-rooms. Further, in the centres where there are no training schools Saturday classes may be organised to assist young teachers anxious to learn the principles of their profession. In conducting these, the inspectors would get willing help from the older and more experienced teachers in the district. In this way much could be done, much suggested, much inspiration given. The time and trouble thus expended in guiding the beginner will be more than compensated for by the absence of the necessity for fault-finding in after years. This was what I meant by guidance: criticism may or may not be constructive; sympathetic help always is.

These are but suggestions. None of them may be brought to the actual test of experience. Well, what of that? We know that the great body of teachers in the colony are doing efficient work, even in the face of great initial difficulties. What we want to secure by a reformed system is the possibility of more efficient work without friction, and without undue difficulty.

VOTE OF THANKS.—On the motion of Mr. Grundy, seconded by Mr. T. B. Gill, a vote of thanks to the President for his excellent address was carried by acclamation.

REVISION OF THE CONSTITUTION.—On the motion of the President a Sub-Committee, consisting of Messrs. Stewart, Eudey, Holmes, Gill, Macandrew, and Law, was set up to consider proposed amendments to the Constitution, the said Committee to report when ready.

ADJOURNMENT OF COUNCIL.—The Council then adjourned till 2.30 p.m.

Second Session.

JANUARY 2ND, 1900, 2.30 P.M.

The Council resumed, the President in the chair.

MINUTES—The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

CORRESPONDENCE.—Correspondence was read from Miss F. Haselden, of Auckland, thanking the Council for the support given her against the action of the Auckland Board. The letter was received.

From Mr. J. M. E. Garrow, B.A., intimating that success had attended the efforts of a deputation from the Otago Institute to obtain an extension of holiday I excursion tickets until February 6th.

On the motion of Mr. Jeffery, seconded by Mr. Davidson, it was resolved unanimously "That this Council thanks the Minister of Railways for his prompt action in granting excursion concessions."

From Mr. Yoxall, M.P., Secretary of the National Union of Teachers, England, suggesting a confederation of Teachers' Associations throughout the Empire.

On the motion of Mr. Stewart, seconded by Mr. Parkinson, the letter was referred to the Constitution Committee to report upon.

From Mr. J. M. E. Garrow, B.A., resigning his seat on the Executive.

On the motion of Mr. Stewart, seconded by Mr. Eudey, it was resolved, That Mr. Garrow's resignation be accepted with regret; that he be thanked for his past services, and that the Council wish him success in his new sphere of life."

From Messrs. Whitcombe and Tombs, asking the Council to adopt the "N. Z. Schoolmaster" as its official organ during the next twelve months.

On the motion of Mr. Macdonald, seconded by Mr. Parkinson, it was resolved, "That Messrs. Newton, Holmes, Parkinson, Hughes, Selby, and the Mover, be a Sub-Committee to deal with the subject of Messrs. Whitcombe and Tombs's letter, and report to the Council."

TRAINING OF TEACHERS.—On the motion of the President, seconded by Mr. Davidson, it was resolved, "That the Council affirms the need for better provision being made for the training of teachers throughout the colony."

DISMISSAL OF EX-P.T.'s.—On the motion of Mr. Stewart, seconded by Miss Shrewsbury, it was resolved, "That the Council protests against the practice followed by some Boards of Education of dismissing certificated pupil teachers and taking candidates in their places without giving the said ex-pupil teachers two; opportunities of accepting appointments in any school."

COLONIAL SCALE.—On the motion of Mr. Stewart, seconded by Mr. Davidson, it was resolved, unanimously, That this Council has learnt with pleasure from the statement of the Hon. the Minister of

Education, that it is the intention of the Government to introduce a Bill providing for a colonial scale of staffs and salaries for teachers."

COUNCIL IN COMMITTEE.—On the motion of Mr. Stewart the Standing Orders were suspended, and the Council was resolved into Committee.

COUNCIL RESUMED.—Upon resuming the Committee reported that the following gentlemen had been nominated in their several districts to act as organisers in Import of the efforts of the Council to obtain a colonial scale of staffs and salaries:—Auckland, Mr. Stewart; Otago, Mr. Jeffery; North Canterbury, Mr. Hughes; South Canterbury, Mr. Johnson; Southland, Mr. Clark; Hawke's Bay, Mr. Holmes; Nelson, Mr. Gibbs; Taranaki, Mr. Dempsey; Wanganui, Mr. R. Grant; Waikato, Mr. Stevens; Grey, Mr. Smith; Wellington, Mr. Erskine; Marlborough, Mr. Sturrock; Westland, Mr. Henderson.

The Committee's report was adopted by the Council.

COLONIAL SCALE.—On the motion of Mr. Eudey, seconded by Mr. Macandrew, it was resolved, "That the Department of Education be urged to include the following principle in any scheme for a colonial scale—That the ratio of the number of pupil teachers to that of certificated teachers should be limited, say 1 to 5."

Proposed by Mr. Eudey, seconded by Mr. Macandrew, "That the principle of bonus for length of service be recognised." The motion was lost by 18 to 15.

APPORTIONMENT OF GRANT.—On the motion of Mr. Cill, seconded by Mr. Parkinson, it was resolved, "That Messrs. Stevens, Holmes, Smith, Hughes, and the Mover, be a Committee to apportion the grant from the Government."

ADJOURNMENT OF COUNCIL.—The Council then adjourned till 10 a.m. next day

Third Session.

JANUARY 3RD, 1900, 10 A.M.

The Council resumed, the President in the chair.

MINUTES.—The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

MARLBOROUGH BRANCH.—On the motion of the Secretary, seconded by Mr. Davidson, it was resolved, "That the Marlborough Educational Institute be affiliated with the New Zealand Educational Institute, and its representative be allowed to take his seat."

CORRESPONDENCE.—Correspondence was read from Mr. Stevens, Waikato, applying for a refund of the sum of £2 2s. incurred in the Bruce case.

On the motion of Mr. Stewart, seconded by Mr. Davidson, it was resolved, "That, considering the special circumstances of the Bruce case, and the personal payment by Mr. Stevens of the expenses, the further sum of £2 2s. be voted to the Waikato Branch, the case not to be regarded as a precedent."

From Messrs. S. N. Brown and Co., proprietors of the New Zealand Journal of Education, asking for continued support from the Council.

On the motion of the Secretary the letter was referred to the Committee dealing with Messrs. Whitcombe and Tombs's communication.

From Mr. Newton, Secretary of the Thames Sub-Branch, covering a letter from Miss Haselden, asking for assistance in payment of her costs in the case against the Auckland Board.

On the motion of Mr. Newton, seconded by Mr. Stewart, it was resolved, "That this Council vote the sum of £4 to the Auckland Branch, as part payment of the legal expenses incurred by Miss Haselden in prosecuting her appeal."

From the Education Department with reference to the Habens' Memorial Scholarship.

On the motion of Mr. Law, seconded by Mr. Grant, the letter was received.

COLONIAL SCALE.—On the motion of Mr. Gibbs, seconded by Mr. J. H. Harkness, it was resolved, "That the Council is pleased to learn from the statement of the Hon. the Minister of Education that the Colonial Scale of Staffs and Salaries is, before final adoption, to be submitted to each branch Institute through-out the colony for consideration."

APPOINTMENT OF TEACHERS.—On the motion of Mr. Selby, seconded by Mr. Blake, it was resolved, "That the present procedure of some Education Boards in debarring from employment in their districts teachers from other districts, is unjust, and should be altered to prevent our education system from becoming provincialised."

REDUCTION OF GRANT BY EPIDEMICS.—On the motion of Mr. G. Grant, seconded by Mr. Law, it was resolved, "That when attendance at any school is reduced below 70 per cent, of the roll number during any

quarter by epidemics, staff and salary be reckoned according to the same percentage of the roll as was maintained during the corresponding quarter of the previous year."

CAPITATION GRANT.—On the motion of Mr. Stewart, seconded by Mr. Law, it was resolved, "That, pending the introduction of a Colonial Scale of Salary, the Institute should use every endeavour to secure the increase of the capitation grant to Boards to £4."

ADJOURNMENT OF COUNCIL.—The Council then adjourned till 2.30 p.m.

Fourth Session.

JANUARY 3RD, 1900, 2.30 P.M.

The Council resumed, the President in the chair.

MINUTES.—The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

INSPECTORATE.—On the motion of Mr. Law, seconded by Mr. G. Grant, it was resolved, "That Inspectors should be placed under central control, and that they should be changed from district to district periodically."

DEPARTMENT EXAMINATIONS.—On the motion of Mr. S. H. Ferguson, seconded by Mr. E. N. Ormiston, it was resolved, "That the Council recommends the Education Department to adopt code words or numbers for candidates at examinations conducted by the Department, and that the names of the Examiners should be placed on the examination papers."

CLASS A CERTIFICATE.—Mr. Bethune proposed, seconded by Mr. Parkinson, "That the holders of the M.A. Degree with third-class honours, or without honours, should be placed in Class A upon obtaining another degree, such as B.Sc. or LL.B." The motion was lost by 24 to 13."

DEGREE IN PEDAGOGY.—On the motion of Mr. Gill, seconded by Mr. Grant, it was resolved, "That the University Senate be asked to grant a diploma in pedagogy."

REPRESENTATION OF EDUCATION BOARDS.—On the motion of Mr. Voss, seconded by Mr. Ryder, *pro forma*, it was resolved, "That primary school teachers should be granted the power of electing to each Education Board in the colony one member who is not a teacher in the Board's employ."

HISTORICAL READERS.—On the motion of Mr. Parkinson, seconded by Mr. Selby, *pro forma*, it was resolved, "That Inspectors should not require any further evidence of historical teaching in any class, than such as will satisfy them that a suitable historical reader is in regular use in such class in addition to the ordinary reader."

NEW ZEALAND HISTORY.—On the motion of Mr. Bethune, seconded by Mr. Jeffery, it was resolved, "That in any scheme for instruction in history it is desirable that the history of New Zealand should find a place."

INSTRUCTIONS TO INSPECTORS.—On the motion of Mr. Selby, seconded by Mr. Grundy, it was resolved, "That instructions to inspectors, similar to those issued by the English Committee of Council on Education, should be issued by the Education Department to the Inspectors of the colony."

SUPERANNUATION COMMITTEE.—On the motion of Mr. Gill, seconded by Mr. Eudey, it was resolved, "That Messrs. Grundy, Watson, Macmorran, and Gill, be a committee to deal with the question of providing retiring allowances for public school teachers."

ADJOURNMENT OF COUNCIL.—The Council then adjourned till 10 a.m. next day.

Fifth Session.

JANUARY 4TH, 1900. 10 A.M.

The Council resumed, the President in the chair.

MINUTES.—The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

EXECUTIVE REPORT.—The Executive presented the following Report:—

REPORT OF EXECUTIVE, JANUARY, 1900.

Your Executive has the honour to present its usual Annual Report to the Council.

The Executive has much pleasure in reporting that a Branch Institute has been established in Marlborough, and therefore now every educational district in New Zealand has a branch affiliated with the New Zealand

Educational Institute.

The following matters were handed over by the last Council meeting to be considered by the Executive: (a) Investment of legal funds;(b) English Superannuation scheme; (c) Revision of the Constitution;(d) Members of the Executive to be members of the Council.

We deal with these *seriatim*.

LEGAL ASSISTANCE FUND.—As requested by the Council, the Executive submitted to the Branches the advisability of investing with Trustees all amounts in the Legal Assistance Fund over £250. The branches which have replied are all favourable to this way of dealing with the Fund.

CONSTITUTION.—Your Executive desires to state its opinion that all propositions for radical changes in the Constitution must emanate from the Council itself. The Executive being a body scattered over New Zealand, finds it very difficult to deal with a large question of this sort which needs long discussion. Notes from Otago and Auckland are at the disposal of any committee which may be appointed by your Council.

INTERVIEW WITH THE MINISTER.—On April 22nd the Wellington members of the Executive had an interview with the Minister of Education for the purpose of laying before him the resolutions of the last Council. We were received, as usual, with great courtesy and sympathy. The following matters were discussed:—

- Uniform Pupil Teacher system and examination. The Minister undertook to consider the matter.
- Better definition of the work in Geography for Standards IV., V., VI., and uniform drawing tests. These have now been met by the new regulations.
- A more uniform practice on the part of Inspectors in allotting marks for the purpose of raising the grade of teachers' certificates.—The Minister promised to look into the matter, and intimated that he considered some action necessary.
- Uniform Scale of Staffs and Salaries.—The announcement made by the Minister at the opening of this Conference renders it unnecessary to further report on this subject.
- Freedom of Classification was also discussed at length. The new regulations show that the long, persistent agitation of the Council has at last borne fruit. If these regulations are not quite on the lines we hoped, they are, at any rate, a beginning, and we could hardly hope that so great a change would be made all at once. No doubt improvement will be made from time to time. Some un-evenness and some friction are sure to arise at first under these new regulations, but it is hoped that by patience and firmness on the part of teachers and Inspectors an improved general education will result.

GENERAL CONFERENCE.—Your Executive points out with satisfaction that members of the Branch Institutes were invited to attend a joint conference of Board members, Inspectors and teachers.

The Executive thinks that the courtesy of the Board prompting the conference should be recognised by your Council.

TECHNICAL REPORT.—Your Executive would draw the attention of the Council to the report on Technical Education drawn up by the Special Committee appointed by the Council at its last meeting.

NELSON CASE.—In the early part of the year your Executive had under its consideration a case from Nelson. The headmaster of the Boys' Central School refused to place in Standard IV. a boy who had passed into that standard at a previous examination, but who had been absent from school for a lengthened period after the examination, and who had, in consequence, gone greatly back in his work. The parent protested and appealed first to the School Committee (which body supported the master's action) and subsequently to the Board. The Board upheld the parent's demand. The master applied to the Executive, and a case was stated for the opinion of our solicitors, who advised that the master was strictly within his legal rights, and suggested an appeal to the Minister of Education. The Minister upheld the master's action in every point. Your Executive incurred an expense of £7 7s., subject to a discount of £2 2s., and suggest that this amount be voted by the Council in payment of the costs. The headmaster concerned reports to your Executive that the action taken has had a most salutary effect on the attendance at the schools of the Nelson district.

In conclusion your Executive would suggest the advisability of making provision for payment of travelling expenses, if necessary, to members of the Executive for, say one meeting during the year. This would enable the whole Executive to meet together once a year if any very important matter cropped up.

Wm. Thos. Grundy,
Secretary to the Executive.

ADOPTION OF REPORT.—On the motion of Mr. Stewart, seconded by Mr. Parkinson, the report was received and adopted.

NELSON CASE.—On the motion of Mr. Davidson, seconded by Mr. Law, it was resolved, "That the Council pay the expenses incurred in connection with the Nelson case."

WANOANUI EDUCATION BOARD.—On the motion of Mr. Gill, seconded by Mr. Eudey, it was resolved,

"That this Council expresses to the Wanganui Education Board its appreciation of the courtesy extended to the New Zealand Educational Institute in inviting representatives of the various district institutes to take part in the Education Conference in July last, and also its satisfaction at the tangible results of that Conference.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE.—The Committee appointed to consider the letters received from Messrs. Whitcombe and Tombs and S. N. Brown and Co., brought up the following report:—

The Committee met to consider letters received from Messrs. S. N. Brown and Co. and Whitcombe and Tombs. There were present Messrs. Macdonald (Chairman), Hughes, Holmes, Newton, Selby and Parkinson. The letters received by the Council were considered.

It was decided to make the following recommendations:—

- That a reply be sent to Messrs. Whitcombe and Tombs pointing out that they are in error in supposing that the "New Zealand Journal of Education" had been made the official organ of the Institute for only one year: also, that Messrs. Whitcombe and Tombs be thanked for their offer, and informed that the Institute does not see its way to reverse the decision arrived at last year.
- That a reply be sent to Messrs. S. N. Brown and Co. expressing satisfaction with the measure of success achieved during the year in the management of the journal.
- That the Council again strongly commend the journal to the support of the profession, more especially as it is conducted by teachers for teachers.

ADOPTION OF REPORT.—On the motion of Mr. Macdonald, seconded by Mr. Eudey, the report was received and adopted.

CONSTITUTION COMMITTEE.—The Council then resolved into Committee to consider the report of the Constitution Committee.

Upon resuming the Committee reported progress, and asked for leave to sit again.

ADJOURNMENT OF COUNCIL.—The Council then adjourned till 2.30 p.m.

Sixth Session.

JANUARY 4TH. 1900, 2.30 P.M.

The Council resumed, the President in the chair.

MINUTES.—The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

HOLIDAY FARES.—On the motion of Mr. Jeffery, seconded by Mr. Hughes it was resolved, "That the Minister of Railways be asked to grant holiday fares to public school teachers and school inspectors during holidays; and that the same concession be granted to teachers when travelling on business connected with the various branches of their institutes."

TECHNICAL REPORT.—On the motion of Mr. Parkinson, seconded by Mr. Gibbs, it was resolved, "That a copy of the report of the Council's Committee on manual and technical instruction be sent to every Education Board member, and to every newspaper in the colony."

On the motion of Mr. Eudey, seconded by Mr. McElrea, it was resolved, "That the hearty thanks of the Institute be accorded to the Committee on Technical Education for its very valuable report, and especially to Messrs. Watson, Gill and Grundy."

SCHOOL LIBRARIES.—Moved by Mr. Ryder, seconded by Mr. Ambrose, "That the Minister of Education be asked to assist school libraries by establishing distributing centres, such centres to be supported by a small annual grant."

The motion was lost by 16 to 19.

BALANCE SHEET.—The treasurer presented his annual balance sheet, which was adopted.

APPOINTMENT OF TEACHERS.—On the motion of Mr. Grant, seconded by Mr. Gibbs, it was resolved "That the Education Act, 1877, should be amended to empower Education Boards to appoint and transfer teachers without having to consult School Committees."

PETITION TO PARLIAMENT.—On the motion of Mr. E. N. Ormiston, seconded by Mr. Newton, it was resolved, "That as an additional means of securing that much-desired boon—a colonial scale of salaries—this Council urges upon each of its district branches to petition both Houses of Legislature on the question."

PATRIOTIC FUND.—On the motion of Mr. Davidson, seconded by Mr. Stevens, It was resolved, "That this Council approves of the suggestion to give the children of the colony an opportunity to contribute to a New Zealand Children's Patriotic Fund in connection with the Transvaal Relief Fund."

COMPETITIVE EXAMINATIONS.—On the motion of Mr. Jeffery, seconded by Mr. J. Grant, it was resolved,

"That in competitive examinations, and for Teachers' and P.T.'s Certificates, the Education Department and Education Boards should not permit teachers to examine their own students in subjects they teach to those students."

MR. YOXALL'S LETTER. The Committee reported "That having considered the letter of Mr. Yoxall *re* a Confederation of Teachers' Unions throughout the empire, this Committee recommends the Institute to reply that it is willing to join in such a movement. Your Committee has included a clause in the Constitution to enable that to be done."

On the motion of Mr. Gill, seconded by Mr. Stewart, the report was adopted.

COUNCIL IN COMMITTEE.—The Council was resolved into Committee to consider the report of the Constitution Committee, and, on resuming, the Committee reported progress, and asked for leave to sit again.

SECRETARY'S EXPENSES.—On the motion of Mr. Holmes, seconded by Mr. Law, it was resolved, "That the Secretary's expenses be paid out of the general funds."

LEGAL ASSISTANCE FUND.—On the motion of the Treasurer it was resolved, "That £50 be transferred from the General Fund to the Legal Assistance Fund "

ADJOURNMENT OF COUNCIL.—The Council then adjourned till 7.80 p.m.

Seventh Session.

JANUARY 4TH, 1900, 7.30 P.M.

The Council resumed, the President in the chair.

MINUTES.—The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

COUNCIL IN COMMITTEE—The Council was resolved into Committee to consider the report of the Constitution Committee.

On resuming the amended Constitution was presented, and on the motion of Mr. Stewart, seconded by Mr. Gill, was adopted.

VOTE OF THANKS.—On the motion of Mr. Jeffery, seconded by Mr. Ryder, it was resolved, "That a hearty vote of thanks be accorded by the Council to the Constitution Committee for its labours."

DISTRIBUTION OF CONSTITUTION.—On the motion of Mr. G. Grant, seconded by Mr. Gibbs, it was resolved, "That the Executive arrange to supply to all teachers eligible for membership a copy of the institute Constitution as adopted, together with a circular setting forth the advantages of membership."

MODEL DISTRICT CONSTITUTION.—On the motion of Mr. Eudey, seconded by Mr. Davidson, it was resolved, "That a model constitution for district institutes, and regulations for the administration of the Legal Assistance Fund, be drawn up by April 30th; that it be sent to the district institutes for suggestions; that it be then put into shape and submitted to the Institute's solicitors; that a copy be sent to the district institutes for consideration before being finally adopted at the annual meeting in 1901; and that Mr. Stewart be authorised to draw up the said constitution and regulations.

NEXT MEETING OF THE COUNCIL.—On the motion of Mr. Parkinson, seconded by Mr. Gill, it was resolved, "That the Council meet in Wellington on January 2nd, 1901."

ELECTION OF PRESIDENT.—On the motion of Mr. Eudey, seconded by Mr. Davidson, it was resolved, "That Mr. W. T. Grundy be the President for the next year."

Mr. Grundy returned thanks for the honour bestowed on him.

ADDRESS TO THE SECRETARY.—Speeches appreciative of the services of Mr. Grundy as Secretary were made by Mr. Johnson (the retiring President), Mr Stewart, and Mr. Davidson, and Mr. Newton, Secretary of the Testimonial Committee, read the following address:—

N.Z. Educational Institute, Timaru,

4th January, 1900.

Wm. Thos. Grundy, Esq., Wellington,

Dear Sir,—On behalf of the various Branches of this Institute, we have great pleasure in taking advantage of this opportunity of conveying to you the heartiest thanks of the members for the great and valuable services rendered by you, as its Secretary, during the past eight years.

That the steady growth and increased influence of the Institute is very largely due to your efforts is no mere platitude.

While we may refer more especially to your arduous labours in connection with the Court of Appeal Act and its amendment, and the movement for freedom of classification, it is beyond doubt that your personal influence has been of the greatest value to the Institute, and has helped to secure for the teachers of New Zealand most of the benefits granted by the Legislature.

To show that the members of the N.Z. Educational Institute in some degree appreciate these earnest and self-denying efforts, we are directed to ask your acceptance of the accompanying silver salver and serviette rings, also of a purse of sovereigns, with the contents of which we trust you will purchase some additional memento of your long official connection with the Council and its Executive.

We are, dear sir, yours very sincerely,

J. M. A. Johnson.

Thomas Hughes.

Ralph D. Stewart.

Wm. Davidson.

Wm. H. Newton,

(Hon. Sec. Testimonial Committee.)

Mr. Grundy feelingly returned thanks.

PRINTING OF ADDRESS.—On the motion of Mr. Newton, seconded by Mr. Hughes, it was resolved, "That the Secretary be authorised to have the address suitably engrossed on parchment, and hand the same to Mr. Grundy."

ELECTION OF TREASURER.—On the motion of Mr. Johnson, seconded by Mr. Eudey, it was resolved, "That Mr. Hughes, B.A., be re-elected Treasurer."

Mr. Hughes returned thanks.

ELECTION OF SECRETARY.—On the motion of Mr. Stewart, seconded by Mr. Macdonald, it was resolved, "That Mr. T. H. Gill, M.A., be elected Secretary."

Mr. Gill returned thanks.

EXECUTIVE.—Messrs. Stewart, Davidson and Watson were duly nominated and elected as members of the Executive.

VOTES OF THANKS.—Hearty votes of thanks were passed—

- To the Minister of Education for the grant in aid of expenses, and for his courteous consideration of the recommendations of the Council.
- To the retiring President and officers for their services.
- To the Local Branch for its hospitality.
- To the Press of Timaru for the excellence of its reports of the deliberations of the Council.

ADJOURNMENT OF COUNCIL.—The Council then adjourned.

Constitution of the New Zealand Educational Institute

- That the name of this Association shall be "The New Zealand Educational Institute."
- That the New Zealand Educational Institute shall consist of societies of teachers hereinafter called District Institutes, established in the following education districts, that is to say, Auckland, Hawke's Bay, Taranaki, Wanganui, Wellington, Marlborough, Nelson, Grey, Westland, North Canterbury, South Canterbury, Otago, Southland, and in such education district or districts as may be hereafter constituted under the Education Act, or of representatives of such societies; such District Institutes to be duly registered under the "Public School Teachers' Incorporation and Court of Appeal Act, 1895," provided that nothing in this section shall be construed to in any way deprive the Waikato District Institute of its full privileges as a District Institute, and provided also that, with this exception, for the future there shall not be more than one District Institute in each education district.
- That the main objects of this Institute shall be (a) To advance the cause of education generally;(b) To uphold and maintain the just claims of its members individually and collectively.
- That the officers of the Institute, hereinafter called the Executive, shall be a President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and three members, all of whom shall be elected for a period of one year at the annual meeting of the Institute from the members of the various District Institutes.
- That there shall be a meeting of the Institute in the month of January in each year, at the place determined upon at the previous annual meeting.

- That the annual meeting shall consist of the Executive and representatives chosen by the various District Institutes on the following basis, that is to say—One representative for the first twenty members; two for the first fifty members, and one for each additional forty members.
- That the functions of the aforesaid Executive shall be—
 - ¶ To act for and on behalf of the Institute during the adjournment from year to year;
 - ¶ To summon a special meeting at such a time, and for such a purpose as may be deemed necessary;
 - ¶ To present a general report of the year's work, and a duly-prepared balance-sheet, which shall be certified to by an auditor who shall be elected by the Institute at its first session.
- That at any meeting of the Institute or its Executive a quorum shall consist of at least one-half of the members thereof.
- That any District Institute ceasing to be connected with the N.Z.E.I. shall forfeit all rights of property it may have as an integral part of this Institute.
- That District Institutes constituting the N.Z.E.I. shall be governed by a constitution drawn up by the said Institute.
- That each District Institute shall pay annually to the Treasurer of the Institute, not later than the 1st day of December, the sum of 3s. for each of its members', 1s. of which shall be devoted to the legal assistance fund.
- That, in case of emergency, the Institute shall, in addition to the contribution set out in Clause 11, have power to levy on the District Institute a sum not exceeding 10s. per member in any year.
- That no District Institute shall bring before the Minister of Education or the Education Department any matter affecting the teachers of the colony as a whole, except through the Executive of the N.Z.E.I.
- That a fund, to be called the "Legal Assistance Fund," be formed and maintained for the purpose of providing legal assistance for only those members of the Institute who have been on the official list of members for the preceding year, and who have paid their subscriptions for the current year: such contributions to be administered by the Executive under such regulations as shall be hereafter made.
- That notice of business shall be given to the Secretary of the Institute, through the Committee of Management of the District Institutes, at least two months before the annual meeting, and that no other business shall be brought forward except by notice of motion, or by permission of the Institute formally obtained.
- That it shall be the duty of the Secretaries of the District Institutes to supply the Secretary of the N.Z.E.I., before December 1st, with copies of the bye-laws of their Institutes, and of alterations which, from time to time, may be made in them, together with copies of their annual reports, and with abstracts of the proceedings of their annual meetings.
- That it shall be the duty of the Treasurers of District Institutes to supply the Treasurer of the N.Z.E.I., before December 1st, with copies of their annual balance-sheets, and with lists of their *bonâ fide* members.
- A *bonâ fide* member shall mean one who has been duly nominated and elected according to the rules of his District Institute, and who has discharged his financial obligations to his District Institute.
- That a financial year shall be from the 1st day of January to the 31st day of December in any year.
- That the funds of the Institute shall be invested in the names of the President, Treasurer, and a member of the Executive elected at the annual meeting.
- That the registered office of the N.Z.E.I. shall be the Newtown Public School, Wellington.
- That it shall be in the power of the N.Z.E.I. to join a federation of Teachers' Unions throughout the Empire.
- That any of the foregoing clauses of the Constitution may be added to, rescinded, or amended, or any new clause may be inserted by a majority of the members of the Institute in annual meeting assembled, provided always that three months' notice has been given to the District Institutes that such clause or clauses will be under consideration.

Executive for 1900.

President.

- W. T. Grundy, Wellington.

Treasurer.

- T. Hughes, B.A., Christchurch.

Secretary.

- T. H. Gill, M.A., Wellington,
And
- R. D. Stewart, Auckland; W. Davidson, Dunedin; and C. Watson, B.A., Wellington.
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New Zealand Educational Institute.

Balance-Sheet, 1899-Ordinary Account.

1899. £ s. d. January 1—To Balance— Cash on fixed deposit 50 0 0 Cash in hands of Secretary 5 19 5
Cash in hands of Treasurer 91 9 10 Subscriptions— Feb. 3 Nelson Branch 1 13 8 " 9 Waikato Branch 1 10 0
May 8 Auckland (arrears) 3 0 0 July 7 Grey Branch 1 2 6 Nov. 6 Otago Branch 18 7 6 " 11 Taranaki Branch 1
10 0 Dec. 1 Waikato Branch 1 10 0 " 2 North Canterbury Branch 10 10 0 " 7 Westland Branch 1 17 6 " 7
Nelson Branch 3 0 0 " 8 Southland Branch 7 10 0 " 11 Marlborough Branch 1 16 0 " 13 Wellington Branch 5
12 6 " 16 South Canterbury Branch 4 13 0 Hawke's Bay Branch 3 0 0 Wanganui (Hawera Branch 4 i n
Wanganui (Palmerston) Branch i o Auckland Branch 10 10 0 Interest to June 24th on £200 deposit 9 16 4 £238
8 7 1899. £ s. d. January 1—By Transfer to Legal Assistance Fund .. 50 0 0 " 7 Press Company (advertising) ..
.. 1 0 0 Lyttelton Times Company 1 0 0 Bell, Gully. & Bell (account) 19 18 6 Secretary (travelling
expenses) 5 18 9 Attendant (Council meeting) 1 0 0 Gas 0 6 6 May 10 Secretary, Whitcombe & Co.
.. 15 10 0 June G Bruce case expenses (Waikato) .. 2 2 0 " 12 Fuhrman (chairs, Council) 2 0 0 Nov. 9
Blundell Bros. 13 1 0 Bock & Co. 3 10 0 Secretary's account 7 10 5 Cash in hands of
Secretary 1 16 4 Balance on fixed deposit 50 0 0 Cash in hands of Treasurer 62 11 7 Stamps,
exchange, &c. 0 7 6 Mr. Stewart's account 0 16 6 £238 8 7

Audited and certified correct, 5th January, 1900—J. Voss, Auditor.

"Legal Defence Fund."

DR. £ s. d. To Balance on Fixed Deposit 200 0 0 Balance Cash in hands Treasurer 121 10 0 £321
10 0 Cr. d. 1899. £ s. January 1—By Cash in hand 67 8 0 Cash on Fixed Deposit 150 0 0 Feb. 3
Subscription Nelson District Branch. .. 1 2 0 January 1 Transfer from General Fund .. 50 0 0 Subscriptions—
Feb. 9 Waikato Branch 1 0 0 May 8 Auckland Branch 2 0 0 July 7 Grey Branch 0 15 0 Nov. 6
Otago Branch 12 5 0 Nov. 11 Taranaki Branch 1 0 0 Dec. 1 Waikato Branch 1 0 0 " 2 North
Canterbury Branch 7 0 0 " 7 Westland Branch 1 5 0 " 7 Nelson Branch 2 0 0 " 8 Southland
Branch 5 0 0 " 11 Marlborough Branch 1 4 0 " 13 Wellington 3 15 0 " 10 South Canterbury 3 2
0 Hawke's Bay 2 0 0 Wanganui (Hawera) .. 2 14 0 Wanganui (Palmerston) .. Auckland 7 0 0 £321
10 0

Audited and certified correct, 5th January, 1900.—J. Voss, Auditor.

Statement of Assets and Liabilities.

JANUARY 1ST, 1900.

ASSETS. LIABILITIES. £ s. d. £ s. d. Ordinary Account—Messrs. Bell, Gully & Bell .. 7 7 0 Fixed

Deposit in Welling Expenses in Bruce case 2 2 0 ton Trust & Loan Co. .. 50 0 0 Expenses in Hazledean case 4
0 0 Cash in hand .. 64 7 11 Balance 424 13 11 " " 0 7 6 Legal Defence Fund— Fixed Deposit in Welling
ton Trust & Loan Co. .. 200 0 0 Balance in hand 121 10 0 Arrears from Branches— Grey (say) .. 1 17 6 £438
2 11 £438 2 11

Audited and certified correct, 5th January, 1900. J. Voss, Auditor.

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Whitcombe and Tombs Ltd.

A Summary of Chapter XV. of the Romance of the Heavens

By Professor Bickerton,

Being the Application of the theory of "Constructive Impact" to cosmic evolution.

This synoptic statement is a brief resume of the contents of the volume, which itself is a plain statement for the general reader of this highly suggestive theory of the genesis of celestial bodies and systems. The book will be published on or before 1st January, 1901, closely following on the publication of Professor BICKERTON'S *Romance of the Earth*, a Reading-book of the History of the Earth, with Illustrations, published at 2s. 6d., on 2nd December, 1900.

London

Swan Sonnenschein & Co., Lim.

Chapter XV.

SYNOPTIC STATEMENT OF THE PRINCIPLES AND PHENOMENA OF COSMIC IMPACT: PREPARED FOR THE USE OF SCIENTIFIC MEN AND SOCIETIES.

This abstract will serve the general reader as a summary of the theory of impact. It is especially intended to save the time of scientific men. Should any statement not appear obvious to such readers reference can be made to the body of the work. For the instruction those who may desire to study the original papers a list is appended at the end of the synopsis.

Contents.

Stellar Collision—Partial Impact—New Stars and Planetary Nebulæ—Selective Molecular Escape—Formation of Star-Clusters and Meteoric Swarms—Comets—Variable Stars—Double Stars—Nebulæ—The Solar System—Mathematical Conditions of the Formation of Nebulæ—The Cosmos possibly Immortal—Sequence of Agencies—List of Papers in the Transactions of the New Zealand Institute.

STELLAR COLLISION.

1. The new photographic charts have demonstrated that there are over a hundred million bright stars in the Milky Way.
2. The companion of Sirius and the dark component of Algol prove the existence of dead suns. These are possibly very numerous. Sir Robert Ball thinks them more numerous than luminous ones: for, other theoretical reasons than his I believe him to be right.
3. Stars have an independent velocity or proper motion of about ten miles a second upon an average. Recent spectroscopic observations seem to suggest a slightly higher velocity than this.
4. This motion is apparently without much order. It will alter the relative distance of stars, and may bring them near each other, and possibly into impact.
5. If they are brought near each other their mutual attraction will alter their velocity, and curve their courses into hyperbolic orbits. If they do not graze they will ultimately again attain their original proper motion.
6. When stars are very near each other their attraction will cause them to be distorted into an egg-shape.
7. The tendency to collision will therefore be increased by their mutual attraction in these two ways, for it will cause them (1) to curve their courses, (2) to be distorted when very near each other. The chances of

collision will thereby be made one hundred times greater on an average. In the case of two such bodies as our sun the chances of collision would be about one thousand times greater.

8. All impacts brought about in this way by deflection will be of a grazing character; consequently nearly all stellar collisions of approximately equal bodies will be of a grazing character.

9. The average velocity of stars at impact will be hundreds of miles a second, and in many cases thousands. The average "proper motion" will not appreciably affect the final velocity. Thus a proper motion of ten miles will add less than half a mile a second to a colliding velocity (velocity acquired by attraction) of one hundred miles a second.

10. A mere graze of the atmospheres of stars obviously will not cause them to coalesce, nor will a slight graze of the stars themselves. As a mean result, when more than a third of each of two equal bodies collide, coalescence will ensue, but this will depend on the original proper motion. Were nine-tenths of 1830 Groombridge to collide with a similar star the remaining tenth would not be stopped in its course; it would pass on in space, the bulk of the two stars temporarily coalescing and then dissipating into space.

11. The effect of the collision will be to intensely heat the colliding parts. Were the surface of the sun composed of oxygen the temperature produced by a slight graze would be about 120,000,000 centigrade.

PARTIAL IMPACT.

12. The heating effect of a graze of two stars, of two star-clusters, or of two nebulæ, or even of a star plunging through a star-cluster, will not appreciably extend to the parts not colliding. To emphasize this fact such impacts have been called "partial."

13. "Partial impacts" of stars generally result in the formation of three bodies. The fraction of each star, lying in the path of the other, which actually collides, and whose momentum will be nearly or quite destroyed, will be cut off from the rest of the star; they will coalesce and remain behind, whilst the two cut stars pass on in space.

14. Partial impacts of a third of two equal, stars having considerable original proper motion would make of the two impacting orbs three equal bodies: two of them would travel on in space in opposite directions; the third would revolve and dissipate without any motion of translation. If there had been no proper motion the three bodies would have coalesced into a whirling mass. If less than a third be cut off from each, the two bodies become three bodies orbitally connected.

15. The temperature produced by an impact depends on the velocity destroyed and on the chemical constitution of the colliding bodies. High velocities and heavy molecules both tend to produce high temperatures. Consequently the temperature does not depend upon the amount of the graze. Were one-tenth or one-hundredth grazed off the impacting stars, the temperature of the coalesced part would be the same.

16. Although the temperature will be the same, the gravitating power of the coalesced part will depend upon the mass and volume of that part; it will increase as the mass increases, and diminish as the volume increases if the mass remains constant.

17. There is a speed called the "critical velocity" at which projectiles would permanently leave cosmic bodies; this velocity is seven miles a second for the earth and 378 miles a second for the sun.

18. Heat is molecular motion. In a small graze of any given pair of stars the molecules will have the same velocity as in a large graze, but the gravitating force holding the bodies together will be different. In a large graze the body may be stable, the velocity of the molecules not overcoming the attraction of gravitation; in a small graze the body will expand indefinitely in consequence of the small attractive power of the coalesced mass, and every expanding particle will have so high a velocity that it will in general become an independent wanderer in space, the velocity of the molecules being above the critical velocity of the mass. Consequently space will be spread with free molecules.

NEW STARS AND PLANETARY NEULÆ.

19 The mass of gas produced by such an impact will obviously expand temporarily into a hollow shell of gas. Herschel tells us this is the condition of planetary nebulas.

20 A partial impact of stars will therefore generally produce in less than an hour an intensely heated body that will expand enormously without, for a time, much diminution of heat.

It will consequently become very bright indeed, after that it will continue to expand with diminishing intensity until it becomes a planetary nebula, and will then often disappear by the molecules dissipating completely into space.

21. Therefore in this time a new star has been born that increases in intensity until the general parallelism of motion of the molecules causes a lessening number of impacts between the molecules. As Sir William Crook's

experiments in radiant prove that molecules only radiate immediately after encounters, the luminosity will diminish, and will go on diminishing until the body disappears. In special cases the planetary nebula may be fairly permanent. In other cases a permanent star may appear in the centre of the nebula.

22. The graze occupies less than an hour and as with bodies of equal density the velocity acquired is proportional to the diameter, all grazing impacts of true stars or dead ones will occupy about one hour.

23. The molecules on the far side of the nebula (or third body formed by the two colliding stars) will be retreating from us; those on the near side will be advancing towards us.

The spectrum of such a body will consequently be crossed by broad bright bands with a maximum in the centre and gradually dying imperceptibly away. If this body has any motion in space, as it probably will have when the two colliding stars are unequal, the line of maximum intensity, though in the centre of the band, may be displaced from its true position.

24. Soon after impact the escaping molecular velocity will be greater than the motion of recession of the two cut stars, consequently the displaced lines of these bodies will be on either side of the centre of the broad band, but on its surface.

SELECTIVE MOLECULAR ESCAPE.

25. Immediately after the impact the temperature of different kinds of molecules will be very different from one another. Were the two colliding spheres composed of oxygen, they would be sixteen times as hot as if they were similar spheres of hydrogen. The temperature at impact will be proportional to the atomic weight. In a sphere of mixed elements these inequalities of temperature would quickly equalize themselves. When this was the case the hydrogen would be moving four times as fast as the oxygen. The velocities would vary inversely as the square root of the atomic weights. Whilst there escaping *energy* will be inversely as their atomic weight, that is hydrogen will have sixteen times the chance of escape that oxygen has.

26. This difference of velocity will tend to sort the molecules into layers like those of a lily bulb. The hydrogen on the outside will be followed by helium, lithium and other elements in the order of their atomic weights.

27. If there are elements lighter than hydrogen or if as Prof. J. J. Thomson suggests there be entities smaller than atoms, these will, of course, precede hydrogen. In my lectures and papers on this subject I have called this action "selective molecular escape."

28. Space will be thickly spread with free molecules of the lightest elements. This fact is important: it is one of the counteracting agencies that prevent the theory of the dissipation of energy being of cosmic application.

29. A telescopic view of a new planetary nebula produced by a partial impact, if seen through a prism, should give a series of discs of diameters diminishing with increase of atomic weight in its component elements.

30. This fact, taken in conjunction with the broadening of the lines into bands, will enable us to calculate the distance of such a body. It is possible, however, that the parallelism of the motion of the foremost molecules may prevent encounters; hence this layer of gas may not be luminous.

Formation of Star-Clusters and Meteoric Swarms.

31. The hydrogen will rob the heavy molecules of their energy: hence in any considerable graze the heavy metals might not indefinitely expand. They would lose their velocity by radiation and by doing work against gravitation, and they would be attracted back again, and may form a star in the centre of the nebula. Some nebulae have such stars.

32. In a partial impact the coalesced part will not have all its motion converted into heat. The momentum on the two sides will not be exactly balanced. The body will consequently tend to spin. It is generic of partial impact that it tends to cause rotation in all the bodies produced, and also that the rotation is all in the same direction.

33. It is a peculiarity of oxygen that it tends to render its compounds with metals less volatile than are the metals themselves. Almost all metallic oxides are less volatile than the metals forming them. Consequently, when metallic atoms and oxygen come together, they produce molecules that tend to coalesce. Thus nuclei form in a nebula and it becomes dusty. If the nebula be rotating this dust tends to move in orbits, and it would be constantly picking up other dust and molecules. Thus a rotating metallic nebula, in which molecular selective escape has dissipated the light molecules, tends to aggregate, not necessarily into a single body, but oftener into a number of bodies orbitally connected. If the mass be large it will become a star-cluster, if small a meteoric swarm.

34. In star-clusters, impacts should be frequent. These groups should be photographically observed to notice any sudden increase of intensity. Then the pair of impacting stars should be watched for nebula; and for variability.

35. Star-clusters would as a rule be very deficient in helium and neon, and also have but little uncombined hydrogen and not a large quantity of hydrogen in any condition, otherwise it would, except under special circumstances, have become a single star. But partial impact would make gas of the heavier elements and dissipate such gas. This would produce resistance and cause other impacts; thus variable stars may characterize some star-clusters, or special parts of a star-cluster, as is the case.

COMETS.

36. Meteoric swarms when near the sun would be distorted, and the constituent fragments would impact with extraordinary frequency. They would therefore become very brilliant, and show as comets. The friction would produce an enormous development of heat and electricity.

37. It is certain that the material of a tail of a comet does not belong to the comet itself. It is the dust of space lit up in some way like motes in air illuminated by a search-light. The phenomenon of the tail is almost certainly electrical. In a paper "On a New Relation between Heat and Electricity," I have discussed agencies that may explain the phenomenon.

38. Such a swarm, when close to the sun, would have its near part drawn in advance of, and its distant part left in the rear of, the general swarm. Its weak attractive power would often cause it to separate into a train.

The above are some of the phenomena that may ensue in the coalesced mass.

VARIABLE STARS.

39. The two stars that grazed would have a part cut out of each: this would expose the probably hot interior. Each star would entangle a portion of the other. This would increase the temperature and luminosity of the cut part of each.

40. The stars after collision would recover their sphericity chiefly by the molten interior welling up. This by momentum would overflow the space, and there would be a rhythmic tidal action, the molten lake overflowing and then sinking.

41. The retardation of the sheared stars by the entangled material would cause them to spin. This would act chiefly on the outer layers; the inside would tend to retain the original rotation of the star.

42. Thus in the sheared stars there are three tendencies struggling with one another—(1) the original rotation, (2) the new rotation, (3) the tidal action.

43. But the new rotation would be a large component. We have therefore a star which rotates and shows us alternately its hot and cool sides. The old rotation and the tidal motion produce other fluctuations of intensity, and also inequalities of the rate of motion.

44. Evidently such a body as described would be a variable star, and for a time such stars would be in pairs.

45. Many variable stars are in pairs. It is so striking a phenomenon that the probability is one hundred sextillions to one against its being the result of chance.

46. The stars of these pairs would have a motion directed outward from each other. The spectra might show displaced lines, if so the displacement should be in opposite directions in the two stars.

47. Conduction, convection, tidal motion, and the contending rotations will tend to bring about equality of temperature. This condition of variability will consequently be a temporary one. The star will ultimately become of uniform luminosity. These characteristics are all of them known peculiarities of variable stars.

48. Convection is due to difference of density. This difference may result from differences of temperature, or of chemical composition or of both. The lake of fire in the sheared star will consist of heavier molecules than the remaining surface, and it will also be at a higher temperature. These two will tend to neutralize each other; so that equality of temperature due to convection will not be brought about quickly.

49. Therefore, although such variable stars will doubtlessly become uniform, it is surprising what a number of agencies there are tending to retain this inequality of temperature. On theoretical grounds it appears that this condition of unequal heating may, as an extreme case, last thousands of years.

DOUBLE STARS.

50. The work of cutting the stars will be infinitesimal in relation to their available energy before collision. It will not cause any appreciable lessening of the velocity of the escaping stars. But the middle body will exert a powerful attraction. It will exercise a retarding influence, preventing the retreat of the two bodies, equal to that of three times the mass either body loses. Hence, when two equal bodies lose a third of each by impact, the

attraction acting on each of the escaping bodies is doubled. Therefore they do not as a rule become free from the new central body unless the original proper motion were large.

51. If however, the original proper motion *were* large, and the graze small, the two stars would escape each other. If the original motion were small, and the graze, on an average, more than a tenth, then the two stars would become orbitally connected.

52. Such a pair, when thus connected, would form a permanent double star. It is the opinion of some astronomers that impacting stars becoming orbitally connected could not make double stars, as they think such stars would impact again. But they overlook the fact that the nebula that retarded their escape and formed an important factor after the first impact, will have dissipated before they return.

53. Hence the eccentricity will lessen greatly, and, as a rule, instead of impacting again they will be scores of millions of miles away at perihelion. In fact, they may have about the eccentricity that double stars are known to have.

54. There is a possibility of a second impact when the graze has been a very small fraction, or if one of the stars were multiple. But the period of the subsequent recurrence of impacts, after the first recurrence, would lessen in point of time. On calculating the dates of the apparently recurrent star, "The Pilgrim," viz., 945, 1264, and 1572, this is proved to be the case. The dark bodies producing these impacts must be of absolutely stupendous dimensions. The dark bodies producing Nova Auriga: were probably 8,000 and 4,000 times the mass of the sun respectively.

55. Double stars should be more often variable than single stars. Struvé has proved that they are hundreds of thousands of times more variable than ordinary stars.

56. We should expect them also to be more frequently coloured. This, too, is most strikingly the case.

57. We should look for them to be associated with nebulae. Herschell says the association of nebulae and double stars is most truly remarkable.

58. They should be highly eccentric. This is also well known to be the case.

59. A large number of agencies tend to render the orbit less eccentric. These are fully discussed in my papers of 1880.

NEBULÆ.

60. If stars come into partial impact, the tendency to form nebula; of definite form, other than planetary or cometic, seems to be entirely destroyed by the outrush of the high-velocity gas. This is not the case with the impact of nebulae.

61. Impact may take place between nebulae, between star-clusters, between meteoric swarms, and between any two similar or dissimilar celestial bodies. The graze may be little or large; the original bodies may have had a small or great proper motion; and all these peculiarities will tend to vary the results.

62. If two nebulae come into a slight grazing impact there will result a double nebula, which will show a spindle at the centre. As they are parting company they may have temporarily a dumb-bell appearance; but, as the two sides of the coalesced nebula are moving in opposite directions, a spiral begins to form at the centre. As the ends travel on in space the spiral would increase, and ultimately a double spiral would result.

63. One or both of the original nebulae may be entangled in the spiral.

64. If the impact be considerable, the two nebulae do not escape each other, and an annular, nebula results. It would have gauze-like masses of nebulae at the poles of the ring, produced by the outrush of gas during the impact.

65. There are nebulae corresponding to every one of these conditions: nebulae coming into impact—some in impact with the spindle showing between them; there are also spindle nebulae left alone; others with an incipient spiral visible at the centre; others where the spiral is more distinctly visible; and others where the double spiral is fully developed.

66. Finally there are annular nebula; with the gauze-like caps referred to above. Thus at one and the same time the evolution of nebulae at any of its stages may be watched, and not unlikely older drawings may show the less advanced stages of the same nebulae.

THE ORIGIN OF THE GALACTIC UNIVERSE.

67. If two Cosmic systems such as the Magellanic Clouds come into grazing impact, an annular cosmic system will result, the poles of which will be covered with nebulous matter owing to the outrush of gas during the millions of years of the impact.

68. This principle of outrush needs some explanation. As two globular masses close in upon each other, the motion will lie chiefly in a plane which might be called the orbital plane. It is obvious that the pressure of the

heated gas resulting from the impact, as the bodies close the gas in, can find 110 escape in this orbital plane, but can only escape upwards and down-wards.

69. Stars will pass into such caps of nebula as originally covered the galactic poles, and will there be entrapped, and will attract nebulous matter. They will thus become nebulous stars; or they may be volatilized altogether and become globular nebulae. Such a distribution of nebulae exactly corresponds with our universe.

70. Where globular nebulae are thick we should expect double, spindle, and spiral nebulae. These nebulae are actually found amongst the nebulae at the polar caps of the Milky Way. Again, where stars are thick we should expect planetary nebulae, double, temporary, and variable stars, and star-clusters—all the result of the impact of stars. These, as the theory requires, are almost entirely found within the Milky Way.

71. If the universe were formed by such a graze as we describe we should expect a greater density of stars in those parts of space where their motion chiefly directs the two original cosmic systems. Proctor speaks of two such clustering masses as striking features of our universe.

72. If our galactic system were the result of impact there would be much community of motion in adjacent stars. This is a remarkable peculiarity of the stars in the Milky Way. A large number of further coincidences are debated in my papers "On the Visible Universe," in the N.Z. Phil. transactions, and in the body of the present volume.

THE SOLAR SYSTEM.

73. Nebulae must tend to entrap bodies passing through them. Such bodies would frequently become orbitally connected with the nebula. Then, when the nebula, with these bodies, became a sun, it would produce a system with planets in all azimuths, in the same way as the comets that our solar system has entrapped are in all azimuths.

74. Were a sun to impact with such a body or with a dense star-cluster, and were the graze considerable, all the planets would be whirled roughly into one plane, and the central mass would become a bun-shaped nebula.

75. It is not improbable that our sun was formed by an incipient star-cluster impacting with a nebulous sun, and that the present solar system constitutes a large part of the whole impacting mass. In other words, it is probable that there was not a large ratio of the original bodies dissipated into space during the impact, but it is probable that the impact was a large-ratio collision.

76. It is to be supposed that in every impact much matter will leave the system. Some of the gas extruded by the pressure acting along the axis will be lost, with much of the hydrogen. The attraction, therefore, on the return of the planets may be so much lessened by these losses that the orbits may be converted into an approximation to a circle. The nebula would expand enormously; all the matter of it that might pass outside aphelion distance would not aid in attracting the planet back. Perihelion distance would thus be increased by this agency.

77. Of course, at first the rotation on their axes of the newly-constituted planets would be in all possible directions. Thus, the axes may be in the ecliptic, or the motion may be retrograde. The order observed in the rotation of the inner planets will be established afterwards, the outer planets largely escaping these agencies.

78. Gaseous adhesion and many other agencies are at work to cause apsides to rotate. Consequently the larger nebular planets would gradually pick up all matter within the limits of their orbits, thus giving the rough order to the distance of the planets that is commonly known as Bode's law.

79. In a rotary nebula I have shown that much matter will tend to become meteoric. The absorption by a planet of every meteorite will tend to cause the planet to rotate in the common direction of the nebula, and will cause the axis to tend to become upright on the axial plane. This action will tell most with planets near the centre of the series, such as Jupiter and Saturn, because they will be largely gaseous and in the thick of the meteoric matter. The outer planets will necessarily be almost beyond the region of such influence, while the near ones will have but slight entrapping atmospheres, as explained hereafter.

80. All this exactly accords with the actual inclinations of the axes of the respective planets.

81. It is probable that the orbits of the planets were originally much smaller; but much of the potential energy of dimension would, as they shrank, be converted into energy of rotation, and this, by tidal action, into increased distance from the sun. The same may also be true of the moons.

82. As the volume of the nebula diminished its temperature would increase. An increased temperature would produce molecular exchanges between the planets and the nebula, and this would most affect the nearer bodies. Thus the near planets would lose all their light atoms by their escape into the surrounding nebula; whilst, on the other hand, the low velocity of the heavy molecules of the nebula would allow these molecules to be picked up by the planets.

83. Hence the near or inner planets would be small and dense, as we find them in our solar system, and the outer planets large and less dense, as in reality they are.

84. The heat of the contracting nebula will tend to increase the temperature of the planets, which would consequently expand. This would lessen their hold upon their light matter in two ways: (1) by the lessened attraction produced by expansion, and (2) by the increased velocity of the molecules themselves. The near planets would consequently be composed almost wholly of the heavy metals. The smaller and hotter any planets were, the greater would be their chance of being without atmosphere. The absence of this and the small volume of the planets would lessen their trapping action. Consequently they would not be so upright in their orbital planes as the middle planets.

85. The distant planets, being almost out of the nebula, would not collect an appreciable quantity of matter; hence the original axes of rotation may be at any angle, or even retro-grade, as, in fact, they are.

86. As the nebula shrank within the orbits of the planets, the planets would again pick up light molecules that would form an atmosphere; but the temperature of the planets would not allow of much hydrogen being picked up unless it were in combination.

87. The resistance and contraction of the central nebula would clear space of all meteoric dust unless such were orbitally connected with a planet. The asteroids are probably parts of an exploded planet. The impact of a rapidly-moving body plunging into a planet could easily blow it to pieces. It has been suggested that, if so, such bodies would pass through the common point of their explosion. This idea is an error, as a planetary perturbation and other agencies would prevent such coincidence.

88. The trapping of their moons by the planets would probably occur when the planets were nebulous, and before the central nebula had attained to any great density. Hence they would lie roughly on the planet's equatorial plane.

89. Whilst a body of the mass of the earth could pick up an atmosphere, the smaller attractive power of the moon would not allow this at the temperature it would be at when its nebula contracted within its orbit. The moon would probably be much nearer the earth at first, but the stopping of its rotation by tidal action would increase the distance.

90. Many other agencies that would convert the system under discussion into one similar to our own are treated off in my paper on "Causes tending to lessen the Eccentricity of Planetary Orbits," in N. Z. Phil. Trans.

MATHEMATICAL CONDITIONS OF THE FORMATION OF NEBULÆ.

91. It can be shown, that if two gaseous suns impact completely, the suns having had no original proper motion, and that were the whole of the motion converted into heat, and this heat into the potential energy of expansion, then the new sun would have a diameter the sum of the diameters of the original suns. It can also be shown that such a condition is one of molecular equilibrium.

92. Consequently the complete impact of two gaseous suns not possessing much original motion, and brought together by gravitation, does not make a nebula of them; but as soon as the paroxysm of the encounter is over they are of the same temperature as before, having used up all their energy in increasing to the sum of their original diameters. This is a remarkable and unexpected result.

93. Were there great original proper motion, they might become a nebula by complete impact; but were the original velocity of the two bodies very high, and the impact of very great energy, then an indefinitely-defused nebula would result. Such a nebula, if hot, would be unstable, and would indefinitely expand. Croll's theory to account in this way for an increase in the age of the sun's heat is therefore untenable.

THE COSMOS POSSIBLY IMMORTAL.

94. If our universe be proved, from its configuration and character, to have been formed of two previously-existing cosmic systems as appear probable from *et seqq.*, then the entire cosmos may be made up of an infinity of cosmic systems.

95. Meteoric swarms prove space to be dusty with wandering dark bodies, and "molecular selective escape" proves it also to be spread with countless myriads of molecules of light gas. It is probably due to the dust of space that we see no distant cosmic system other than the Magellanic Clouds.

96. If this be the case, radiation must all be caught by the dust of space, and, unless some agency be found to take this heat away, the dust must be gradually increasing in temperature.

97. Bodies not in closed orbits when moving at high velocities take but a short time to pass over great distances; they take longer and longer periods as the velocity is reduced. Hence the molecules of hydrogen and other light gases when they have travelled into positions comparatively free from the influence of matter, will be generally moving slowly. But such slowly-moving molecules is cold: hence such gas maybe at a lower temperature than any other matter in space.

98. Whenever by their mutual motions such molecules strike cosmic dust, they will acquire the temperature

of the latter: that is, it will increase their molecular velocity. It will thus have a new start of motion.

99. It is evident that unless it strikes something the molecule can only lose this motion by radiation and by doing work. When it has done work, it will be further from matter, or in a position of higher potential, and Crookes's experiments prove that molecules do not radiate in free path except immediately after encounters.

100. Moving matter not in orbits will tend to move slowest where there is least matter—that is, where gravitation potential is highest—because in these places it has done most work against gravitation. Where bodies moving indiscriminately move slowest they obviously tend to aggregate: in other words the hydrogen and other light gases of space tend to accumulate in the sparsest portions of space.

101. Thus radiant energy falls upon the dust of space and heats it. This heat gives motion to molecules, and the molecules then tend to use their new energy to pass to positions of high potential, thus converting low-temperature heat—that is, dissipated energy—into potential energy of gravitation—that is, into the highest form of available energy.

102. This action will tend to go on until attraction is equal in different parts of space. Thus we should have, if there were no counter-acting influence, in one part of space bodies in mass, in another part diffused light gases.

103. But long before this equality of distribution can ensue another action is set up. The mass of light gas will become a retarding trap to indiscriminately-moving bodies.

104. Free bodies moving indiscriminately will tend to pass through a group of masses similar to our galactic system, through which 1830 Groombridge is passing now. But they will tend to be trapped in any mass of gas they encounter. Thus the place that was most void of matter now begins to have more than a regular distribution of matter. A new cosmic system of the first order has begun to form.

105. The potential of this part of space lessens, and the work required to reach these positions not being so great as at first, oxygen and other heavier molecules get there, increasing the density; and oxygen also tends to produce non-volatile compound molecules. Hydrogen would form water molecules, these would coalesce; but helium and the other cosmic pioneers do not combine, they remain permanently gaseous.

106. Although dense bodies sent out of cosmic systems by the interaction of three bodies would generally pass through old cosmic systems where matter is in dense masses, they evidently would not pass through such vast gaseous aggregations as the incipient cosmic systems. The bodies would be retarded by the friction produced, and perchance volatilized, forming nuclei in the general mass; their mutual attraction would cause denser aggregations to occur, and a cosmic system of the first order would be produced.

107. Two such systems colliding produce a system of the second order. The Magellanic Clouds are probably systems of the second order. This is suggested by their spiral form.

108. Such systems colliding with any other cosmic system, produces a system of the third order. Our own galactic system is very probably a tertiary system. It is too orderly to be a primary system and too irregular to be a secondary system.

109. When three bodies pass near each other, one at least has its velocity increased. In this way it is possible to account for the enormous velocity of 1830 Groombridge, although this high velocity might also be due to the attraction of our universe, or of a near dead sun. The truth of which latter idea could be ascertained by observations of its regularity of speed. Whenever the velocity is great enough to enable the body to escape the attraction of the universe, the body is lost to it, and the other two bodies would be moving more slowly. If this should occur only once in a thousand cases—seeing that when it does occur the body escapes—given time enough, much of the energy of any individual system must thus be used up in allowing the escape of bodies.

110. If it could be shown that the impact of two similar universes would result in the formation of one which, in a similar stage, was of larger mass than the larger of the originals, then impact would be, on the whole, an aggregating agency, and the permanent equilibrium of the cosmos would be disturbed.

111. This is probably not the case, for during the impact of the universes themselves much matter would escape, and at every impact of individual bodies within the new universe light molecules would be set wandering that would ultimately leave the system. When the new universe has become more dense, during the approach of any three bodies one would occasionally be sent out of the system. There are other agencies that, together with these, render it possible for two similar cosmic systems, by coalescing, to become one, may when contracted to the size of either of its components, retain no more matter than one of the original systems.

112. We have in these phenomena a complex series of agencies tending to overcome the dissipation of energy and the aggregation of matter. Impact develops heat, separates bodies, and diffuses gas. Radiation falls on the matter of space and heats it: this energy is taken up by the hydrogen to increase its velocity. As the hydrogen loses this new velocity it is carried to positions of higher potential. It will tend to linger in the empty parts of space, and it then becomes a trap for wandering bodies. These wandering bodies are separated from systems by the mutual interaction of three bodies.

113. Thus, is suggested the possibility of an immortal cosmos, in which we have neither evidence of a

beginning nor promise of an end. The sequence of these agencies is as follows:—

- Diffusion of heat by radiation.
- This radiation, falling on the dust of space, heats it.
- The heat of this cosmic dust is taken away by slowly moving light molecules having their velocity increased.
- Free molecules are also sent out of systems by partial impacts, by selective molecular escape, and other agencies.
- Free molecules will remain longest in the position of maximum potential where their motion is least, and will consequently tend to aggregate in the empty parts of space.
- By the interaction of three bodies the velocity acquired by one sometimes takes it out of the cosmic system.
- Hydrogen and the cosmic pioneers then become a trap for wandering bodies that tend to be stopped and converted into dense nebulae.
- These dense nebulae tend to attract surrounding gas; they cool and shrink, some ultimately forming solid bodies.
- These bodies, by mutual attraction, give density to the new cosmic system.
- Such systems are of the first order.
- The impact of systems of the first order produces systems of the second order.
- Any other impacts produce systems of the third order, of which our galactic system is a type.
- The coalescence of two cosmic systems does not necessarily, as a final result, produce a system of a larger mass than one of the two original systems from which it was formed, as many agencies are tending to send matter out of the coalesced mass.
- It is thus seen that dissipation of energy is but a part of a complex cyclical process; and there is consequently the possibility of an immortal cosmos in which we have neither evidence of a beginning nor promise of an end, the present being but a phase of an eternal rhythm.

The diagrammatic scheme of cosmic evolution illustrates these agencies. It must be noted that bodies and systems are printed in italic capitals; and where several such are one above another it implies sequence of phenomena.

The following Papers on Construction Collision, are to be found in the Transactions of the N.Z. Institute.

ON TEMPORARY AND VARIABLE STARS. July 4th, 1878.

ON PARTIAL IMPACT, &c. August 1st, 1878.

ON THE VISIBLE UNIVERSE. February 13th, 1878.

ON THE GENERAL PROBLEM OF STELLAR COLLISION. March 13th, 1879.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS ON THE GENESIS OF WORLDS AND SYSTEMS. April 3rd, 1879.

CAUSES TENDING TO ALTER ECCENTRICITY OF PLANETARY ORBITS. May 6th, 1880.

ON THE ORIGIN OF THE SOLAR SYSTEM, August 5th, 1880.

THE ORIGIN OF DOUBLE STARS. August 5th 1880.

SOME RECENT EVIDENCE IN FAVOUR OF IMPACT. November 1st, 1893.

THE IMMORTALITY OF THE COSMOS. November 7th, 1894.

SYNOPTIC STATEMENT OF THE PRINCIPLES AND PHENOMENA OF COSMIC IMPACT Prepared for the criticism of Scientific Men and Societies. November 7th, 1894.

The Third Body.

To The Editor.

Sir,—The theory of Cosmic Evolution, contains close on a hundred, scientific principles that at the time of their publication appear to have been unknown. Most are still quite unknown, or at least unused by astronomers. The theory of cosmic atom sorting has been re-discovered, and a part of this branch of the theory is now current science. Many other ideas are vaguely used without acknowledging their source. Probably the users are unaware how they got the ideas. They do not in any way claim as their own; they are besides so imperfectly stated as to show they could not have been directly taken from my books.

The first, the most fundamental principle of the whole theory is that in the grazing collision of suns, a third body must be formed by the coalescence of the parts struck from each. In order to emphasise this idea I called this branch of the theory Partial Impact, clearly meaning that the impact did not extend to the whole of the

colliding suns, only to the portions actually meeting, the remainder passing on hardly affected by the impact. Finding the idea, that a new body was formed, had been overlooked by scientific writers, in recent papers I called the two colliding suns "Flint and Steel," and the new body "Cosmic Spark." Still this third body is absolutely overlooked. Yet on this new third body the whole of this branch hinges. It is as essential to it as is a motor to an electric car. Most ludicrous is the effect of the oversight. Most ridiculous arguments load the discussion of the colliding two-sun-theory of new stars.

But it is in the writings of Sir Robert Ball that the oversight is most glaringly apparent. I have sent him my papers from the beginning, and as many of these have diagrams that strike the eye, these papers even when glanced through leave an impression. In a widely distributed article of his on double stars, he attributes them to grazing impact, yet without the third body his explanation could not make a double star of them. Both the wedding of the pair of stars and the character of their orbits depend on the new third body. Yet he never mentions it. In "Earth's Beginning" he says (page 356): "We have the best reason for knowing that celestial collisions do sometimes occur," and bases the remark on the new star, Nova Pensei. On page 360 he says:—"A collision affords the simplest explanation of the sudden outbreak of the star, and also accounts for the remarkable spectrum which the star exhibits." Yet other careful writers say a grazing impact of suns could not account for the spectrum of new stars. And without the third body they are right. Yet, Sir Robert Ball whilst accepting the results, never mentions this third body. So often is grazing impact referred to in "Earth's Beginning" that if the third body had been mentioned it would read like chapters from my system of evolution. Yet, save where he shows the Solar Nebula to have originated in a grazing impact (because he leaves out this third body) his references have no basis at all.

The wonderful new stars that suddenly appear, that increase in brilliancy until they are ten thousand times more luminous than the sun, were he placed at their distance away, that sometimes shine a score of times brighter than the superb star Sirius, that can be seen at mid-day, that give bright band spectra; all these marvellous apparitions are the third bodies, the cosmic sparks struck from grazing suns, generally dead suns, whilst the two suns pursue their journey scarred by the conflict. These luminous scars add complexity to the spectrum, but the bright spectrum itself is due to the new body, to the parts struck from each that coalesced into a body ten thousand times the temperature of our hottest furnace. It is an explosion a score of thousand times the power of dynamite. A new star is the amazing flash of this tremendous explosion, and as it is blown to isolated atoms, it disappears. It is flaming gas, hence it gives a bright band spectra.

Yet it is this very newly-formed body that Sir Robert Ball and all other astronomers have missed, so casually have they read the books, pamphlets, letters and papers I have sent to them.—I am, etc.,

A. W. Bickerton.
Times Print.

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Woman's Sphere and Influence and The Female Franchise

By John Ross.

A Reply to Physiological Arguments used by Sir Henry Wrixon in the Legislative Council, and by the Conservative Press, against granting

THE FRANCHISE TO WOMEN.

J. Haase, Printer, 17 SWANSTON STREET, MELBOURNE.

Woman's Sphere and Influence and The Female Franchise.

The opening paragraph of the leading Article in the *Age* newspaper of 17th August, 1899, commences as

follows:—"The word has gone forth from the Conservative camp in the Assembly, that whatever else happens the women are not to vote for the Federal elections if it can be prevented. "Impotent to give effect to their views in their own chamber, those constituting a small minority of the Legislative Assembly have, so far, been able to "Thank God" that there is a Legislative Council, the majority of whose members is in harmony with their illiberal views, and who have the power and apparent determination to arrest progress in defiance of public opinion, and of the functions which devolve upon the Council itself by the theory of its constitution. In accordance with public opinion, clearly and unmistakably expressed, the Legislative Assembly has, over and over, and over again, passed a "Women's Franchise Bill," only to be rejected an equal number of times by the Legislative Council. Reasons which have prevailed in favour of manhood suffrage, and which are equally unanswerable when used in support of women's rights, are being evaded, with what seems deliberate unfairness, under cover of physiological and psychological arguments as to women's constitutional unfitness to make use of political freedom without scathe to her character, and the abdication of her true position in the natural order of things; esteeming her as a being apart, to be ranked in general conformity with views which, according to the London Daily Mail, as quoted in a recent issue of the *Argus*, were expressed by Jean Jacques Rousseau, who died in 1778. "The Education of Women," according to this authority, "should always be relative to that of men. To please us, to be useful to us, to make us love and esteem them, to educate us when young, to take care of us when grown up, to advise, to console us, to render our lives easy and agreeable; there are the duties of women at all times, and what they should be taught in infancy. "

In his speech in the Legislative Council in September last year against the "Women's Franchise Bill," Sir Henry Wrixon gave expression to sentiments quite in harmony with the above. "Woman's duty in life and her calling in life," Sir Henry said, "are quite as important as those of men, and, I say also, they are essentially different. . . . There is a profound and essential difference fixed by Nature—a difference which in this Bill there is a feeble attempt to destroy. "These refined sentiments were taken up and elaborated by a writer in the Conservative newspaper, as follows:—"The mental outfit conferred by nature on women as a sex is the very opposite of that given to man; the strength of women's emotional and affectionate qualities, while they debar her from judicial and professional functions, eventually fit her for the position accorded her long since in the family. To the constitution of the family, woman owes her real dignity and power," and so on, after the manner of Rousseau's last century sentiments.

This charming picture casts a shadow. This, of course, proves its solidity. It must be very solid indeed, for the shadow is intensely dark. "Just enough to starve on," was the remark of a London Coroner, whilst lately holding an inquest respecting the death of a spinster who had been earning about six shillings a week by shirt-making. A juror remarked, "They don't get much by shirt-making. Its all sweating, and the poor people gradually starve." The jury returned a verdict of death by "Natural causes." Very *Natural* indeed—nothing could be more so than that one should die of starvation under such wretched conditions. Many thousands of forlorn women—and let the anti-sweating league and the Margaret Heffernans bear witness to the evil amongst ourselves—have to lead the dreariest and most hopeless of lives, under class-made laws and social restrictions more oppressive than any disabilities under which men have to suffer, and yet, they are not permitted to have a voice in the election of those who make the laws for them. Now, that men have attained to their political freedom, the injustice and positive cruelty of denying the same to women, is more manifest and condemnable than ever. "To have a voice in choosing those by whom one is governed, is a means of self-protection due to every one. Under whatever conditions, and within whatever limits, men are admitted to the franchise, there is not a shadow of justification for not admitting women under the same." It is but natural to find that William Lloyd Garrison, the well known agitator for the abolition of slavery, held exactly similar views to those expressed in the above familiar paragraph from the writings of John Stuart Mill, "Those who are ruled by the law," said Garrison, "should have the power to say what shall be the laws, and who the law makers. Women are as much interested in legislation as men, and are entitled to representation."

No plea could possibly be stronger, nor arguments more convincing, yet it is certain that the physiological plausibility upon which the question is now made to turn, has caused some to hesitate as to the advisableness of giving support to the Female Franchise Movement. There never have been good reasons for denying the Franchise to men or to women, any more than there have been good reasons in defence of slavery, or any other form of injustice or wrong. The physiological and psychological argument certainly forms an important feature of the female Franchise discussion, but, when properly understood, it will be found to strengthen immeasurably the need for women's political freedom, elevating it above class, and even sex, distinctions, to the level of a broad humanity. The Reverend Charles Kingsley struck the higher key when he wrote:—"One principal cause of the failure of so many magnificent schemes, social, political, religious, which have followed each other age after age, has been this: that in almost every case they have ignored the rights and powers of one-half the human race, viz., Women. I believe that politics will not go right, that society will not go right, that nothing human will ever go right, except in so far as woman goes right; and to make woman go right she must be put in her

place, and she must have her rights." With women's "rights" Kingsley brackets women's "powers," and it is to be regretted that Sir Henry Wrixon in his speech in the Legislative Council had chosen to dwell only upon the superficial aspect of this great question, for, in his generalizations, he showed that he failed to grasp and appreciate the real nature of woman's sphere and influence, and to take note of that wherein consists her distinctive mental characteristics as a problem in race psychology, and a factor in human progress. He, therefore, failed to perceive that "The Women's Franchise Bill," instead of being "a feeble attempt to destroy" the womanly nature, was really an honest effort to remove the arbitrary restrictions put to its fuller and freer expansion as a much needed political and social force. Very little analysis is required to make this perfectly clear.

In the struggle of existence man—the male—is actuated by purely selfish motives; and although, as circumstances gradually compel him to enter into social relationships for his better self-security, each individual has to conduct himself with some regard for the interests of others, yet there is no corresponding development of the altruistic sentiment. Indeed, such a feeling is repudiated by the man of affairs, his motto being, "There is no friendship in business." Such study as he makes of society as an institution finds its almost sole incentive in the desire to promote personal interests, conceding to others as little, and grasping for his individual self as much, as he possibly can. In this contest the intellect is powerfully developed, but not, *equo pede*, the moral sense of scrupulosity as to the means whereby success may be won, or a feeling of sympathy with the sufferings: endured by those whose fate it is to fail in the struggle,

Prince Krapotkin says that "Herbert Spencer has well put it, that the state of enmity is ever tending to be eventually replaced by a state of amity," adding, "and this is but an expression of the truth that antagonism is a lesser force than co-operation." A writer in the *Co-operative News* gives expression to similar views:—"We cannot deny," he says, "that in the lower orders of life there appear no signs of unselfishness, but as we rise in the scale we find an in-creasing element of association and interdependence, until at last, in the mind of man, we reach the conception, though not at present the realization, of perfect harmony."

"Man," in the above extract, refers to Mankind, but is here used to indicate sex, for the purpose of pointing out the process of mind development in man, in contradistinction to that of mind development in Woman. In Man, mind is developed from selfishness and antagonism to mutuality and altruism by utilitarian and economic considerations, very slowly arriving at the conception of human brotherhood, and still more slowly at any practical manifestations of it. On the other hand, mind in woman develops itself upon distinctly opposite lines, from the sympathetic to the intellectual. By reason of the maternal functions and duties which Nature has assigned to Woman, her disposition is to manifest that amount of altruism in feeling and conduct, which is necessary for the tending and rearing of the young. With her, the development of the sympathetic nature precedes the enlightenment characteristic of intellectual growth. In man, as already observed, enlightened conduct, based upon progressive conceptions of what is due to self-interests, precedes the development of the altruistic sentiment; but the evolution of mind in Man, and the evolution of mind in Woman, each developing upon opposite, but not antagonistic lines, contributes its own quota to the formation of a *Mind of Humanity*, with its emotional and intellectual sides proportionately balanced, so that motives may be formed, and translated into actions, in conformity with ethical principles.

To illustrate this *Mind of Humanity*, instances may be given of historic characters, who, in consequence of having attained to this high moral and intellectual development, have been the most earnest agitators and workers for the relief of human suffering, and the originators of great reform movements. Robert Owen is a notable instance from amongst men. In 1790, at the age of 19, he proved himself such an exceptionally capable business man as the manager of a cotton-spinning concern in Manchester, and made such satisfactory profits for his employer that a partnership was, so to speak, thrust upon him before he was quite 20 years of age. Although Owen was intellectually powerful, and able to overcome every difficulty which stood in the way of business success, yet his emotional nature was so sensitive to the wrongs and sufferings of others that it revolted against the cruelties inflicted upon workers, especially upon women and children, under the then new factory system, that he became an agitator for the enactment of laws for their protection. Had not the capacity to feel for the misfortunes of others been developed in Owen's emotional nature he, no doubt, would have been contented, like the mill-owners of his time, and the opponents of factory laws in ours, to have been the masterful and successful business man for which his intellectual powers qualified him, regarding the sufferings of the workers, if he gave that subject any consideration at all, as the inevitable result of economic causes, "laws of nature," possessing the force of "Axiomatic Truths," as we have seen it stated, when, for "lack of argument," a dogmatic assertion has been found necessary to back a foregone conservative conclusion. But in Robert Owen, the sympathetic nature, the special characteristic of Woman, and intellectual power, the leading feature of man's mental constitution, were so co-ordinately developed and morally balanced, that moved by the one, and directed by the other, he was able, by his famous new Lanark Experiment, to give practical proof that a just and humane treatment of men, women, and children employed in factory work was not only compatible with ethical

principles, but also defensible on economic grounds; principles still further verified by his followers in social work, to which reference will be made further on.

It will be found more instructive to take the further instances of this mental development from amongst women, as being more apposite to the subject in hand, serving to illustrate the mode in which women develop intellectual powers when once they are moved by their emotional nature to take active part in social work, and, also, how *natural* and *necessary* it is that women *should* engage in such work by virtue of that very constitution in which they are said to be "essentially different" from men—a natural fitness, which the opponents of the female franchise illogically and unphilosophically misconstrue into a disqualification.

A recent instance of this perversion of ideas—which may be here interpolated—occurs in a letter from its New York correspondent published in the *Argus* of 21st March last, containing the following paragraph, said to be an extract from a sermon preached by a high ecclesiastical dignitary:—

"I regard women's rights women and society leaders in the higher walks of life as the worst enemies of the female sex. They rob woman of all that is amiable and gentle, tender, and attractive; they rob her of innate grace of character, and give her nothing in return but masculine boldness and brazen effrontery. They are habitually preaching about woman's rights and prerogatives, and have not a word to say about her duties and responsibilities. They withdraw her from those sacred obligations which properly belong to her sex, and fill her with ambition to usurp positions for which neither God nor nature intended her."

The reply to such misconceptions as these will be found in the history of pure and noble-minded women who, tracing the degradation of their sex to far different causes than such as those above alluded to, had found it necessary to break with childish conventionality and the "traditions of men" regarding women and their duties, in their efforts to modify the conditions under which thousands of their sex so cruelly suffered. It was a necessary outcome of this movement that it must, sooner or later, include a demand for the female franchise, not only as a right to which women are justly entitled, but as a means of correcting much of the evil which afflicts humanity at its very source in our legislatures.

If "God and Nature" be permitted to speak by facts, "he who runs may read" the lessons they so plainly teach. It was in obedience to the promptings of a highly developed womanly nature, "amiable, gentle and tender," with a full sense of "those sacred obligations which properly belonged to her sex," that, from 1813 to the time of her death in 1845, Mrs. Elizabeth Fry became the unwearied and devoted advocate for reforms of prisons, hospitals and asylums, and whose work commanded the attention of authorities, not only in Britain, but on the continent of Europe. She first visited a prison to administer what comfort she could to the unhappy inmates of her own sex, but witnessed such an appalling amount of misery, resulting from mal-administration, and the enforcement of brutal regulations, that she soon found it necessary to agitate for legal reforms, as well as for the exercise of some little humanity under such laws as existed. The following is from a sketch of her character in a recently published book on "Some Social and Political Pioneers of the nineteenth century," by Ramsden Balmforth:—"In 1832 and 1835, Mrs. Fry again gave valuable evidence before a select committee of the House of Commons and the House of Lords; and in 1838, 1839 and 1840 visited many prisons in France, Germany, Switzerland, Belgium and Denmark, spending some of her days in the lowest dens of infamy, and some of her evenings as the guest of Statesmen, Kings and Queens, everywhere suggesting reforms, and having the satisfaction of knowing that, in many cases, her suggestions were carried into effect,"

Miss Florence Nightingale is a later instance of this *mind of humanity* in woman; sympathetic and intellectual, qualified and devoted by nature for a life of philanthropic work. A biographer says of her;—"In early childhood, a marked sympathy with every kind of affliction declared itself in her; and it was fostered both by the encouragement of her friends, and the means for its exercise which her father's fortune placed at her disposal. From the first, her benevolence took the aspect of method, being quiet, thoughtful and serious; she seemed from natural instinct to have adopted her vocation. "In early life her time was spent in visiting schools and hospitals in the neighbourhood of her father's residence in Derbyshire. Afterwards, being taken to the Metropolis, "she examined with rigid care the several systems of treatment pursued in the hospitals, reformatory institutions, and work-houses." Perceiving that an essential element in hospital reform must be the special training of nurses, and to qualify herself for what was now to be her life-work, she entered an institution in Kaiserwerth, in Germany, for the practical training of nurses who went out to visit the sick and the poor. When the British authorities were in despair on account of their inability to organise an efficient hospital service to administer to the dire necessities of the wounded and plague-stricken victims of the Crimean war, Mr. Sydney Herbert, the then secretary for war, appealed to Miss Nightingale to form a staff of voluntary nurses and proceed to the Crimea to accomplish for the British Army what the Sisters of Mercy were already doing in the French camp. History records the noble success which attended the mission of those refined ladies—ladies qualified to adorn the politest society, but far too good, and too womanly, to lead lives of elegance and ease, under cover of conventional cant about woman's legitimate sphere and social limitations, when suffering humanity called upon them for such services as only good and sympathetic women, with

enlightened intellect, could render.

Now, these notable women, with many others, have been the pioneers of a woman's movement which is rapidly growing, and expanding so as to reach every situation in life where misery has to be relieved and wrongs righted, and typical of the woman's mental development which accompanies the new departure. This movement so plainly manifests itself that it would be discreditable not to perceive it, and is proving of such inestimable benefit to humanity, that it would be barbarous to attempt to repress or discourage it. The sentiment ascribed to Terence is at once felt to be more appropriately applicable to woman than to man:—"Homo sum, et humani a me nil alienum puto." How much more fit-tingly and naturally it would appeal to universal experience:—"I am a woman, and I think nothing human foreign to me"? The womanly feelings of affection and sympathy developed in the nursery and the family, degree by degree, enlarge the zone of their influence until they embrace the human family, and form the welding principle of human sisterhood and brotherhood. In the efforts to relieve human suffering, and mitigate the evils of life, the female intellect is awakened and educated; nursing, for instance, is raised to the rank of a trained profession, naturally developing into a medical education, and the political and social sciences are studied as necessary parts of the modern woman's mental equipment for philanthropic work. Although mental development in man, and mental development in woman each proceeds on lines denoting physiological diversities, it is evident that, in course of time, the two elements must come together to form, as already observed, a MIND OF HUMANITY, with its emotional and intellectual sides morally balanced, and all subservient to the dictates of a highly informed conscience. Carefully inquiring into general causes, near and remote, its effort would be to find an economic solution for all social problems, treating misery in the mass, yet not neglecting to give what relief might be possible to individual sufferers. That this is not a vague anticipation is shown by the followers of Robert Owen, who have built up a gigantic trading organisation based upon principles of commercial morality and mutuality, and social ethics, extending into the sphere of politics, form a never failing part of their propaganda. Their rules confer equal rights upon men and women within their ranks, and it is perfectly certain that without the prominently active and intelligent part which women have taken in the movement it could not have succeeded.

Under its influence, again, the Woman's Movement is growing apace, embracing all kinds of social and philanthropic questions, and the politics which bear upon them. In England there is a Woman's Co-operative Guild, having 270 branches and 12,500 members. Delegates elected by the branches meet in Annual Congress, held at various centres, attracting a large amount of public attention, and at which women read essays and deliver addresses, marked by much ability of thought and clearness of expression. The last congress was held at Plymouth under the presidency of a Mrs. Carr, whose opening address was in every way worthy of the occasion and the movement. A Mrs. Marshall read a paper on "Women on Educational Committees," in which the following summary was given of the extensive social work now carried on by women, and their determination to persist in it:—"All shades of politics, religious bodies, and temperance workers," said Mrs. Marshall, "have their women's organizations, in fact, one of the most notable features of English life is the ever widening degree of interest which women are taking in all things pertaining to public life, and the determination of the sex to let nothing stop their progress, or limit their usefulness."

A meeting of delegates representing the Scottish Women's Guild met in Glasgow on the 16th December last, under the presidency of a Mrs. Campsie, at which a Mrs. Buchan read a paper on "The Advanced Woman," which seems to have been in agreement with the views herein expressed respecting the special mode in which mind development in woman takes place, and the enlargement of the sphere of woman's influence of which this mind development is the accompaniment. A lady reporter says:—"The writer (Mrs. Buchan) showed with great ability, in what direction the true advancement of our sex lay; namely, in assiduous cultivation of the intellectual powers with which we are in some degree endowed. Mrs. Buchan showed that such advance of intelligence had no adverse effect on the faithful discharge of the duties of wives and mothers. It was rather the woman whose interest in life was not confined to the four walls of her kitchen, but who could spare time to assist in any movement for the welfare of her fellow creatures—she it was who was found to discharge the onerous duties of home in the most conscientious manner. She commended the Women's Guild as an organisation which had done incalculable benefit in the way of drawing out and fostering the ability of women to help on a great movement, and gave a well-merited tribute of praise to the single-hearted intrepid souls who were its pioneers."

These are replies by representatives of many thousands of intelligent and thinking women, to such one-sided criticisms as prevail in our Legislative Council, and to conservative expositors of "natural law." The British House of Commons, recognising the value of this force, included a clause in a London Government Bill in favour of admitting women to become councillors in the new municipalities—a clause which was speedily struck out after the Bill reached the House of Lords. It may be well to repeat what was said of women's special fitness for the position in an *editorial* of the *Co-operative News*, the *press* organ of over a million families, of what is called "the cream of the working classes" of Great Britain, and no more reliable authority could be

quoted upon such a subject. "Women," says the *News*, "are by nature more sympathetic than men. They are more in touch with the needs of the working classes. They are more used to visiting in the slums and purlieus of our great city, and they are more enthusiastic in the cause of the social well-being of their fellow creatures. They are, therefore, admirably suited to aid the Municipal Councils in their work of improving the dwellings of the poor. These are potent reasons why they should be given seats on the Municipal bodies, and we cannot imagine equally strong reasons against their admission." It was at the instance of a deputation promoted by "The Women's Industrial Council," that Sir John Gorst called for a "Parliamentary Return regarding the wage-earning of children attending, or presumably attending, elementary schools"—a document which Sir John Gorst, in his speech in Parliament, characterised as "painful and sickening," disclosing a state of infantile privation and suffering, which proved how very little real good had been affected by social legislation and benevolent organisations, compared with the enormous amount of work yet to be done before much relief could reach the many thousands of little ones who are born to a heritage of misery, without a chance in the world in their favour. "The Committee of The London School Board," said Sir John Gorst, "estimates that, at times when there is no special distress, 55,000 children in a state of hunger which makes it useless to attempt to teach them, are in the schools of London alone." "Our sympathy," says Gibbon, "is cold to the relation of distant misery." "It is a familiar fact," says Professor John Fiske, in his *Outlines of Cosmic Philosophy*, "that many men are cruel, in word or deed, because they are incapable of adequately representing to themselves the pain, physical and mental, of which they are the cause. The validity of such an interpretation is confirmed by the fact that, even when there is very high representative capacity, the lack of the requisite elements of personal experience will prevent the rise of sympathetic feeling." It is chiefly owing to the work instigated and conducted by women that so much misery—the relief of which, by any means judged to be incompatible with the law of the survival of the fittest, men are taught to consider contrary to "economics," and which conservative Podsnappery would sweep behind its back—has been dragged into the light of day, and that the public conscience has been, to some extent, aroused from a state of self-satisfied complacency and indifference.

Thus, it may be seen how a *Mind of Humanity* is developed by means of the several activities of men and of women. In man, the process is from the selfish to the altruistic, under pressure of the higher law of self-preservation, which forces the individual to seek ultimate safety in communal well-being. In women the process is exactly the reverse, and they are instrumental in developing the emotional side of mind in man, by forcing men to contemplate the awful amount of misery in which many thousands of human beings are submerged owing to class-made laws, unscrupulous competition, and social injustice, which men, as a class, are trained to ignore, or wink at. Women's own intellectual powers are being developed at the same time, the two forces forming a morally balanced mind, fitted for the work of human betterment. "Thus it will happen," says the Baroness Süttner, "by the falling of the fetters which our sex has borne so long, that not it alone, but also the other will rise to a higher human dignity. Exactly the contrary will take place of what is dreaded by the opponents of the emancipation of woman; the woman will not assume gross masculine defects, the man will not sink into womanish effeminacy, but both united, among them the best, the strongest, and the most intelligent will form models of a nobler race." If the limited, and really contemptible, ideas of woman's nature and duties, entertained by the opponents of the female franchise, could have been made the measure of women's character and conduct, the noble and self-sacrificing work done by the sex for the last half-century and more could not have been accomplished, to the infinite loss of a much-suffering world. But the "Divinity that shapes our ends, rough hew them how we will," has determined otherwise, irresistibly shaping the trend of things "that maketh for righteousness." Women's claim to the franchise will have to be conceded because it is just and right in itself, and its denial a tyranny incompatible with an age of reason and enlightenment. Armed with this power, the influence of women for good would be enormously increased, and, without doubt, exercised, and a Newer and Truer Democracy inaugurated, marking a new era in human progress. Experience in other colonies and in America proves that the change would bring no revolutionary effects in its train. On the contrary, it would simply open up the way for the smoother working of correct principles, unattended by such inconveniences as naturally belong to a period of contention for popular rights, such as we have now to endure in the face of obdurate and unreasonable conservative opposition to the female franchise. It may not yet be too late for the Legislative Council to review its decisions upon this really important question, and give the sanction of its majority to The Women's Franchise Bill so as to become law in time for the election of the first Federal Parliament. There can no longer be room for doubt but that such an act would be in accordance with the clearly expressed will of the country's manhood, and the undoubted desire of the women themselves. Above all, it is manifest from what is known of the admirable work which has been, and is being done, by women for the benefit of the unfortunate and oppressed, and which could not be done so well, if at all, by other agencies, that the Act would be in the best interests of the whole community. It is, therefore, gratifying to learn on the high authority of Sir Frederick Sargood, expressed in a letter read before a meeting of the Anti-Sweating League, held on the 12th March last, that ". . . a large majority of . . . members of the Council . . . are at all times anxious

to pass measures for the public good." This ought to be reassuring, and it rests with the Government to give the Council an opportunity to deal with The Women's Franchise Bill in this loyal fashion at as early a stage of the forthcoming and final session of Parliament as may be found possible. This is a measure which no democratic Government could treat with indifference or neglect, involving, as it does, the political rights of one half of the people, and the best interests of the whole community, and to which the present Ministry is, in a special manner, pledged.

MELBOURNE, JUNE 18TH, 1900.

Cosmic Evolution,

The PHILOSOPHICAL MAGAZINE, conducted by

LORD KELVIN, G. F. FITZGERALD, ESQ, AND DR. FRANCIS.

Extract,

Vol. 50. Page 216.

By PROF. A. W. BICKERTON.

Communicated by Prof. A. W. Rücker, Secretary Royal Society.

The accompanying diagram of Cosmic Impact, exhibiting all the surprising peculiarities of Nova Aurigæ was first printed in 1878, thirteen years before the star appeared, it demonstrates the remarkable power of this generalization to anticipate phenomena.

The diagram of Cosmic Evolution shows how wonderfully this theory converts the present chaos of Astronomical facts into a classified system.

Constructive Impact is in fact to Cosmic Evolution what Darwinism is to Organic Evolution.

Cosmic Evolution.

By Prof. A. W. BICKERTON

Communicated by Prof. A. W. Rücker, Sec. R.S.

From the PHILOSOPHICAL MAGAZINE for August 1900.

IN this paper the term galactic system will mean not only the milky way, but also the caps of nebulas at its poles. The term milky way will be used to imply the galaxy itself. The term cosmic system will be applied to aggregations of dimensions comparable to the Magellanic clouds and to our own galactic system. (In my earlier papers these masses were called universes; but Lord Kelvin and Lord Rayleigh independently pointed out that this name might mislead, I have consequently substituted cosmic systems.) The term cosmic system of the first order applies to aggregations without definite structure, in which no general collision has occurred. In systems of the second order, a single general collision has taken place, and the symmetry is perfect. All other cosmic systems are of the third order. In these more than one general collision has occurred, and there is too much symmetry to be of the first order, and too little symmetry to be of the second. The visible universe (the galactic system of which our solar system is a part) is consequently a system of the third order.

The group of recently-discovered monatomic elements that have no combining power, namely, helium, neon, argon, crypton, and xenon, I call cosmic pioneers. They are practically always independent atoms, and probably play an important part in laying the foundation of an incipient cosmic system, helium being the most important. Possibly these elements have no other function than this, as deductions from their properties suggest that they must largely pass out of cosmic systems before the system matures. Hydrogen plays the same initial part, but it is more than a cosmic pioneer; it has important functions in cosmic systems of all orders.

This paper is chiefly devoted to grazing and whirling collisions of celestial bodies.

Grazing collisions of stars were discussed before the Royal Society by Dr. Johnstone Stoney more than thirty years ago. The formation of double stars and new stars by such an occurrence was suggested by him, as well as the probability of the existence of dead suns in countless hosts.

The especial point I wish to forward is that a grazing impact will generally result in the formation of a new body, whilst the two struck stars proceed on their journey; as it were, flint and steel have struck and have cut off a part from each other, that results in an intensely heated spark.

Because the non-colliding parts are but little affected by the collision I call such a phenomenon a "partial impact."

With stars of the same order of dimensions that our sun has, the velocity developed by mutual attraction will be hundreds of miles a second. When by impact this motion is converted into heat in the coalesced parts, the temperature will be practically the same, whatever the amount struck off; if the graze be small, the attractive power of the new body will also be small, and it is evident that the velocity of the molecules may be great enough for every molecule to have more than the critical velocity; each molecule as it reaches the surface will

consequently leave the body, never to return.

The temperature may easily be from ten to a hundred million centigrade. It will of course vary with the chemical composition.

Thus is produced in less than an hour a fiery mass expanding about a million miles an hour, and this increase in size will cause for a time an increase in brilliancy. Presently, however, the radial direction of the molecules will tend to cause their motion to become parallel, and will lessen the number of molecular encounters, and consequently the amount of radiation, so that after a time our bright star becomes a planetary nebula. In a year or so each molecule is wandering alone; the brilliant body and the nebula are gone. The body has lost its light, not by cooling, but by being too hot to hold together.

The two stars that struck have been heated where they were sheared, and they are separating at a speed of hundreds of miles a second. Hence the spectrum of our nova is made up of a continuous spectrum, with broad, bright, indistinct bands produced by the expanding gas, and on this band are superimposed two other lines, bright or dark, dependent on the position from which we view the lake of fire produced by the impact.

Obviously the tangential retardation will cause rotation, and the cut stars may alternately show their light and dark faces. Thus two variable stars are produced at once; generally this variability will tend to die out more quickly in one than in the other, yet there are many such pairs still existing.

It is certain that such pairing is not the result of chance. Whatever the explanation offered to account for variable stars must account also for the existence of pairs. (The accompanying diagram represents such a series of phenomena. With bodies of solar density the time taken to produce the changes shown in the series is less than two hours. The mass of the bodies makes no difference in the time, as with bodies of equal density the velocity acquired by gravitation is proportional to the diameter.)

The middle body attracts and retards the escaping stars, and may wed them into a pair.

Then, were no other agency to come into play, the pair would return to impact again, but long before they attain aphelion distance the central mass (consisting as it does of gas above the critical velocity) will have fled into space.

Hence the only force that attracts the stars back again is their own mass, and consequently, instead of colliding, the stars move in the ordinary double-star orbit. Double stars, when first connected, would be variable, and would be associated with nebulae; this is actually the case, and any satisfactory account of double stars must explain these facts.

If the two stars had had a considerable proper motion they would not have been orbitally connected, and they would constantly increase their distance from each other.

This is doubtless the condition of the unassociated variable stars that are in pairs, and it is possible that their increase in distance could be observed.

Supposing too much had been cut off and coalesced, and the attraction were consequently too great for the heat to give every molecule more than its critical velocity; on attaining equality of temperature the light atoms would rob the others of their energy and escape.

Diagram showing an Impact of two dead Suns, forming a temporary and two variable Stars.

Fig. 1.—Pair of stars distorted and coming into impact.

Fig. 2.—Pair of stars in impact.

Fig. 3.—Stars passing out of impact, and formation of third body.

Fig. 4.—Showing entanglement of matter in each body.

Fig. 5.—Two variables and a temporary star.

Hydrogen at the same temperature has sixteen times the tendency to escape that oxygen has, and two-hundred and eight times that of lead. This tendency of the chemical elements to sort themselves I call "selective molecular escape."

Hence at every cosmic impact of dense bodies some) light molecules leave with such extreme velocity as to escape not merely the mass, but the galactic system altogether. These molecules wander in space, perchance to other cosmic systems.

Another agency is at work giving motion to free molecules. Radiant energy is caught by cosmic dust of all dimensions. Sir W. Crookes's experiments on "Radiant Matter" suggest that free molecules do not take up or give out radiation. (Dr. Johnstone Stoney has lately suggested to me that this point is unimportant, as even should the molecules absorb radiation, this energy will increase the velocity of the succeeding rebound.) But when slowly moving light molecules touch this heated dust, it will bound off in the same way that molecules fly with increased velocity from radiometer-vanes. Thus radiant energy is converted into heat, and this into potential energy.

There are other agencies by which light atoms are liberated from cosmic systems to wander indiscriminately. Such atoms do work against the attraction of systems, and where potential is highest they move slowest.

Where they thus linger they tend to accumulate. The potential of this part of space lessens, and the work required to reach these positions not being so great as at first, oxygen and other heavier molecules get there, increasing the density; and oxygen also tends to produce non-volatile compound molecules.

These would coalesce; but helium and the other cosmic pioneers do not combine, they remain permanently gaseous. Thus a primary cosmic system is incipient. Dense bodies sent out of cosmic systems by the interaction of three bodies would generally pass through old cosmic systems where matter is in dense masses, but evidently not through such vast gaseous aggregations as the incipient cosmic systems. The bodies would be retarded by the friction produced, and perchance volatilized, forming nuclei in the general mass; their mutual attraction would cause denser aggregations to occur, and a cosmic system of the first order would be produced. Two such systems colliding produce a system of the second order. This, colliding with any other cosmic system, produces a system of the third order. Our own galactic system is very probably a tertiary system.

The kinematic condition of the impact would exactly produce such a system. It is now known to be a rough double spiral of stars, with sprays and streams of stars and two caps of nebulae. It is not difficult to picture the kinematic conditions necessary to form such a rough ring, or double spiral of stars with polar caps of nebulous matter.

Let us assume a complete whirling coalescence of two cosmic systems in which the part coming into collision is considerable. This heated part is in the centre of the system. Here all the material is volatilized, and the pressure produced can find no relief save axially; hence the system is, as it were, a short cannon open at each end, and the discharged gas spreads itself over the poles of the system.

This discharge, that is commenced by pressure, is finished by molecular escape. Globular nebulae form in this gaseous matter by the attraction produced by wandering bodies plunging into the gas. The globular nebulae so produced attract one another and become double nebulae; they are then wrought into spindles, spirals, dumbbells, or rings by the kinematic peculiarities of the varying depths of impact.

It is significant that temporary stars, planetary nebulae, and all the bodies likely to be produced by the impact of stars are in the milky way; and all the forms of nebulae deduced as resulting from the impact of nebulae are where we should expect them to be, namely, at the poles of the milky way.

If this generalization represents the mode of nature's action, then there is a possibility that the entire cosmos is immortal, and the present order but a phase of an eternal rhythm.

The sequence of these agencies is as follows:—

- Diffusion of heat by radiation.
- This radiation, falling on the dust of space, heats it.
- The heat of this cosmic dust is taken away by slowly moving light molecules having their velocity increased.
- Free molecules are also sent out of systems by partial impacts, by selective molecular escape, and other agencies.
- Free molecules will remain longest in the position of maximum potential where their motion is least, and will consequently tend to aggregate in the empty parts of space.
- By the interaction of three bodies the velocity acquired by one sometimes takes it out of the cosmic

system.

Diagram of Cosmic Evolution

- Hydrogen and the cosmic pioneers then become a trap for wandering bodies that tend to be stopped and converted into dense nebula?.
- These dense nebulas tend to attract surrounding gas; they cool and shrink, some ultimately forming solid bodies.
- These bodies, by mutual attraction, give density to the new cosmic system.
- Such systems are of the first order.
- The impact of systems of the first order produces systems of the second order.
- Any other impacts produce systems of the third order, of which our galactic system is a type.
- The coalescence of two cosmic systems does not necessarily, as a final result, produce a system of a larger mass than the two original systems from which it was formed, as many agencies are tending to send matter out of the coalesced mass.
- It is thus seen that dissipation of energy is but a part of a complex cyclical process; and there is consequently the possibility of an immortal cosmos in which we have neither evidence of a beginning nor promise of an end, the present being but a phase of an eternal rhythm.

The accompanying diagrammatic scheme illustrates these agencies. It must be noted that bodies and systems are printed in *italic capitals*; and where several such are one above another it implies sequence of phenomena.

Front Cover

An Essay on Prison Reform

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Preface.

THE suggestions contained in this essay were first presented in a short paper offered to the "Sydney Morning Herald" some fifteen years ago—they were not then thought to be of sufficient general interest to warrant their publication.

The essay itself was written two or three years ago. It is printed practically as it was then written, though the writer, had he followed his inclination, would have added a large amount of matter to it. The temptation to enlarge was chiefly from the historical and statistical points of view. But the student of penology will find an excellent historical summary under the heading "Prison Discipline" in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, and Mulhall (from whom the Statistics in Section II are taken) contains an enormous mass of figures from which the laborious investigator will gather much food for thought; it was not therefore necessary to add to the length of the essay with matter which can be so readily obtained elsewhere.

It would have been interesting, too, to have pursued further the considerations as to the physical characteristics of the criminal; but for this the reader must be referred to Lombroso's principal works, "The Criminal Man," "The Criminal Woman" and the "Man of Genius," all of which have been translated into English.

In addition to the books mentioned above and in the essay, the writer would express his obligations to Wine's "State of Prisons," Mr Horsley's "Prisons and Prisoners" and many papers and reports, Winter's "New York State Reformatory at Elmira," many reports of American prisons, of the Prison Reform Association of England and the National Prison Association of America, and much periodical literature.

Upon one point only does he think it necessary to add to what he has written. It may be disputed that crime is increasing. That petty offences are decreasing and that property and person are becoming more secure, that the general average of morality in the world is rising, is no doubt the case, but that serious crime is for the present on the increase seems to be certain. Mulhall's Statistics unfortunately come down, with any fulness, only to the year 1889, but as far as they go they prove the point incontestably and especially with regard to some of the more dangerous forms of crime. If the increase of crime has been less marked since then, as is probably the case, it may be fairly argued that the improvement is, in part at least, to be attributed to the great

advance in prison reform which the last ten or twelve years have witnessed. And this becomes the more certain when it is pointed out that the improvement is greatest in countries in which reform has made the most progress. In America it is said there is marked difference between the different States in this respect. But even when the fullest allowance has been made for such improvement the fact remains that even to the present year serious crime is still generally increasing. An exception was made in favour of the United Kingdom, but there are some who think that even this exception ought not to be made, that, if Reformatory populations and the known criminals at large be considered, the United Kingdom would show much the same symptoms as the rest of the world. In 1889, according to Mulhall, besides 21,919 criminals in prison and 3,230 children in Reformatories, there were 28,730 known adult and 4,870 known juvenile criminals at large. And in the "Nineteenth Century" for January, this year, appears a remarkable and somewhat disquieting paper by Robert Anderson, Assistant Commissioner of Police in London, in which the growth of serious crime in London is made very evident. According to this reliable authority, while felonies generally fell between 1868 and 1899 from 22,083 to 16,149, burglaries increased from 345 to 447, or taking together burglaries, house-breaking and shop-lifting, these crimes increased from 163 in 1848 to an average of 2,443 in 1899, some fifteen-fold, while felonies generally increased only from 13,142 to 16,149, in other words, largely diminished in proportion to population. The paper inveighs strongly against our present absurd system of imprisonment, and argues, without using the phrase, in favour of the indeterminate sentence. With it, it urges, these crimes might in a short time be practically stamped out in London. And very much to the purpose of the present essay is the quotation from a well-known authority on prison discipline, Major Arthur Griffiths. Taking prisons as they are, the Major says their "population may be classed in two grand divisions, those offenders who ought never to have been sent to prison at all and those who ought never to be released."

But surely in New Zealand crime is decreasing? Does not the "Year Book" say that the statistics "show a marked decrease in crime"? Statistics of crime are made up so differently in different countries that it is impossible to institute satisfactory comparisons between them, but as far as figures can guide us, crime appears to be very much greater here than in the United Kingdom. In the latter the total of all offences was 2,780 to 100,000 persons in 1887, while in Australia it was 3,650 in 1888, and here in New Zealand 3,088. In France at nearly the same time it was 2,940 and in Italy 3,340. In New Zealand it is now, in 1898, 3,019. But it is the increase of crime with which we are concerned. In 1894 the proportion of crime was 2,555 per 100,000 persons, in 1897 it was 2,765 and in 1898, 3,019. The "marked decrease" is not very perceptible here. But in 1882, says the "Year Book," it was 4,341 and in 1885, 3,961 and the decrease to 3,019 in 1898 is now very marked. No one doubts the diminishing of petty offences and especially of drunkenness, the committals for which fell from 1200 in 1885 to 520 in 1898, and it may be that crime generally has decreased since 1882, in which case we should be concerned to maintain and accelerate the decrease, but the comparison is not very reliable, and the blindest optimist cannot deny that crime is now (since 1894) on the increase, nor, in view of many recent utterances of our judges, that it is "assuming a peculiarly dangerous character."

But while concerned not to allow any false hope that crime is dying out the writer does not want it to be supposed that he is in any way hopeless for the future. On the contrary he believes that man is always progressing and that the world is always growing better on the whole. As the wave advances and then retires but on the whole the tide is rising, so is it with mankind. Nor does he think even the present growth of certain graver forms of crime a reason for discouragement. Even this may make for progress. Pain, says one, is the danger signal pointing to some diseased condition in the body. Only a generation ago our people awoke to the fact that hospitals were then producing rather than curing disease. For generations men had gone on living with little or no regard to sanitary laws; it was the will of God, they said, that disease should carry off so large a proportion of the race, and they bowed to the inevitable. But the time came when they learned that disease was not inevitable, then hospitals become no longer charitable homes for the sick but places for their cure, then their defects for this purpose became evident and then the many and excellently designed establishments we now possess began to be erected. In the same old days crime, too, was thought to be a necessary condition of things; it was due to the wicked obstinacy of the criminal, it was always wrought *instigante diabolo*, no thought of its cure or prevention could be entertained, it could only be punished. And even when it was thought possible to prevent it even then no one thought of curing it. But when at last we began to see that crime, like disease, is not only preventable but curable, then means began to be adopted for its cure; these means were naturally inefficient at first and it was soon found that institutions which were set up for the punishment of the criminal could be of little use for his reformation, that they really increased the crime they were attempting to cure; then the cry arose and: has long been sounding for a "rational system" of dealing with this moral disease. Thus as the increase of physical disease, due to, but in excess of, the increase of population, owing to insanitary conditions generally and especially in the hospitals themselves, led to the vast improvements of the present day, so will the corresponding, increase of moral disease, due to analogous insanitary conditions in the region of morals, and especially in the institutions devoted to its cure, lead in the near future to corresponding improvements in these

conditions and in these institutions.

New Zealand is passing through a critical period of her brilliant youth—just as all of us pass through critical periods in our youth. What her future will be depends very much upon the wisdom of her rulers now. If they expend their energies in vapouring about the admitted glories of their country but fear to attack the evils which they well know, the sores which are eating into the body of the State, lest their personal popularity should suffer, then the prospect for the future is dark indeed. But let them manfully fight these evils and though the multitude may curse them now, many generations of prosperous citizens of the land they have redeemed will bless them in the golden days that are to come. One of these evil symptoms is the prevalence of crime, and it is the humble object of this essay to show, not how crime may be prevented—that is a larger and grander subject—but how existing crime may be dealt with. The criminal exists because of the imperfect moral conditions which the rulers of the State at present deliberately permit, because no efficient means have been adopted for building up his character, when alone character can be built up, in his childhood and his youth—he has therefore, in simple justice, the strongest claim to be treated with every consideration, with every reasonable kindness indeed, until those glorious days come, as they surely will come, when by the gradual but sure operation of true educational principles, rationally applied, crime itself shall be destroyed.

An Essay on Prison Reform.

FROM almost every part of the world comes the cry that crime is increasing. "In France, in Germany, in Italy, in Belgium, in Spain, in the United States, the tide of criminality is becoming higher steadily and rapidly," says Dr. Havelock Ellis. "That crime is on the increase, out of proportion to population, is indicated in many ways," says General Brinkeschoff in his address to the National Prison Association of America in 1894. Morrison, in his book on "Crime and its Causes," gives the same testimony. Only insular Great Britain seems to be free from this alarming symptom. The Australasian colonies certainly are not. In New Zealand the increase of crime seems to be assuming a peculiarly dangerous character. Yet the expenditure on means for its repression—the magistracy, the police, the prison and reformatory system—is unstinted, and, indeed, enormous in proportion to our income. How is it, then, that the result is not more satisfactory? That is the question that I propose to attempt to answer in this paper. I propose to enquire whether our large expenditure is so directed as to produce the best possible effects, and to make some suggestions as to points in which it seems to me our present system may be materially improved.

It is necessary, however, to premise that I am not now dealing with the far more important question of the prevention of crime. Public opinion is rapidly focussing itself upon what I should call the kernel of the whole question—false and insufficient educational methods. But my present object is much more limited—to deal only with the cure of existing crime.

What applies to prisons must necessarily have some bearing also on reformatories, industrial schools, refuges, penitentiaries, and the like: but it is of the prisons only that I now speak.

I.

Confining our attention, then, to the convicted criminal, there are two questions which must be considered before we discuss the best manner of dealing with him. They are: What is the criminal? and What do we mean when we speak of the punishment due to his offence?

To take the second question first, there seem to be three conceivable ways in which we may regard his amenability to (what we must for the present call) punishment. First, we may consider his offence as an outrage against society, and say that outraged society has a right to vindicate and avenge itself. This is the earliest view of crime that organized society will take, and in fact all our existing laws for the repression of crime are based upon it. It is simply transferring to society the right of revenge which in barbarous ages lay with the individual wronged—the old crude rule, "an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth," no longer carried out by the individual but by the community to which he belongs on his behalf. It is not so very long since English criminal courts attempted no more than to regulate the exercise of private vengeance—to arbitrate between the parties, and estimate or limit the penalty that might be exacted by the injured one. And much of the procedure of our courts—the notices and appearances—may be traced (as Sir Henry Maine has shown) to this period. The first attempt to modify primitive barbarity was the establishment of the *wergild*, or pecuniary compensation, for injuries inflicted. But even this was not a penalty demanded by the State; it was a compensation paid by the offender to the injured party or his representatives. In process of time the State grew strong enough to prohibit altogether the practice of private revenge and to treat all offences as committed against itself—against society at

large. So our statute laws now attempt to estimate the penalty due to each particular offence, and, that having been inflicted, society is supposed to be satisfied, and the criminal to have purged his crime, and to be able to start his life again at the point he had reached before he was convicted. This method has certainly the merit of simplicity, but it is clear that neither our legislators nor our people have for a long time regarded it as satisfactory. For a long time now statutes have stated in regard to offences, not the exact penalty due to each, as was the case formerly, but the maximum penalty that may be inflicted—not exceeding so long—leaving it to the judges to consider the special circumstances of each case. For an equally long time public opinion has certainly not regarded the criminal who has purged his offence quite as if he had never offended. And it has long since been evident to all that it is impossible to assign the fit penalty due to each offence, for the heinousness of crime depends very much upon the circumstances under which an offence is committed, and a specific penalty may be trivial or severe, according to the condition of the person upon whom it is inflicted—upon his education, his refinement, his surroundings, his character, his social position.

We pass on, then, to the second stage in the development of opinion—the view that punishment should be inflicted, not in revenge, but as a deterrent, both as regards the criminal himself and others who may be tempted to follow in his steps. As regards the criminal himself, the punishment is supposed to destroy his tendency to crime as the cane it supposed to cure the schoolboy of his laziness. As regards others, the knowledge of his sufferings is expected to act as a warning and deterrent. Naturally, the general adoption of this view led at first to great severity in punishment. It was found that punishment did not deter, it only led to greater cunning in the effort to escape detection. Heavier and heavier sentences were adopted without success. Dr Wines, in "Punishment and Reformation," gives a chapter to the ingenious and horrible methods adopted in mediæval times in Europe to intensify torture in the vain hope of overcoming this difficulty. Soon it forced itself upon the magisterial mind that if all these ingeniously-devised sufferings failed to reform the criminal, there was but one thing left—to kill him; and that that would have the greatest effect of all upon others. So death became the penalty for half the crimes in the calendar. In Henry VIII's reign in England, it is said that 71,400 persons were hanged—chiefly as thieves and vagabonds. Even at the beginning of the present century something like a hundred crimes were visited by the death penalty in England, and in the first half of the present century no less than 2,734 persons suffered in this way, often for such crimes as sheep-stealing or purloining post-office letters—among others a child of nine for stealing a pot of paint worth twopence-halfpenny, and another of twelve for riot! Still crime increased. Humanity sickened at the sight of the constant slaughter, and criminals either became reckless or relied upon this general disgust to influence the juries, and so enable them to escape on any specious plea. And now a reaction has set in, and the period of excessive severity has been followed by what (if the punishment is still believed, or intended, to have any exact relationship to the crime committed) is one of excessive leniency. But light penalties prove themselves no more a deterrent from crime than heavy ones. Indeed, it is clear that the only effective deterrent must be found in greater police efficiency. No punishment after detection which has any element of doubt in it is likely to deter a criminal except in so far as it makes him more careful to avoid it, while certainty of detection, however inconsiderable the penalty that follows, must have much effect upon at least the first offender.

But now the whole question of punishment, whether in the form of expiation, or as a deterrent, is in process of reconsideration. The first note of revolt against established ideas came, as was right, from the Church. In 1704 Pope Clement XI. established at Rome, St. Michael's "House of Correction." Earlier still the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge in England signalled the first year of its existence (1699) by appointing a committee to consider the condition of prisons, of which its chief founder, Dr Bray, was chairman. The committee reported in strong opposition to the existing system in 1700, and in 1710 Dr Bray published his tract, "An Essay towards Reformation of Newgate and other Prisons." But times were not ripe for reform, and no result followed upon these efforts, nor did anything else result from Bishop Butler's sermon on the same subject in 1740, or Mr Denne's pamphlet in 1772. Later on the question became more insistent, and among early writers we must not forget M. Bonneville de Marsangy in France (1846) and Mr Hill, brother of Rowland Hill, Recorder of Birmingham (1856), to the last of whom we owe the phrase, well known in penological literature, "Reformation or Incapacitation", an apt summing up of the latest ideas, to which I shall refer later on.

But it is only within about the last twenty years that the question has commanded general attention. Now it is a "burning" question and men are beginning to ask whether punishment, as such, has any true place at all in Society's dealing with the criminal?—is it of any value at all, remedial or deterrent?—has Society any right at all to inflict it? As to its value it is found that brutalized habitual criminals do not in the least fear the punishment now inflicted, nay there are cases, many such, where criminals have expressed regret at the shortness of their sentence, or where they have deliberately allowed themselves to be arrested in order that they might enjoy an inexpensive and not altogether unpleasant period of rest and regular living for the re-establishment of the health, which vice and excitement had undermined. And from another point of view many writers have argued that the publicity and notoriety given to crime by our present system has the worst

effect upon many emotional persons who, brooding over the matters thus brought before them, are led step by step into actions which are really abhorrent to their true nature. There certainly seems ground for this opinion in the frequently observed fact that a startling crime, a specially cruel murder, for instance, or an unusual form of financial dishonesty, is often followed by a crop of similar crimes which at least appear to be imitations of it, and psychological science is only on the borderland of its investigations into that strange influence upon human thought and conduct which is known as "suggestion." For these and other reasons it is urged that our estimate of the value of punishment, as either a remedy for or a deterrent from crime, must be greatly modified, if not altogether abandoned. Then, if, as it seems, the old idea of punishment as an expiation for or purging of crime has been finally given up, what is to take the place of these discarded views? The answer must be—the third of the three views of which I have spoken—namely that the duty of society towards the criminal is not to revenge itself upon him, not even to punish him as a warning to others, but to cure, to reform him. It is urged by the advocates of this view that society is an organic whole, that any corrupt spot in it is a blemish to the whole for which the whole is in some sense responsible, that it cannot be perfect while any such corrupt spot remains in it, that its duty, therefore, is not to vent its indignation upon and belabour the offending part, as some small child might do, but to recognise that the local evil must proceed from some general conditions of unhealthiness in the whole, and, therefore, to deal tenderly with the part affected while devoting most of its attention to the recovery and perfecting of the general health. Such a view will demand that the criminal be treated not as an enemy outside of society, but as an integral part of it who has, whether by his own fault or by that of others, fallen into moral sickness for which he is to be treated in a prison on precisely similar lines to those on which one suffering from physical sickness is treated in a hospital. And if this view be correct, the question whether society has any *right* to inflict punishment is also answered. Among savages bodily ailments or abnormalities are frequently punished, sometimes even by death, and to quite recent times in "civilized" countries, madmen were chained and beaten, while lepers and other sufferers regarded as incurable, or as suffering from some direct judgment of the Deity upon them for their sins, were driven from any intercourse with their fellows and deprived of all the amenities of life. All this has passed away and men are beginning to ask whether society has any more right to punish the homicide, the thief, the morally weak, than it is now admitted to have to punish the leper, the epileptic, the mentally afflicted. Of course every one allows there are precautions which society must take for its own protection—of segregation and disinfection—but these apply to one kind of sickness as well as to the other, and stand quite apart from the question of punishment. The real point is—one man is often as much to blame (or as little) for his gout, his broken limb, or his imbecility, as another is for his violence, his dishonesty or his immorality—why then should the two be so differently treated?

This question will gain vastly additional force when we consider *what* the criminal is. Meanwhile the duty of the State—society in its legislative and administrative aspect—according to this view is either to cure the part of the body affected—the criminal—or, if that is impossible, so to confine its activity that the rest of the body may not suffer from its corruption, as Recorder Hill put it forty years ago, "Reformation or Incapacitation."

II.

What, then, is the criminal?

The science of criminology is almost entirely of today, and some of its conclusions are as yet only partially established. But many Italian, French and German, and a few English and American students have deeply studied it. Many investigations and experiments have been made, and there are a sufficient number of results obtained, upon which there is a general consensus of opinion, to make it possible to attempt, at least, a partial reply to the question.

The subject has been attacked from two principal points of view—the psychological and evolutionary and the sociological. From the former point of view, heredity becomes the predominating factor; from the latter, environment. The more sober writers combine the two, and in this combination, no doubt, the truth is to be found.

Of the first point of view, perhaps, Lombroso, Ferri, and Benedikt may be said to be the leading exponents. The argument is that as men, like all the rest of nature, are constantly developing minute differences of structure, so are they also constantly developing constant differences in their mental and moral endowments. It would be difficult to say what exactly is the normal type of man. A man perfectly proportioned—physically, mentally, morally—is altogether unknown. Moreover, if we should try to imagine this typical man, our estimate of him would differ from age to age, rising gradually as time advances. Only the Christian can look up to a perfect type, a perfect Exemplar—and He was God as well as man.

All men, as we know them, possess slight differences in all the parts of their being; no two are alike.

Now these differences involve the increased development of some organ, function, or capacity, or some

combination of these, at the expense of the rest. The functions or capacities developed may be of an intellectual or imaginative character, then we get the inventor or the poet; they may be those that lead to strength of will or rapidity of thought, then we get the great general or the keen man of business; they may be the opposite of these, those which produce irritability, vacillation, passion, acquisitiveness, then we get the murderer, the thief, the criminal. The point is—and it is a strange though obvious one—that all these are departures from the normal type, as we conceive it—they are all, in fact, abnormal conditions. Some of them we believe to be advances on the normal type, anticipations of the perfect man to come, and we speak of them as virtue or genius; some are retrogressions, reversions, and these we talk of as degeneration and crime, but all are equally abnormalities, departures from the normal type as at present conceived by us.

Thus Lombroso describes genius as a "neurosis of an epileptic character"; crime he would describe as a similar disease but exhibiting contrary symptoms. This must be received with the reservations already mentioned. But so much seems clear: that the circumstances on the one hand which predispose a man to virtue or genius, and those on the other which predispose him to degeneration and crime, are equally beyond his own control. A few facts will strongly emphasise these considerations, and are of much interest in themselves. I turn to the statistics of murders in the United Kingdom for the ten years ending 1888; they seem to prove clearly enough that such crime, at least, proceeds from individual abnormality akin to insanity. The number of them reported was 1766. In 1094 cases no trace of a culprit was found; for the rest, 672 persons were tried, of whom 231 were acquitted; of the remaining 441 declared to be guilty, 142 or 32 per cent, were found to be insane: 299 were condemned to death, but of these the sentence of 145 was commuted, generally on the ground of mental infirmity: only 154 were finally executed. Thus of the few tried nearly one half were found to be mentally infirm—and some of the others may have been so—it was only the question of an opinion. The short lives of criminals point the same way: 54 per cent, of English prisoners are between 21 and 40 years of age. But the most striking fact is the early age at which crime develops: "Scarcely an habitual criminal in this country who has not been imprisoned as a child" says "The Reformatory and Refuge Journal" of July 1890. Lord Shaftesbury stated in 1853 that 58 per cent, of the known thieves began their career under 15 years of age, 14 per cent, between 15 and 16, 8 per cent, from 17 to 19, and only about 20 per cent, at 20 and upwards. In Italy it is said that 36.1 per cent, of the criminals are between 16 and 20. Most of these facts are quoted from Havelock Ellis' "The Criminal" or Morrison's "Crime and its Causes." As to the direct influence of heredity, in Germany 27 per cent, of the offenders are said (by Dr Lichart) to have sprung from degenerate parents, drunkards and criminals, and in Italy (by Dr Virgilio) 32 per cent. And the following particulars are taken from R. L. Dugdale's book on "The Jukes Family." The original Jukes, it seems, was a Dutch settler in America between 1720 and 1740. He was a careless, indolent fellow, the father of many illegitimate children. Of his descendants the career of 709 has been traced: 76 were criminals who committed 115 offences, 131 were blind, insane or mentally weak, 142 were vagabonds, 180 are known to have received outdoor relief for an aggregate period of 800 years: of the women 128 were prostitutes, that is 52.4 per cent against a normal proportion of 1.66. On the whole Mr Dugdale considers that the State supported one or other member of this family for 2,300 years at a cost of some million and a quarter dollars.

I do not lay much stress upon the supposed physical peculiarities of the criminal—the receding forehead, the "sugar-loaf" form of skull, the prominent frontal crest, the ear projecting and deficiency of the lobule. There is much difference of opinion about these, and no real proof as yet exists that they are peculiar to criminals. The "criminal type" so often observed, not always inside a prison, may be due to circumstances of environment. Yet some of the facts adduced by Lombroso are striking and suggestive. He tells us, for instance, of a child who would not speak to a young man who was charming society by his manners and wit—"he is a murderer," said the child, and was punished accordingly, but a murderer Francesconi was eventually found to be. He tells, too, of a school of 32 children before whom he laid mixed up the portraits of 20 thieves and 20 honest men: four-fifths rightly separated the one class from the other. Once more he tells how he submitted 200 portraits of honest young men to three physicians and a girl of twelve: they all selected one as a criminal who on investigation was found, though never accused of crime, yet to have shown himself of a degenerate character. One fact which Lombroso urges is known to all who have seen much of prison life—that criminals have special diseases and special vices of their own—but this may be due rather to environment than to heredity. The special feature of all criminals is weak will power, showing itself in lack of self-control, want of concentration and application—deficiencies which often co-exist with much openness of mind, generosity, and religious feeling. On the whole it may perhaps be said that the criminal is simply a man whose special peculiarities have brought him into opposition to the prevailing tendencies of his age; he belongs to a type which the majority of his fellow men have left behind; his peculiarities, indeed, are shared all of them by other men, but the particular combination found in him in the particular environment in which he has been placed has made him what he is; had he been placed in some other environment his good qualities, not his evil ones (as we regard them) might have been rather developed; had he lived in an earlier age he might have changed places with some who are now

honoured and esteemed. "Of a very great number of modern habitual criminals" says L. Owen Pike in his "History of Crime in England" (1876 p. 509), "it may be said that they have the misfortune to live in an age in which their merits are not appreciated. Had they been in the world a sufficient number of generations ago, the strongest of them might have been chiefs of a tribe. . . . With the disposition and the habits of uncivilized men which he inherited from a remote past, the criminal has to live in a country where the majority of the inhabitants have learned new lessons of life, and where he is regarded more and more as an outcast as he strives more and more to fulfil the yearnings of his nature." It is only necessary to add to this the remark that only a small proportion of the inmates of our prisons are habitual criminals; the majority are "occasional criminals" who have not yet and never may reach the stage of habitual criminals, but whose innate tendencies are such as are here described, and whose fault is that, being such as they are, some unfortunate combination of circumstances has been too much for their weak powers of self-control.

III.

If now I have rightly described the "criminal" it must be clear that the idea of punishment can have no place in our dealings with him; indignation, disgust, revenge are feelings which must be repressed, however horrible his crimes may have been; there is but one sentiment that must remain in our hearts—compassion, pity—we must exercise towards him "mercy and not judgment"—just as we do not allow our natural disgust to influence our care for the idiot or the leper, however foul may be his habits or his person.

For let us, remembering what has been said in the last section as to the nature of the criminal, briefly consider how he comes to be what he is. He is in the beginning one whose peculiarities, physical, mental, moral, separate him more or less from the bulk of his fellow men—these peculiarities individually are not different from those of other men, it is in their combination that they differentiate him, and even in this he shares them with many others. The actual development of crime depends upon his being placed in a suitable environment as a seed does not germinate unless it be placed in a suitable soil. This suitable environment arises from three principal causes—two positive, one negative. The first is the association with those in whom these same tendencies have already developed, that is criminal surroundings. The second is poverty that sets him in opposition to the existing conditions of society and tends therefore to accentuate those features of his character which separate him from other men. The third is the lack of educational influences, which leaves his better impulses uncultivated and his will weak, or which by training solely his intellectual powers tends still further to weaken the moral ones at whose expense these are strengthened. Even if we allow to the full the existence of the criminal character—as claimed by moderate writers of the Lombroso school—it is evident that without criminal surroundings, in circumstances that make the chief amenities of life available, under educational influences that shall strengthen the will and religious principles that shall give a motive for self-restraint, this criminal character can seldom or never blossom into "habitual" crime. And even without these educational influences the man of weak will or of vicious propensities may pass through life, at least outwardly, free from blame, if the circumstances under which he lives shield him from strong temptation, or perhaps permit him to indulge his propensities without coming into conflict with the opinions or regulations of his fellows. For—and perhaps the distinction should have been introduced earlier—crime must be distinguished from sin. Crime and sin often cover the same ground, but crime is opposed to the laws of society, sin to those of the Creator, crime is measured by its external manifestation, the force of sin is in its internal intensity, crime is sometimes not sin, sin is very often not crime.

Now, for this fostering environment of crime—criminal surroundings, poverty, lack of moral education—who is most to blame, the criminal who is powerless to protect himself till the full mischief is wrought or the State which deliberately allows these conditions to exist? If the answer is the State, another question follows—a question already asked, but only now to be fully answered—on what grounds of justice can the State assume to itself the right to punish the criminal? "Society prepares crime," says Quetelet, and to the great jurist and penologist, Lacassagne, is due the often-quoted declaration, "Every State has the criminals it deserves." And it was a woman who grandly said, that no one can be really great and noble in a State while one other in it remains base and degraded.

Clearly, then, the duty of the State towards the criminal is reformation, not punishment. Owing to causes for which the State is chiefly responsible, he has become a bad citizen—an enemy to himself, a burden to the State to which he ought to be a support. It is the business of the State to undo all this, to restore him to good citizenship, to happiness and usefulness. Perhaps the task will not, when it is fairly entered upon, be found so difficult as it at first appears. Whatever a man is by nature, the development of his character depends upon his environment: and man has the power, which no other animal has, of improving—either by himself or his fellows—that environment. The treatment of the criminal, then, consists in placing him under such conditions that his good impulses, now weak, may be made strong, and that his evil tendencies, now strong, may be made

weak; that his strength may be turned into good and useful directions, and, specially, that his will may be braced and his powers of self-control fostered and increased. It remains for me to enquire how our present system is accomplishing this work, and what changes are necessary to render it efficient for the purpose. But before entering upon this part of my subject it will be necessary to say something, of the classification of the criminal, for upon this essential points of prison reform will be found to depend.

Now, criminals are variously classified, but four divisions will be sufficiently inclusive. The first will include those in whom crime has not developed. They have criminal instincts, but happily circumstances have been kind, and no vicious growth has resulted. On the contrary, perhaps, educational influences have led them to recognise their weakness and to seek for external strength to supplement internal deficiencies, and now out of weakness itself has come power, and the direst temptation would attack them in vain. In this class would be placed many of the greatest and best of our race—resisted temptation makes the saint—and in its lower ranks, perhaps, most of us should be included. My readers will recall the famous "There, but for the grace of God, goes Richard Baxter." The second division will include those who, having strong passions which they have been taught to control and have, perhaps, long controlled, have yet in some unhappy moment been placed in circumstances of exceptional trial and have fallen, perhaps, before they have had time to gather together their powers for resistance. These are "criminals by passion" and cause the assaults, the murders, many of the more horrible crimes by which our sense of security is often rudely disturbed. Yet, contrary to the prevailing opinion, these are not the most dangerous of our criminals; apart from their special evil instincts, they are commonly good, clever, amiable people, and (except in the cases in which their special instinct, being once aroused, is so strong as to dominate and overpower their other faculties, in which case they become monomaniacs, and should be treated as such) seldom repeat their offence. Prince Krapotkine says that districts of Siberia which swarm with assassins and all varieties of homicides are yet notable for their security and the pleasantness of their society, while the contrary holds of those to which chiefly thieves and swindlers have been banished. It is precisely these, from whom the community has least to fear, for whom alone is now reserved in almost all countries the penalty of death. The first of these divisions will not trouble the State at all; the second can only be dealt with by the improvement of social conditions, and especially of educational methods, except in the one case mentioned which falls under the general head of insanity. It is for the third division that reformatory measures are chiefly needed. This is that of the "occasional criminal," a man whose evil instincts may not be strong, but his will is weak, and it is simply the accidental circumstance of the occasion that decides whether he commits crime or refrains from it. Up to a certain point he will resist, beyond that point he will certainly fail, and the point of yielding becomes lower and lower the oftener the occasion recurs. Such as these form the bulk of our prison population; and the method of their treatment is obvious, though it may have to be modified to suit particular cases. And criminals of this class have a special claim upon us, because they are so evidently the victims either of evil surroundings or neglected education. From them is developed the fourth division, that of the "habitual criminal." When a man has yielded to his evil instincts so often that the power to resist has nearly reached the point of disappearance, when the will, growing weaker day by day, has almost ceased to exercise any influence at all, then crime may be said to become a habit with him, and the time sooner or later arrives when his will disappears altogether and he becomes incurable. So difficult is it to deal with this class that some writers have regarded it as hopeless. Garofalo, an eminent Neapolitan jurist, while inveighing against the penalty of death in regard to the criminal by passion, advocates it for some members of this division, for he says their lives can clearly be of no further advantage either to themselves or to the community. Without endorsing this—for, even leaving aside the question of the right to take a man's life, it is evident how impossible it would be to fix the exact time when the point of hopelessness is reached—I may at least urge the supreme importance of treating members of this division in a different manner and in different institutions from those of other divisions.

In certain cases members of the third division would be regarded by almost all in these days as maniacs. It is a serious question how far the same term ought to be applied to the whole of this fourth division also. The usual rule in criminal cases has been to regard as lunatics those whose will has become so weakened or is naturally so weak that under the circumstances of the particular temptation it may reasonably be supposed that they had no real power of resistance. But in the case of the habitual criminal the will is disappearing or has disappeared altogether—it is becoming atrophied—is he not then a lunatic? The difficulty is of course to decide the point of weakness at which a man becomes incapable of resistance. In a true sense all crime may be considered the result of a weak or perverted will, and it is in the opinion of most penologists a very hard matter indeed to draw the line between lunacy and crime.

Nothing has been said or, indeed, can be said in this connection of the class of so called criminals known as political, ecclesiastical, or civil offenders. To these an entirely different set of considerations apply and they are only mentioned for the sake of completeness. It is only when political or civil quarrels develop other propensities, as in the case of brigands or condottieri, that the offenders can be classed as true criminals. Then

the quarrels in question may be regarded as a vicious environment and the crimes produced will place their perpetrator sin the third of the divisions described above.

IV.

I may now enquire how far our present system of dealing with the criminal is effective towards this end of reformation. Let us bear in mind what the criminal is, and that his treatment must, to be of any use, follow two definite lines. The environment which nourishes his diseased condition must be changed, he must be given wholesome occupation in wholesome surroundings that shall turn his thoughts from his former anti-social engrossment in his own perverted desires to a delight in his present and future social utility. Then his will and power of self-control must be strengthened by arousing his sense of responsibility and awakening his pride in his restored manhood: he must be given an object for his life in this world: he must be given a knowledge of eternal verities that he may have a motive for and power to attain self-mastery and self-discipline. How does our present system secure this treatment? As long ago as in the early forties one of the demands of the Chartist agitators was that punishment should be abolished and that criminals should be treated in a "rational" manner. Are our criminals yet treated in a rational manner?

The employment of criminals is evidently an important matter. No fault can be found in this respect with the managers of our existing prisons—the best is probably done that can be done under the conditions under which their work has to be carried on. But the conditions are capable of vast improvement. What, for instance, can be more absurd than the demand so often heard for the prohibition of any occupation for prisoners in which they may appear to compete with labourers outside? It is exactly those occupations, by which they will be able to get an honourable living when free, that they should be taught. It is a constant complaint in prison workshops that the workers are allowed to manufacture only particular lines of goods, frequently those in least demand outside. This is remedied somewhat where there is land connected with the prison which can be cultivated, but even here it very seldom or never happens that the land is sufficient in area to afford a really useful training for the number of labourers the prison authorities must put upon it. The employment of prisoners on State works—such as breakwaters or fortifications—seems at first to meet some of the difficulties. But surely this is illusory. If the works have to be carried out, the competition with the limited classes of stone masons and quarrymen and with unskilled labour is as severe as if the prisoners made clothes or tin or basket ware, nay more severe, for in these last employments it is only with low grade workers that they at present compete, here it is partly with skilled labour: on the other hand, if the works are not necessary, then there is not only waste of labour but the great benefit of the work is lost—the workers are not made to feel that they are becoming socially useful. There is moreover to this the great objection—which applies also to so much prison labour—that men are forced into occupations for which they are not specially fitted or for which they are quite unfitted and in which, therefore, they can never take an enthusiastic interest; they can never thus be taught to work like men, to put their best powers into what they are doing, they will not thus learn anything that will raise them now or be of service to them hereafter. What I have here said is true, I think, of all Australasian prisons; it is true of the two of which I have an intimate knowledge; it is true also of other English prisons. But if there is so much that is unsatisfactory in prisons where the best use is made of the opportunities offered, what words are strong enough to describe the irrationality of the system still surviving in some of them, where the treadmill, the crank and oakum-picking are still in evidence, where the prisoners, sullenly, listlessly, perform their minimum task, their thoughts meanwhile fixed upon their own perverted consciousness, goading themselves to brute fury against all and everything that represents authority, and only enduring in the anticipation of boundless criminal indulgences to come. It would be a miracle indeed if a prisoner did not leave such a prison a far more confirmed criminal than he was when he entered it. Such a system has done him an irreparable wrong, and he has almost a justification for his future outrages upon a society which through the action of its officials has so injured him. But there is worse even than this. There are still prisons in the Southern States of America (according to Dr. Wines) where gangs of prisoners are hired out for long periods to work on plantations, and kept to their work by threats-and blows—where conditions no longer obtaining in Siberia are still literally true. This is but a perpetuation of slavery, and such prisons are no better than the Moorish or Turkish hells where men are starved or tortured or simply left to die like trapped wild beasts. Even in the British Cape Colony some similar abuses appear to exist since the hiring out of convict gangs to work in the Kimberley diamond mines has lately been the subject of much comment.

Leaving the question of the proper employment of prisoners to be discussed with other reforms later on, I pass on to the means in use for strengthening the weak moral powers of the criminal. The systems adopted may be divided into the solitary and the collective—the former being again divided into the Pennsylvania and Auburn systems, in the former of which the prisoners are kept constantly apart, while in the latter they associate during the day but are separated during the night. The evils connected with the association of criminals are

evidently so great—they cannot, indeed, be easily exaggerated—that more than a hundred and fifty years ago attention was drawn to the subject, and it grew to be believed that the solution of all difficulties would be found in the isolation of each prisoner in a separate cell, never allowing him to see or communicate with his fellow prisoners. The first attempt to carry out this idea (partially by separate sleeping apartments) seems to have been at the celebrated St. Michael's prison, at Rome, in 1704. At Horsham, in England, in 1779, and Gloucester, in 1785, it seems to have been partially adopted, and there were early examples of it at Glasgow and Aberdeen. It was recommended by the famous Howard about this time, who described some prisons where it was adopted. It was advocated by Jeremy Bentham, in 1791, in his "Panopticon," which largely influenced the building of Millbank prison, in London, in 1816; and by Neild, in 1812, and Mrs Fry. But the first fair trial of it took place in America, where the Auburn State Prison of New York was opened in 1816, and the two Pennsylvania penitentiaries at Philadelphia and Pittsburg between 1817 and 1827. Thence it was passed on to the "model" prison at Pentonville, in London, planned by Sir Joshua Jebb, in 1843, and it has since been adopted in most European countries. But, as we are beginning to see, this was only rushing from one great evil into another nearly as bad. Prisoners thus confined in solitary cells are men who have no intellectual resources within themselves to fall back upon. Solitude is thus full of horror to them, and insanity is frightfully prevalent among them, as we might expect. This was especially the case when, as in the first Pennsylvanian penitentiaries, no employment was given to them. And there are other evils inherent in the system. The object is to strengthen the prisoner's will and power of self-control: he is put in a position where he has no responsibility, where everything is done for him, and where, for the greater part of his time, he has no companionship but the memory of his own past life. It is hardly to be expected but that he should come forth from his cell with all his criminal instincts intensified, with his weak moral nature still further weakened perhaps destroyed. Even if, by the excellence of the instructions given him by the prison officers, he should have been led to desire a nobler life, still he has no training to brace him against outside temptations, and his virtue will be like a hot-house plant set to bear the winter cold in the open field. For these and other reasons the solitary system is no longer advocated as it once was: indeed, almost the only serious defenders of it are the few remaining who were officially concerned in its introduction. I do not know whether it is or has been adopted any where in Australasia. The modification of it—the Auburn system—which is in use in most of our prisons, is good in theory but open to many abuses in practice, and is, moreover, entirely spoiled as to any good it might produce by the neglect of classification. The prisoners are usually arranged in classes which have no reference to their characters or offences, but only to their position in prison—how long they have been in it, what their conduct has been, and whether they are first or second "timers." All prisoners at first are placed indiscriminately in the lowest class, and remain in it for varying periods. At night each prisoner has his cell, in which he spends alone often eleven hours in each twenty-four. But in some prisons the prisoners are placed at night in dormitories, in which six or more of them sleep in hammocks side by side with one another. They are supposed to have no communication with each other, but men cannot sleep for eleven hours. Sometimes they are allowed to read for part of the time. In any case the system is as bad as it can be. The prisoners' working hours are eight; they may be in their cells for eleven; five hours are left for meals and recreation, which, in the prisons I know, the prisoners usually spend together in the yards assigned to each class. It is in this unregulated association, and especially of those in the lowest class, that one great cause of the failure of our present system must be sought. I take an obvious comparison, which is common property now, since it has been used by so many writers. What would be thought of the efficiency of a hospital in which all the patients brought in were placed at first in the same ward without regard to their ailments—consumptives, epileptics, typhoid cases, contagious cases, wounds,—all together, and all submitted to precisely the same treatment, and for a length of time regulated by external circumstances, and having no connection with the ailments? Well, that *is* our present prison system. The strange thing about it is that the defect is universally admitted, while practically no serious steps are taken to amend it. Magistrates, it is true, avoid as much as possible sending young persons or first offenders to gaol, but this affects only a few cases, and is but a very ineffectual check upon a system which is in itself hopelessly bad. That it is not altered can only be because people have not yet realised its enormous iniquity. A French jurist lately maintained that an hour in prison, where he associated unreservedly with the other inmates, might, and probably would, ruin any man. An acquaintance is struck up, he said, an appointment is made for a future meeting, and a career of crime commenced. The worst crimes are planned in prison; few comparatively innocent persons can escape the contagion of such a place. Judges and magistrates know this quite well and constantly refer to it. Mr Whitwell, an English magistrate, always refused to send children to a Reformatory because the law then was that they must spend if only a few hours in a prison first. That prisons breed crime is the constant remark of writers on these questions. The object is to bring those who have fallen into crime under the influence of a better environment than that which encouraged their evil instincts. They are brought into one infinitely worse: they are placed in closest association with chronic cases of habitual criminality. And who can wonder at the result that so often ensues? The marvel is that any escape. I have used the comparison of the

hospital. A hundred years ago, and less, our hospitals *were* in much the same condition. There was no proper classification, walls, floors, bedding were impregnated with the germs of disease, they were the very hotbeds of the diseases they were built to cure. Let people once realise that that is what our prisons are, that the money spent on them is, as magistrates well know, largely spent for the propagation of the criminality they are designed to cure, and there will soon be so loud an outcry that our Governments will be compelled, in spite of their natural disinclination to move, to inaugurate the much-needed reforms

A matter which must be only briefly referred to is the question of the attention paid to the bodily comforts of the prisoners. And here I complain chiefly of the inconsistency of the present system. If it is designed to make "the way of the transgressors hard," our prisons signally fail. The food and lodging is often better than the prisoner gets outside; there is no drink, it is true, but he gets used to that; there are but very few to whom the drink is a serious loss; what, at least, the male prisoner really misses is his tobacco, but he is sometimes allowed a modicum of that, and sometimes he gets it-somehow. The treatment is certainly not hard enough to act as a deterrent, and, even if it were desirable, it would be impossible in the present state of public opinion to make it so. I have already pointed out how criminals often seek a period of imprisonment for health and rest; at least this is notoriously so in Europe. An English judge speaks of the danger of sending boys to gaol; they find out, he says, how little it is to be dreaded and they never fear it again. In the English prison reports of 1888 is mentioned the oft quoted case of an Irish woman who was imprisoned 34 times that year, making 180 imprisonments in all. On the other hand if our prison system is too kindly for purposes of punishment it is equally inefficient for purposes of reform. It is a pleasant retirement for a time for the habitual criminal, for the criminal of education and refinement it is hell; the close association with so many degraded companion?, the publicity of all the minutest details of life, the dull monotony of existence, is worse than death. It is no hardship at all to the worst criminal, it is the cruellest and most brutal torture to him whose crime has been but the effect of passing passion, to whom the utmost consideration is really due. It is inconsistent and unequal. Add to all this that the lash and the dark cell still remain; the former, it is true, is little used in our Australasian prisons; but I have seen one elsewhere, where its use was constant. I never (thank God) saw the actual infliction of it, but I have seen the criminal immediately afterwards and I know well the degrading and brutalising effect of it. Even the little use we make of it here is too much. And the dark cell is nearly as injurious. I need not say that in the prison of the future, where the object will be to teach men self respect, both will be unknown.

Crime is disease in the region of morals—that all admit. A certain class of men make it the work of their lives to study moral health and disease as physicians study the conditions of physical health and disease. A rational system of prison discipline would naturally make the work of the clergyman the chief factor in the prisoner's treatment. There are Australasian prisons—many indeed—which have no chaplains and where clergymen are only admitted on sufferance and principally for the purpose of conducting services. To parallel this let us try to imagine a hospital to which medical men were only admitted on sufferance and in which they were expected to confine themselves chiefly to lecturing on hygiene. It is difficult to perceive what possible defence can be set up for such neglect of the prisoner's interests as this. Nor does it exist elsewhere in the world. In all European prisons in which any attempt is made to carry out definite principles of management, the chaplain is an important officer ranking next to the governor in the esteem in which his office is held. And, what will be regarded as more to the point, in the best managed prisons in America the supreme importance of the chaplain's work is fully recognised. In the Southern States, as has already been mentioned, are to be found some of the worst prisons in the world. In the North are many of the best. Some will be referred to later on—it will be sufficient to say here that in all these the chaplain's work is regarded as a, if not the, most essential part of the system. In Massachusetts especially, notably in the State prison, the moral reformation of the prisoner by the agency of the chaplain has been made a definite aim, and more fully and effectually carried out, perhaps, than anywhere else in the world.

Of course as long as the chaplain is regarded only as the devotional mouthpiece of a congregation, or as one whose sole end is the delivery of more or less entertaining discourses of a moral nature, such work is impossible. In the Massachusetts State prison, as in others, daily prayers are indeed offered, and that in a decent chapel set apart for this sole purpose, but the real work of the chaplain is (as that of the medical attendant is) his work with the individual—the work of restoring lost self-respect and strength of character by council, guidance, instruction, and, above all, brotherly sympathy.

The last objection I bring against our present system lies in the *necessary* inefficiency of many of the prison officers. This is naturally a delicate point to deal with. I have many kind and excellent friends among them and I know how anxious they are to do their duty and help to the best of their ability the unfortunate beings placed under their control. But the system is against them. The warders are untrained, they are in no way induced to make their work a calling for life, the higher offices are seldom open to them, there is nothing to lead them to regard their duties as specially responsible ones, or to suggest the importance of careful and scientific study as to the best means of discharging them. Nor is the case much better as regards the heads of prisons or of the

prison departments—they are for the most part excellent men anxious to do their work, but steeped in the traditions of the service and often hardly aware that there is any literature of the subject or that there is anything to say against their present methods.

Such are, briefly, some of the objections to be urged against the existing conditions of criminal treatment. A concrete instance will show better than many words the waste of the system and its hopelessness for any purposes of reform.

A. B. was a young man of an excitable temperament, but honest, sober, religious, a Methodist or Baptist local preacher. Whatever vicious impulses he had by nature had been kept under due control, until one unfortunate day, when passion, baulked of its gratification, overcame his reason, and a horrible homicide was the result. The horror of the crime shocked the public imagination, and though murder could not be charged against him, there being no intention to destroy life, yet he was condemned to imprisonment for life: that is, under the customary conditions, fourteen years, if his conduct was good. His conduct was more than good; he soon asserted his superiority, and was even allowed (unwisely) to conduct religious services on Sundays for his fellow-prisoners. For several years he was head cook, which, in an establishment of some 250 persons, is a really responsible position. This office gave him the use of a room to himself, and of pencil and paper, and he spent much of his time in reading and in writing poetry, some of his work showing imagination and considerable delicacy of thought. In no sense was he a dangerous criminal, but there was always a certain independence of manner and bluntness of speech in his dealings with the prison officers, and even in the petitions which he sent in as required to the authorities when the end of his term of fourteen years was approaching, which apparently raised a prejudice against him. He had been imprisoned some few weeks before the actual passing of his sentence, and it was understood in the prison that this would be counted as part of his sentence and that at the end of the total of fourteen years he would certainly be released. He had been allowed to grow hair and beard, and was confidently expecting his release in a few days, when the long-delayed answer to his petition arrived—a curt and peremptory refusal—he must stay, at least, until fourteen years from the date of sentence, perhaps longer. The rest of the story follows naturally—temporary madness, refusal to work, relegation to the horrors of the yards, resistance, dark cells and tragedy only and barely averted by the extreme forbearance of the governor of the gaol and the influence which even a visiting chaplain was able to exercise upon the unhappy prisoner.

One other case, typical of many, from the same prison. C. D. was in prison, for the sixth or seventh time, for larceny. He had been a gentleman's servant, a total abstainer and devout Roman Catholic. But his strength was only equal to resistance up to a certain point. The story was the same in every case—one taste of drink, too much for one unaccustomed to it, drunkenness, crime, prison, good conduct, release, *da capo*.

Now what good, either to the man himself or to the community, was accomplished by his incarceration in either of these cases? There was the expense of maintenance in one case for over fourteen years, in the other for nearly as many, the services of the two men to the community for the same period lost, and the results nothing; the men left prison as weak, and at least as unable to help themselves as when they entered it. And these are but ordinary cases. Many have left prison far weaker men, far worse and more dangerous in every respect than they were when they entered it.

The remainder of my task is much simpler, for it is not difficult to point out the reforms that are necessary. What is really difficult is so to overcome the *vis inertia* of prejudice and prepossession as to persuade their adoption. But the future is with the reformers, and we have no cause to be dissatisfied—remembering how slowly the greatest reforms have come about—with the progress that has been made in America and Europe and even in Japan.

One reform it is pleasant to record had its origin in Australasia—a reform now adopted throughout the world. This is the mark system and conditional release, the "ticket of leave." In 1840 when Captain Alexander Maconochie went to Norfolk Island, he found a condition of things which has been too often described to make any further reference to it necessary. In a very few years a revolution was wrought and order and comparative cheerfulness substituted for the misery and despair which had hitherto reigned. And all this was accomplished by bringing in hope—by the mark system all prisoners were able by good conduct to purchase some amelioration of their present lot and some expectation of liberty in the future. In one form or another this system is now universal almost throughout the world. It is a very large step in the right direction. But though all the credit of the organisation of the system belongs to Captain Maconochie, the idea of giving the prisoner the key of his own prison, as it has been called, enabling him by good conduct to shorten the term of his imprisonment, is much earlier. It was advocated by Archbishop Whateley, of Dublin, in articles in the "London Review" and in letters to Earl Grey in 1832. It was introduced into prisons at Kaiserslautern and Munich in Bavaria between 1830 and 1842 by Obermaier, and at Valencia, in Spain, by Colonel Montesinos. The first British example, however, was suggested directly by Maconochie's work in Norfolk Island: this was the "Crofton system," introduced by Sir Walter Crofton into certain Irish prisons, consisting principally of an

establishment intermediate between prison and liberty, in which prisoners had complete personal freedom "on probation", and proved by their conduct their fitness (or otherwise) for full liberty. The system was too advanced for the time and fell into disuse after Sir Walter Crofton's death. The mark system, however, which was included in it, remained and spread.

Of another specially Australasian reform not quite so good an account can be given. This is the First Offenders' Probation Act, by which a first offender's sentence may be, and usually is, remitted at the discretion of the presiding magistrate except in very serious cases. It is indeed rather a palliative of the evils of the existing system than a reform and is in truth inconsistent in itself. It is an admission that no good can be done to the offender or the community by the offender's incarceration. It is only reasonable on the ancient and exploded theory that revenge is the reason for his imprisonment. And there is the further weakness in it that, however slight the offence for which the "first offender" is tried, he *may* be a person of dangerous criminal instincts and it may in that case be a serious danger to the community that he should be at large. What can be said of the provisions of the Act is that they may often be of exceeding value under present conditions, but they will be useless when the reforms now demanded are obtained.

More valuable is the existing Massachusetts "probation system" established in 1870. Under this certain State agents are appointed, to the care of one of whom any boy or girl under 17 is committed. The committal is made in writing to the agent, who becomes the young person's guardian, provides a home for him and is responsible for his conduct. The system was extended to certain cases of adults in 1880, and has been still further extended within the last two or three years.

Not much need be said of the introduction of useful labour into the prisons; the value of this is universally admitted. The first recorded experiment in this, as in many other directions, deserves again to be mentioned. This is the St. Michael's prison established by Pope Clement XI. in 1704. It was called the "House of Correction", and contained workshops and schoolroom and a separate cell facing inward from the outer wall for every inmate. Over the entrance and on the walls were inscriptions: "For the education and reformation of criminal youths, to the effect that those who, when idle, had been injurious to the State might, when better instructed and trained, become useful to it," and, "It is of little use to restrain criminals by punishment unless you reform them by education." These are wise words, but the strange thing is that no similar advance in other countries was made for over a hundred years. Even the first penitentiaries in Pennsylvania made no provision for the employment of the prisoners. Now such employment is universal in all civilised countries.

But the most important reform of all—and that which is, indeed, but the logical outcome of all the others—is that known as "the indeterminate sentence." The first experiments in this direction were, and are being, made at the New York State Prison at Elmira. It was in 1869 that the Act of the New York State Legislature was obtained authorising the establishment of this prison. The discussions between the rival Auburn and Pennsylvania systems, the reports of the Crofton system, and the introduction of the mark system, had led to strong dissatisfaction with existing conditions, and a powerful body of reformers had been formed, among whom should be named, especially, Brockway (afterwards Governor of Elmira), Wines, and Dr Dwight. To the exertions of these latter and others the establishment of Elmira is due. The treatment of the prisoner was to be revolutionised in every way, his reform being the one object before the prison management. But it was felt that *the* necessary reform was the indeterminate sentence—that the prisoner should remain, not for a given period, but for the period, short or long, necessary for his cure. The Legislature conceded this with one reservation—the period was not to exceed a fixed maximum. Of course this is illogical and mischievous, for there are chronic cases and incurable cases of criminality, as there are chronic and incurable cases of mental and physical disease. But even with this restriction the system has produced remarkable results, and the restriction itself either very recently has been or is likely to be removed. The Elmira system has been adopted in all, or most, of its details in prisons in Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, Minnesota, Kansas and South Dakota, and there is a prison for women conducted in this way at Sherburn, Massachusetts.

I place, then, the "indeterminate sentence" as the first and most important of prison reforms, as the chief step towards a rational system of treatment of prisoners. At present an attempt is made, very unsuccessfully, to fit the sentence to the crime, the old idea of punishment and expiation being still dominant here. Rationally the sentence should be fitted to the nature of the moral sickness it is intended to cure. Hospitals do not fix a hard and fast period of detention for each disease irrespective of the special conditions of the case. Or, from another point of view, as Mr Horsley, late chaplain of Clerkenwell Prison, used to put it, what can be more senseless than sending a man, just because the period of his sentence is finished, out again into society, though you know that his criminal instincts are as strong as ever, though you know that he will lead the same life that he led before and sooner or later return to you, though he may even boast, as many do, of the crimes he intends to commit in the future? Or, I may add, where is the sense in retaining in prison, only because the term of his sentence has not yet expired, another man, who, you are persuaded, will now be able to control his vicious propensities and lead an honest and profitable life, thus risking the loss of all the man has gained, and incurring

expense worse than useless to the State? For some it is evidently morally and economically profitable that the State should find them a secluded dwelling and a sufficiently supportable maintenance for the remainder of their lives; for others it is equally profitable that the State should restore them to liberty and responsibility at the earliest possible moment. The true alternative is, as Recorder Hill put it, in 1856, reformation or incapacitation. Not very long ago, as we have seen, excessive severity was the rule; that failed: now equally excessive leniency is the rule; and this is equally a failure, for statisticians assure us that crime is—and for some time past has been—on the increase in almost every part of the world. It is only reasonable, then, that the indeterminate sentence which has worked so well in the limited area in which it has been tried should now, if only at first as an experiment, be adopted. Indeed, in Australasia it is already partially in use—for the Colonial or Home Secretary exercises freely a power of remitting large parts of sentences where, in his opinion, all is gained that was expected to be gained by them. I ask only that there should be given to trained experts the power which is now exercised by an (in this respect) untrained Minister, who has many other things to occupy his attention, and that the power should be extended to the prolonging as well as to the shortening of the periods of detention.

Next in importance to the indeterminate sentence comes the matter of a rational classification of prisoners. Much has already been done in this direction, but much remains to be done. Formerly young children were herded in prisons with all kinds of adult offenders. Later they were confined in separate prisons, but even so a brand was put upon them which went far to destroy their future usefulness. Charles Mayhew, writing in 1862 of the boys' prison at Tothill Fields, London, says of many of the crimes, as petty pilfering and the like, for which they were imprisoned, that in his boyhood at Westminster School such "crimes" were daily perpetrated, "and yet," he goes on to say, "if the scholars had been sent to the House of Correction, instead of Oxford or Cambridge, to complete their education, the country would now have seen many of our playmates working among the convicts in the dockyards rather than lending dignity to the Senate or honour to the Bench." Now, happily, we have Reformatories and Industrial Schools for the children. But the adults still herd together irrespective of character or degree of criminality. They must be classified, as hospital patients are classified, according to their moral character, as diagnosed by competent experts, and each class must be separately and appropriately treated. Here we have much to learn, but the time must come when it will be no more difficult (and no easier) to classify moral than it is now to classify mental and physical disease. And here, too, I may urge that as the associated system has failed hideously, as all admit, as the separate cell system is generally allowed to have failed, it only remains in consistency to try practically what has long been theoretically seen to be the right system—that of classification according to character and moral needs.

As to the treatment of the prisoner, no one can doubt but that the two sides of it—the bodily and the spiritual—are equally important. All criminals are more or less physically unhealthy, and there is more connection than is often supposed between bodily and spiritual ailments. At present the prison doctor's business is chiefly to detect malingerers and to minister to sickness actually incurred. In the reformed prison his chief work will be to restore a healthy tone and vigorous vitality to the debased and degenerate bodies brought under his care. Thus, among other instances, some time since, at Elmira, a group of eleven criminals underwent for some months a course of baths, massage, and gymnastics before they were considered sound enough physically to begin their moral and intellectual training. At this prison it is reported that 40 per cent of the prisoners received are more or less physically infirm. The moral and intellectual training will be the chaplain's business. Hitherto his work has been chiefly to conduct services and to visit those in hospital or under punishment in the cells. In the future he will also have to suggest the proper employment of each prisoner and, in conjunction with the doctor, to arrange details of classification. The employment provided will be such as to turn the thoughts from self-introspection, to suggest higher aims, to inculcate self-respect, to strengthen self-control. To this end it must be varied, intelligent, useful. It is important that the prisoner should, as soon as possible, be made really to earn his own living so that his sense of independence may be restored and cultivated. But a difficulty arises here in the prejudice existing against the sale of prison-made goods, and even at Elmira such sale is only permitted under considerable restrictions. I have already shown that this prejudice is irrational; it is far better for the working man that the prisoner should compete with him for a time, if that will forward his cure, than that he should be supported in prison, perhaps for life, largely at the working man's cost. To be consistent, objection should be made to any attempt to reform the prisoner lest he should compete with other workers when his freedom has been restored to him. Indeed the prejudice is probably only the outcome of the ancient hopelessness as to the possibility of any kind of reform.

Besides the cultivation of independence by making the prisoner earn his own living, his employment should have two other features—it should tend to draw out his highest powers, it should arouse his sense of responsibility. The first aim has, it is said, been very successfully attained at Elmira, in Massachusetts and elsewhere, by courses of study in English literature, and by the practice of debating. In a Japanese prison a visitor found (as recorded by Havelock Ellis) sixty men executing the most delicate artistic work, an enamel of metal upon brass, while those who were unequal to this were set to just such tasks, in great variety, as they

showed themselves best fitted for. The second aim it is sought to fulfil at Elmira by the adoption of a military organisation for purposes of discipline, in which prisoners act as "non-commissioned" officers. It was with the same end in view that, in 1892, a ballot was taken for the mock election of a President and Vice-President of the United States. The result was a little curious. The votes cast were 909, of which 401 were Democratic, 394 Republican, 15 People's Party, 1 Prohibitionist, and only 8 defective. In some French prisons, prisoners are allowed to earn a "credit" with which to purchase small luxuries from the prison kitchen. In Australasia, while very little has been done to attain the first aim by giving the prisoners such varied employments as may call forth their best powers, the second aim has been fairly successfully compassed by making them clerks, librarians, warehousemen, cooks, bakers, gardeners, and the like. It only wants a little further breaking down of antiquated and effete ideas to allow them to be made prefects of classes, and, where possible, teachers and lecturers, to encourage wider reading and study, to establish discussions and debates—to restore, in short, their lost and all-but-forgotten manhood.

In the reformed prison punishment, as such, will of course cease to exist, but, as in hospitals and asylums, force must be kept in reserve to meet force, if necessary. Even this will, probably, not long be required. In the Japanese prison before referred to, the visitor was shown the punishment cell, a beautifully clean, artistically-painted bamboo apartment, in the middle of a yard. "How many prisoners had been confined there in the last month," he asked. "None at all," was the reply. Discipline has not suffered in the army and navy from the abolition of the lash. The best school teacher is he who least needs to inflict punishment. The time will come when public opinion on the side of order will be sufficient in every well-appointed prison to keep in check the insubordinate minority. Some day the very name of punishment will be forgotten.

The only important matter remaining is the question of the officials of the reformed prison. These will be the Governor, the Chaplain, the Doctor and the Warders. The Governor will of course be the supreme authority in the prison and have general control over its discipline and domestic concerns as well as charge of all its external affairs. But the direct management of the prison will be in the hands of the Chaplain and the Doctor. To the Chaplain chiefly will fall the care of the spiritual, moral, and intellectual interests of the prisoners, his it will be to raise degraded souls out of the mire of self-seeking, to give right tone to the perverted instincts, and, fixing their gaze upon the Perfect Man, to teach his pupils to realize their own manhood and reach after its more complete development in this life and in those to come. He must be a man in whom the love of God burns deeply, in whom therefore sympathy with the weak, the suffering, the sinful, springs unbidden, whose heart rather than any motive of self-interest has bound him to the work. I need not remind my readers how much good work some such men (Horsley for instance at Clerkenwell, and Morrison at Wandsworth) have already done, whether from a spiritual or a scientific point of view. To the Doctor will belong chiefly the perfecting of the bodies of the prisoners—medicine, hygiene, sanitation, and the like—but it will be impossible to define strictly the separate duties of each of these officers, they must both be devoted, earnest men, who will work together for the eternal good of the unfortunate fellow-creatures placed under their control. Only in name will the Chaplain come first, since the diseases treated are chiefly moral or spiritual, as, for a similar reason, the Doctor should come first in the hospital. In case of serious difference of opinion, and then only, should the Governor intervene. All three officers, it goes without saying, should be selected for their special technical knowledge and proved fitness for their work—never, as has often been the case in the past, because they were past other work, and anyone, it was thought, was fit for prison management.

The Warders will have to carry out the plans of the Chaplain and Doctor, as well as maintain the discipline and routine of the prison. Their selection and training is a matter of as much importance as any that have gone before. They must be men who will make the work the work of their lives, as hospital nurses do, as long as their physical fitness for it remains. I should like to see them organized as a religious order or, at least, a quasi-religious order, as St. John's Nursing Sisterhood. In any case their work is that of nurses on a higher platform, and they must be organized and trained as hospital nurses are organized and trained. There should be a college for them, and they should be admitted to the prison first as probationers, afterwards as full warders, with necessary grades leading up to head-warder or Governor, and a pension should await them when their period of usefulness is past. The subjects of study proposed to them will be such as the nature of the criminal, the psychology and pathology of crime, and the history and rationale of prison systems, and they should be encouraged besides to make themselves proficient in any branches of literature, science and art that may be likely to be useful in assisting the prisoners in the development of their faculties. They should not need to be taught that the love of God is the motive, and sympathy the basis of all successful work of men for men.

Will not such reforms be very costly? it may be asked. I believe the new prisons will from the first be much less costly than the old ones. Eventually they will be self-supporting. Warders now are paid from £100 to £130 a year, with lodging, rations and two suits of uniform clothes a year; they number about one to every five prisoners. The higher class of warders now demanded will cost but little more than this, even including their training and their pensions, and they will be much fewer in number, partly because they will be so much more

efficient, partly because the prisoners will do so much more for themselves. The care of the prisoners and the appointments of the prison will, doubtless, be much more costly than at present, but, on the other hand, the earnings of the prisoners will be larger. But in any case the new system must be more economical, than the old, because it will really do the work which the old system often only mars.

I have thus stated what seem to me the chief necessary reforms required in our present system of prison, management. Others will follow from them, and without difficulty, when the principles here laid down are conceded. And, indeed, we shall not have long to wait for the general concession of principles already admitted theoretically, and already approving themselves in practice, wherever and to whatsoever extent a fair trial has been made of them. The idea of retaliation has all but gone; the idea of punishment is following rapidly; the idea of reformation and of the duty of the State to the criminal is everywhere establishing itself. Even the name "prison" is passing away, and it must pass away, for it cannot be separated from the horrible associations connected with it in the past. Confinement, now so distasteful because of the unequal and illogical conditions under which it has been inflicted, will no longer be regarded as unjust or hard when it is made clear that its only object is the benefit of those who suffer from it, when the "prison" is regarded only as a moral hospital, when the disgrace attaching to a sojourn in it has passed away, because men have learned that disgrace attaches not to the weakness in which a man is born but to the yielding to that weakness, not to the burden of an inherited tendency to evil but to the neglect to strive by every means to rid himself of that burden. We may even anticipate the time when the morally afflicted, the weak in will, will themselves seek admission to such an hospital that they may be cured of the weaknesses and infirmities which they feel have so marred, and will so mar, their highest aims in life.

decorative feature

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MCMI.

Front Cover

Press Notices.

"This product is clearly the work of a man of large and expansive sympathies, and a high order of intellect. It shows the manifold spiritual and other difficulties which such a man meets with when he begins to think for himself, and to see the world with his own eyes. It also shows how [unclear: he] reaches spiritual assurance and intellectually [unclear: evolves] order from chaos, and reaches that point of view whence he can look forward with strengthening hopefulness for himself and his fellowmen." *Evening Press*, Wellington.

"The writer has chosen for his theme the [unclear: reflections] of a man who, sincere in his search [unclear: for] truth, has cast off from the old faiths, and [unclear: finds] himself afloat on a sea of doubts, without [unclear: compass] or guide. In the distance the 'harbour lights' of mental certainty seem to gleam, and the [unclear: intense] longing of the traveller to reach the port is [unclear: shown] in every line of the work."—*Fair Play*, Wellington 1893.

"The book is worth reading and will repay [unclear: any] time devoted to it."—*Herald*, Wellington, 1893.

"'At The Cross-Roads' is the title of a [unclear: poetic] pamphlet by 'J.T.W.' Its author is evidently [unclear: of] man of keen and deep thought, and one who [unclear: has] given much attention to 'the proper study of [unclear: mankind].' He expresses himself in excellent [unclear: bla] verse."—*Evening Post*, Wellington, 1893.

At the Cross-Roads. J.T.W. decorative feature

Not in vain the distant beacons.

Forward, forward, let us range;

Let the great world spin for ever

Down the ringing grooves of change.

decorative feature New Zealand James Kenworthy, Printer and Stationer, Patea. 1901.

To My Readers,—

THE lines included in "At the Cross-Roads," were written at times when, as the text indicates, the writer was passing through a mental crisis. One does not part from all they have been taught to look upon as the vital essence and beauty of life without a struggle; but Truth is before all, and it was a conscientious search extending over years that brought the conclusions arrived at. If the reader finds herein that which brings the pleasure of intercommunion of spirit through likeness of thought then the Author will be amply re-warded beyond his expectations. It was at the instance of many kind friends that the little work was first published in 1893. That supply is exhausted. A request has been made for a reprint, and this must be the excuse of the writer for once more placing these thoughts before those who, he trusts, will prove more sympathetic for the meaning

than critical over the style of its expression.
The Author.

At The Cross-Roads.

J.T.W.

Awake my soul! And with a mind intent
To speak the Truth as thou hast found her here:
Break forth into the story of thy life,
And tell to all who will to hear the tale
How thou did'st go from simple, trusting faith
And youthful practice in the ancient Church,
Through shadowy paths of weary doubt and search,
Emerging thence found anchor in the hope
Of Man's emergence through Humanity.

* * * *

Swift flowed the stream of life through all my veins:
My heart felt glad at sight of Spring's new form.
All things seemed good, and cheerful grew my soul
Beneath the shining Orb that rules our day :
And, looking round, I felt 'twas good to live—
When, 'fore me stood a beggar—lame, diseased,
Who slowly dragged his painful shape along,
A very blot upon the living stage;
While further on, a wreck in human guise
That once rejoiced in virtue, home, and kin.
Then up before me rose in grim array
Disease and Death, the punishment of sin
Which we incur, and which involves all life,
And stands the spectre of our fearsome thoughts,
Unless by firmest faith in God's own word
We feel that life is naught; and look for death

To lead us to the better life beyond.
Man striving thus for goal he hopes to reach,
Oft rises up like some huge foam-clad wave
From out the bosom of the mighty deep,
To fall back into depths from whence he came
And but the crested foam to mark his march
Upon the ocean of devouring Time,
Unless that Mightier Power who reigns supreme
Called forth such instrument to work His will.
Now, turning to my inmost soul again,
I thought of life, and what it meant in truth
For all these millions hurried on their way
Through sordid, cheerless lives to Want and Death

By those whose part should be to love and save
The starved poor and heal the maimed and sick,
But who instead oft drive the luckless wight
To beg for leave to work and send him forth
Unfed, upon a wilderness of woe;
And this in lands where plenty fills the earth
And labour's wealth lies piled in heaps around.
Then straightway upon the piteous sight
Of wrong so strong, of right so weak in all,
This disarrangement of the Godlike power
That should teach man to see in man his brother
And God in everything he sees around—
Who'd blame me if my heart grew somewhat hard
To those who, wallowing in the wealth of greed,
Rule thousands by ambition's cruellest sway,
Make pestilences, wars, that they themselves
May reap full harvest of a yellow dross.
The stately mansion, grand equipage, noble steeds
Housed in homes the envy of the poor
Whose labour made the brick and carved the stone—
And then went home to lie in hovel foul
And sap disease from out the foetid straw
That makes his bed in some dark corner moist
With reeking slime that, oozing through the walls,
Lays up the poison that shall yet enfold
All those who live in ease of pride and power.
And they, ye powers, who bind him down to this,
Would make it crime if he but strive to rise,
And by lame means, the only way he knows,

Ask more of that his labour brought to shape
Which else had been a huge infertile mass
Awaiting Nature's tardier path to life.
Now, straining forth for something firm to grasp
In this great mire of poverty and woe,
Methought I saw a hand stretched far and wide
Close down upon this flood of human tears,
And starting up to see from whence it came
I saw as grand a form as breathes the age.
'Twas mighty "Leo," mighty as his name!
Tho' bound by bars of man, his fleshly form
Is free as air for all his soul desires,
Whose words unfettered ever-streaming flow
From out the cage that holds the prisoned form
(But cannot quench the life that stirs within)
Which penetrates to farthest ends of earth,
And ever will as long as earth shall live
And reason hold its sway in human thought.
E'en thus soliloquising as I gazed
Upon the living form of him who sits
Where sat that one in ages long gone by;
Sent forth by Him who came whence cometh all;
Who gave to Simon Peter mission thus,

"Thou art a rock" and shalt for ever stand
My living word against the tides of time;
And thus it stands, like hardest rock upreared,
Opposed to all the wavering thoughts of man,
Whose puny seas may tease its base in vain;
For all that comes from this is held divine
By those of faith, who see him as I saw.
Him standing stretching over all the earth,
That wondrous form of knowledge, teaching all
That future bliss lies not in thought of self,
Or selfish grasping to possess the earth;
But by unselfish lives enfolding all
In one encircling bond of brotherhood.
There was in substance many details bold,
With justice, making essence of the whole
Contained in this, the greatest of "Encyclicals."
Now ye of noble minds, who see herein
A task to occupy your fruitful brains,
Work on in silence, making firm your hold

On all that tends to raise the suffering man
By lessons that the past alone can teach,
For with the present lies the future base.
And as we build so shall it stand or fall.
For where decay is seated in the base
The edifice but waits the stern decree
Of Time to bring both ruin and oblivion.
That which is strongest only shall survive.
The solid rock will yield to Time's decay
And many centuries of stormy seas,
Unless it, like the coral, builds anew
And ever rears a front to face the wave.
Thus building, surely races yet shall live
To fill the earth in all its parts and give
Allegiance full of love unto their God.
Then Vice, the offspring of its parent Want,
Shall know a place upon our sphere no more.
The great commandment of the Lord shall live,
And man shall love his neighbour as himself.
Then glorified on high the Lord shall be
In worship's tribute from unselfish hearts.
Goodwill and Peace shall be o'er all the earth.
So might I then, as Simeon did of old,
In all the fullness of a newborn joy,
Cry *Nunc Dimittis*, and depart well pleased
To see the noblest of our dreams fulfilled,
And know a grander, living creed, well won.

* * *

A few short years have passed : the toiling earth
Has circled thrice around the attractive Orb

That lights and brings to life the forms we know,
Which live to make the life of other lives,
And form one vast stupendous sacrifice
The end whereof no living man can tell.
Yet, why these words? They sound like doubts of that
Which lately passed in speech, by faith informed
From out these lips, in loving homage given.
Yet so! 'Tis gone : the light which beamed for me
Far up above this world of grief and pain
Has sunk for ever in eternal night.
Black darkness doth enshroud the light of years.

And naught remains, but cold, and dark, and drear:
The expiring flame has left a void behind.
Yet hold! There was a spark in eager haste
I grasped when all was sinking out of view.
'Tis this I hold, and, fanned into a flame,
I trust one day will fill the void within.
Yet never would I wish that one should think
I sorrow for the loss that brings a gain;
For surely, 'tis a gain beyond compare
To feel, whate'er is lost, we hold the Truth.
As sometime storm of wind and rain will come
Into a plot of garden, rendered fair :
By dint of care and timely service given,
The force of elements sweep on and leave;
As well the flowering plant as its support
Laid prostrate on the rainy soddened earth :
Thus, where before there bloomed a garden fair,
Bright with the hues which make the rainbow beam,
There naught remains but prostrate desolation.
'Twas thus I felt with what was of myself,
The doubly-tended garden of those thoughts
Which led right up from childhood's trusting faith
To manhood's stronger views on things sublime—
Crowned by the memory of those happier days
Which knew the treasure of a mother's love
And all a fond, indulgent father's care,
I know 'tis hard to part with that we learn
In childhood's days from fondest mother's lips—
Best treasure of our memory—hard to lose,
When Reason rises and proclaims it vain
And bids us learn again from sterner guides
The paths that Nature's finger-posts point o'er,
Set thick with facts of clear and wondrous worth,
Will satisfy the brain but not the heart,
Which seeks for something knowledge cannot give.
Yet, still in spite of what we feel is not
Nor can be got from Nature's school alone,
Where is there one who goes unbiassed, firm,
Resolved to prove the truth of all he holds,
But finds a Calvary awaits him here below?
Or Gethesemane in which he vainly asks,

Embathed in tears of blood wrung out his soul,

That only this one chalice be removed,
And finds that he must drain it to the dregs,
Like some poor traveller lost in desert wild
Or 'midst the darkened gloom of forest shades,
Knows naught awaits him, if he stands or lies,
But dreary lonesome death from all his kind,
Still drags his weary limbs along the waste,
Contented well so long as he can strive,
Although the golden eye of smiling morn
May find him cold and stark upon his way.
So, in the kingdom of the mind, will he,
Lost in the gloomy shades of that which once
Seemed bright and clear unto the eyes of faith,
Still clings to all that gives him life in hope.
Though there are moments when that cold, grim form,
Uncertainty, hangs o'er him like a pall,
Quenching the clearer vision that within
Had, from a maze of thought, brought out a line
Of clear conviction to the shape of truth.
'Twould of times seem that man had deeply thought
On all that passed him in his life of pain
And failing sense, to build from out the mass
A brighter lot than ever he had known,
But which he felt should be his own by right
If only man to truth would once be true.
He then and there located joy beyond
That which he knew to all he wished to know
When from this mortal form he'd pass away
To regions where he hoped to live again.
There must be something more: 'tis not for man
To feel th' wondrous stirring power of love
(The purest gold that holds no dross within)—
This striving after something more than earth
Or aught that wealth or love of life can give,
Is surely born of something deeper far
Than ruffles o'er the *surface* of our thoughts.
There must be something more, or else poor man
Who strives through life to live the pure and true
Were noblest effort thrown to seeming waste
Like seagulls rush to death on stormy nights
'Gainst lonely beacons gleaming o'er the deep.
You say 'tis all-sufficient that the mark

His earnest striving leaves upon the race
Is ample for the noblest man of all.
But dwells there not within the breasts of those,
Who live by thought to think and act for good,
The wish still live on, and if not here,
In other states progress in all that's pure :

And though at times 'twould seem eternal rest
Held more to soothe all weary earth-worn souls
Than any promise of eternal life,
There's still the thought (with him who with a will,
Has garnered wisdom through three-score and ten
Of busy years, replete with seeking truth
Till richest stores of fact and fancy lay
Piled up within the strong-room of his brain,
And which, at bidding of his active will,
(Pours out the riches of experience)—
Can this fine sense become the prey of worms?
And have mankind so thought and worked and prayed
And striven after truth in all its forms
But to live on within his offspring's flesh,
The while his mind lies rotting in the dust—
The home of reason, reptiles' slimy den?
It cannot be! All mind rebels to think
That death should end the noblest part of life.
There must be something more! And though to us
'Tis not made plain how it may be fulfilled
We live by hope and rest content therein.
But is it true? or is it but the hope
That lies deep down in every human breast—
The love for those we ever held most dear—
Which makes us feel beyond the narrow stretch
That lies between the cradle and the grave,
In some bright spot we ken not how nor where,
We'll meet once more those ones we loved on earth
It may be but the wish grown up through time
And fostered by the verdant dews of Hope
Which brought into the world the written Word :
That known of us by Jewish mind compiled,
Instinctive with a sense of strong conceit—
Clear evidence of most deluded mind—
That God should leave the millions o'er the earth
To sacrifice to some great form unknown

The best and fairest of their lives and fruits
To come to one small handful of the race
And show them how His wondrous will inclined
To smell of roasted meats, and shapes of wood
And stone hewn into Temples where His priests
Might sacrifice in robes and sandals made
By strict injunction of Omnipotence
Would seem of sense and justice both bereft
When all the world was seeking for a God.
So thus this later work, its partial song
Still takes a chosen people for its theme.
If God did send His Son in human form
To show poor struggling man a path to bliss
'Twere better had he stayed while earth is earth,
And sin and woe the masters of our lives,
Than he should rise to lofty height of bliss,

And leave us with such tangled skein of Truth,
From which some prove that He Himself is changed
By human hands from bread and wine, and prayer
Of vested priest and His own will inclined
Back to the living forms of flesh and blood.
While some from out this self-same Testament
Do prove to many thousands 'tis not so,
But done for memory's simple sake alone.
What odds it though how men oft slaved and burned
Each other for some simple phase of thought
Which they termed faith, when by their own avowal
This God for whom they fought had truly willed
That all should be most free while here below
Or surely ne'er was merit in their choice
'Twixt what was pure and what was most alloyed.
If God by man did make this book revealed
To be the guide of all our later lives
And point the only one true way to Heaven,
How comes it that with minds resolved to find
God's truth with His assistance thusly given
That thousands teach by divers ways those points
Of doctrine, and with strong conviction hold
That theirs alone holds all there is of Truth?
And thus by standard of our common-sense
'Twould seem that God so willed that all might serve
As each would will, though this would seem as false

To reasons clear conviction of the Truth
And makes us ask ourselves if God's own Son
Was more than man, if we're all sons of God.
For as His Word—if 'twas the Word of God—
Or some great power supreme we call First Cause,
Or saying Him or It or what we will,
We feel beyond the material shapes we see
In this vast universe illimitable
There is some form of power we know not of;
Who in that first beginning called all life
From out the mass of great infinite space,
Now filled with shapes of quickened energy
This Battlefield of Earth, wherein all life
Forever in eternal strife to rend
All living forms in darkness and in light—
In earth, and air, and waters everywhere,
With one great law that strongest shall survive.
So in the single and collected mind
Is ever taking place, the keener strife
Selecting strongest limbs of argument
To triumph in the end for what is best,
The higher law that what is right shall live
Thus leaves its impress on the shores of Time.
So should His Word—if 'twas the Word of God—
Stand most immutable through time immense,
Of which that atom part known unto man

Were but a pulse-beat in its mighty life.
And so, if 'twas the work of mortal man,
Like all man's works tis o'er and o'er reborn
In varying phase evolving through the times.
When, clad in hairy robes the cave-men strode,
With flint so chipped to make his arm more sure
Through gloomy forests searching for a meal
To take to tumbling babes and crouching wife
Who, well secluded in the hollow rock,
In fear of man and beast of cruellest kind,
Lest they, discov'ring, should themselves consume.
Where then was God? or but His Godlike word
To show primeval man the power of love?
No! all there was within that rugged form
Of love or hate, of bravery or fear,
Was in the natural promptings of the beasts

That daily fell beneath his stronger arm.
Self-preservation, Nature's primal law,
Was then the only law known to all life,
Though man did oft in dreams confuse the shapes
Of all those natural forms he saw around
When waking he surveyed the world at large
And built therefrom a shape he ne'er had known
But in the fearsome borderland of sleep
Which had all that he mostly then did fear—
Great length of claws, fangs, wings, and all combined
Or else the crashing sounds of thunderous skies,
To him a voice, the lightnings as His eye
Sent flashing o'er the earth in mighty wrath
At which he shrank, and, grov'ling in his dread,
Prayed He from him His vengeance would avert.
And there we strike a rock on which mankind
Has wasted many an anxious earnest thought.
For had some Great Omniscient Power so willed
That man for gift of life should pay Him prayer,
Then from the dawn of thought each mind had served
By noblest gifts of love and gratitude
Instead of cruel and bloody sacrifice.
So whence those promptings that within the minds
Of all mankind who dwelt in savagedom,
That urged him in the thought of this great God
At bidding of the Druid Oracle
To slay the fairest daughter of his house
'Midst blaze of fires within the gloomy depths
And 'neath the Mystic shades of Britain's oaks:
As well instilled on Aztec's marbled pyres,
The frenzied priest to plunge the sharpened blade
Into the fair white bosom, tightly stretched,
And pluck from thence the palpitating heart
Held high above th' admiring multitude
Who deemed it good, believing all this waste
Was offering fit a God. And He who ne'er,

High Heaven, or where? sent out His Mighty voice
To stay such fearful carnage in His name,
Is still the God, they say, who hears each sound
And feels each thought of man in prayer sent forth.
No! Surely, No! The sign has never come.
When man has asked it, silence mocked his prayer

And bade him seek his Gods within himself.
This taught in time how futile all the waste
Of lovely youth, or Nature's fairest fruits,
To alter to his will the fixed decrees
Of Nature's laws, and proved to him in truth
That one strong arm allied with firmest will
Were greater odds to gain those ends desired
Than Altar's streaming blood of sacrifice.
And surely, from the scenes which we survey,
Which taking place within the daily course
Of this our Orb traversing space immense,
Of many saddest scenes we see around
Or learn from all the distant parts of earth;
'Twould seem this Power is like to selfish man
Who sings and riots in the thoughtless sense
That comes from many draughts of fragrant wines
While but a stone's throw from his revel lies
Some poor deserted wretch in dying throes
Craving vainly but for one small drop
Of that this other soaks his manhood in.
So, whence the force that prompted mind of man
By simple thought to recreate on earth
That alcoholic liquid demon drink
That makes a hell of man's domestic heaven
And fastens on the mind a blurring film
That deeply shrouds what's nobler in his life
Thus blinds the blissful avenues of hope
And drags its wretched victim to despair—
Has changed the happy home, the kindling blaze
That lights the cheery room, the outspread meal,
And casts a warmer glow upon the face
Of happy wife who waits her loving mate
To welcome from the daily cares of life—
To some grim cellar in a wretched slum,
Where moisture hugs the slimy soddened walls,
The wretched woman shivering on the straw
Where rats and vermin claim a common rest,
Scared by the brute that comes with reeling strides
(And scarce the shape of what was once a man)
At midnight's hour, with curses loud and foul,
A piteous cry perhaps wrung out the frame
Of her who, noblest always in all woe,

Still clings to him now in besotted shape

Who once was idol of her purest thoughts;
It may be, seeking once more to awake
That wondrous love which made her wish his will—
She makes to him some piteous appeal
That he shall strive but once more to arise.
And he—not he of former loving years,
But some foul demon changed by most fell power—
Strikes low that loving form in years gone by
He loved to vow he'd ever hold most dear.
O God! Art Thou both blind and deaf indeed
That Thou canst neither hear nor see the sum
Of all the sights and sounds of woe that rise
By day and night from this benighted earth?
Is not the cry wrung out from helpless man
Though not in thought directed to Thyself
As well deserving of Thy powerful help
As that which dogma's sterile forms assure
Shall bring to all the help of Thy strong will?
O, surely if there is some Power Supreme,
Who by an instant's exercise of will
Can raise this baleful mantle from mankind,
This warp and woof of poverty and crime,
Or but the circumstance that makes it be
Enwrapped around the shoulders of our race,
And failed to exercise this wondrous power?
Then cruellest beasts unto their offspring kind
Were chords to discords by comparison;
And thoughts like these but leave within the mind
Strong sense of Nature's power being all in all,
Or but the puzzled thought of force unknown
Not governed by our finer sense of love
That either some original impress once
Did'st set all things in motion for all Time
With one great law that lies beyond appeal,
To alter by our own most puny wills.
Or else, 'tis but a chance that thousands die
By what we glibly term an accident—
Though these fine ways of chance are numberless
That work the cause of woe in differing guise—
Unchecked by prayers of pure and earnest minds
And leave us but the thought that sense instils

That all that is, must be, unalterable.
Then how is man free agent in this life,
When 'tis not given unto his will to bend
Those circumstances that control his thought?
Nor yet to alter in one slight degree
The consequence that works such dire results,
Like some small stone displaced on mountain's side
Will loosen others, so they in their turn
Start some huge boulder in its downward course
That, leaping forward, gathering speed and force
Goes crashing through all obstacles below.

So some blind act we do in early years,
Unheeded for a moment when 'tis done,
Will gather force behind the scenes of life
And working out, unknown to us, its end,
Bears us along with force we can't resist
To compass acts we never have foreseen.
And thus we lose that picture held in youth
Of some Great Power aloft who heeds our prayers
And stands prepared, if good, to grant our wish.
Now some fine morn we scan the printed page,
The envoy of a news-devouring age.
And find some narrative of deadly woe
Away in distant hemisphere of earth,—
Violent bursting of the watery clouds
Rushing down with liquid fury fast—
Of homes, their owners old and young destroyed
By thousands; or, 'tis some great earthquake shock
That rends and tears the solid crust of earth,
Engulphing thousands by the tidal wave
That rushes in to bury such fell work :
And now, once more, 'tis shipwreck's rending tale
Of force of winds with angry seas combined,
Which we are taught in childhood's trusting years
Can never lift their crests but by His will—
That rend and tear the works of man and bring
To fell and sad destruction human life
Through all the horrors of a shipwrecked crew,
Reduced at last by grim and gaunt despair
Of many days within the open boat
Beneath the sweltering heat and torrid glare
Of sun most merciless. The madd'ning thirst

'Midst tumbling waters far as eye can reach
Makes them to prey like beasts upon their kind
And in the foul and horrible repast
Sustains a life that only lives to die
In ghastly fits of bestial insanity.
Is this, we ask, the work of mercy's God
That suffers not the sparrows' fall untold?
O God! we cry aloud, or would if 'twere,
As once in childhood's simple faith, we held
That, like some tender father's care bestowed
God's loving arms were spread o'er all the earth.
But in the mind that knows no other king
Than Science, Reason, still the will of truth,
We scout the thought that loving God could will
Such things to be, and ponder deep in mind
What vile infernal chance would cause such pass
To fall on man in such dire state oppressed.
Small wonder then that some have seen in all
This never-ending conflict of all life,
Each living by a sacrifice of life,
To be in turn a holocaust for others,

The faith of Zoroaster—dual powers—
Their "Ormuz" and their "Ahriman" at war.
This bears the semblance of what seems more true
Than one good Power, who all Omnipotent,
Would loose such evils to afflict the earth.
The Persians' Powers, both good and evil, reign
In air and earth and waters everywhere,
And Men but puppets to express their wills;
Their dual intent made manifest in all
That was and is or ever is to be.
This seems to bear of sense a fairish store,
For if some wondrous Power doth move the heart
Of man for all that seems most good and true,
This other Power of equal strength for ill
Would seem at times to triumph over that
And thus put forth Its will defiant to rule;
Though even this, to reason's calmer sway,
Would seem absurd upon its very face;
For surely, these great Powers of equal might
Had never had existence in the shape
Of active force from all Eternity,

To see-saw through the mystic march of Time.
No: this as well expresses but the will
Of man to find due reason for effects,
The causes of which must for ever lie
Behind the Veil of the Unknowable.
When I have striven by reason's force to clear
My thoughts from superstition's grosser thrall,
Then Nature's promptings have to me made plain
The devious paths trod by the minds of men
In ages dark, ere yet the purer flame
Of Science pointed out the ways of Truth
From Nature's books—the rocks—that truly tell
Their wondrous story to our keener gaze:
And in the stars; in all that moves and lives
There's testimony for a grander cried
Than ever sprang from superstition's fount.
And now to guide us on our forward way,
In printed pages, lie the works of those
Grand Pioneers of the ages gone,
Who first, despite all pain or suffering death,
Did hold aloft above the heads of those
Who grovelled in some most delusive fear,
That spotless lamp of Truth by which we know
Who will but in that purest glow upraise
Those eyes long blinded by the coward dread
Of all the past creation's of men's minds
feat they were but the strivings of his will,
His mental part, but still in embryo,
displacing simpler laws of Nature's realm,
Which they knew not, and to some power unseen
Attributed the unaccountable.

Though what are we? How small with all we know
Of matter, space, of motion, force, and law
Of energy, that brought to compact mass
The countless atoms in the distant past;
Or how these very atoms came to shape
Their forms minute within the mystic realm,
And fill with all we see the mighty void
Of infinite and all pervading space
Must long defy the wisdom of mankind.
The limit of all thought is ever reached
When man but touches on that distant time

When shape was naught and all was wanting life,
Sure some conceive in thought of subtlest sense
That naught is real but comes from some vast mind
That permeates the essences of all.
Another, that from out the endless space
Some Personal and Influencing Form,
Of whom they say we bear th' material shape,
Did from a vast Infinity of naught
Call into being all the shapes we know
Of Suns and Systems, Earth and all combined.
To him, who peers beneath the cloak of time,
'Tis all but guesses of the vaguest kind :
This must, tor certain, ever lie beyond
The veil that forever stands upreared
'Twixt craving search and the unknowable.
No matter where we take our mental stand,
E'en though we may account for what we are
By all that master-mind, gone to his rest,
Did prove by evolution's lasting truth
That certain 'tis from lower forms of life
All living shapes we know obtain their being,
There still remains the thought and ever will—
For what great purpose were we called to life?
Unto what state are we traversing time?
This thought, 'twould seem, will never be appeased
So long as man endures of thinking mind.
'Twas this gave birth to all that's gone before,
'Twill stimulate creations yet to come
Within the minds of marvel-loving man—
These phantoms he has raised to rule him here,
And fill with fear his thoughts of what may come
When death divides him from his fellow man.
Though we in sterner thought may take our stand
On solid ground of fact, on which alone
The human mind can ever be secure,
Gathering strength along the forward march
Of Human Progress through the time to come,
With firmer effort to divide more sure
The musty shapes of superstition's lore
From all the solid facts of Nature's truths.
And though ofttimes the longings will arise

To be once more with those we loved in life,

We'll forward strive with trust, that if indeed
Beyond the confines of the life we know
There is another conscious life extant,
That this Great Power will be most just to all.

* * *

With one more effort, strong in will, to do
I'll strive to sing a lay to grander chords,
Though not to me has come those sweeter strains
That make the Poet's words a melody
Of love-sent gospels unto all mankind.
I would but sing a truth in plainer song:
Both beautiful and useful have a place—
Among the flowers that deck the breast of earth—
'Tis nothing but utility behind :
The beautiful exists but in the mind,
And by comparison alone 'tis known :
Our choices are as wide as poles apart.
'Tis natural to shun the slimy worm,
And yet it serves me more than trusty hound.
We hate all tigers, serpents, things that prey :
Yet these too serve their turn in Nature's plan,
Where naught can live but something else must die.
But 'twere unwise to think too deeply here,
This greater mystery 'mong mysteries,
Of why such universal carnage makes
The sum and substance of all mortal life.
Rather cast the strong, unfolding mind
On this last one of earth, this Human Love,
Too seeming pure to come of such a dam,
Whose Instincts seem so opposite in all.
Then back to lays that sing of greater man
Who, rising free from puerile forms of faith
That bound him while in superstition's chain
Strikes boldly forth to lead the finer life
Which recognizes naught but that contained
Within the primal note of clearer minds
Called Duty—and whose stimulous shall spring
Neither from the dreadful fears of Hell—
The plague of countless suffering generations—
Nor yet from hope of that exclusive Heaven,
The dual creations of a feebler age,
Tho' stronger perhaps in many a manly feat

That springs from strength of animal parts alone!
Yet far behind this keener age of thought
In all that makes man kinder to his kind,

A Hell indeed have we which lies within
The bounds of suffering humanity,
Crushed low to earth by many cruel laws.
The exercise of falsest sense of power
That makes a slavery of vilest form
Exist beneath the fairest canopies
That crown the wailing mass of human woe.
But this he feels, within his inmost heart,
Shall pass away by strength of willing minds
When they but see in its true shape exposed
That monstrous form of Greed devouring all—
'Tis nature's primal law transferred to mind.
Yet why should we, of all that cumber earth,
Forsake in one small part the only means
By which all things that live continue being?
'Twould seem to tempt destruction's force to rise
And take a swift revenge for this affront
That we would put on Nature's greatest law.
But retrospective visions of the past
Too plainly show the broader clearer path
By which man came from this Primeval state
Of crudest thought, on selfish laws alone,
Which taught him then that only might was right;
That all was wrong which failed to bring him gain.
To all that makes our grander creed to-day
Pourtray the noblest acts of man in love
And sacrifice of Self for other's sakes,
Who, lower in the struggling ways of life,
Stand most in need of helpful hands outstretched.
Whence comes this beautiful one, this latest birth
To man's estate of earth's maternity?
'Tis surely of the truth, which all men know,
Who, testing in the fields of sad experience,
Have found that none may scatter sorrow's germs
But swift recoil enfolds the scatterer,
Have learned that none against themselves may sin
But they involve some others in the wrong
That leads to long and torturing misfortune,
Which pointed out unerringly the while

That he who tries to raise these sadder ones
Most surely helps himself and all he loves
To mount to greater heights of human bliss.
Like lowering mists that vanish as the Sun
Ascending strikes the lofty mountain tops
And draws the vapoury forms from deepest glens,
So 'tis to clearer views of greater truths
That we must trust to man's emancipation
From falsest understanding of the good,
And all distorted fantasies of life,
Which cloud our noblest vision for realities.
We go in youth as with a robe enwrapped—
The tightly fitting garment of delusion—

Which, later, when the mind inclines to rove
The higher healthier regions of pure thought,
Still clings around us all the tattered robes
Which must be cast aside long ere we run
With stronger sturdier form, which comes alone
From drawing unimpeded greater draughts,
Far up among the Alpine heights of Truth.
'Tis with reflective eyes to stand above
And view these social monuments of man,
These Pyramids of countless human lives,
Evidence of living immolation,
That brings the clearer grasp of what is right—
The strength to analyse, with sense to hold
Through life the gems that stud our modern mire—
Were worthier far the patient search of all
Than building stately Temples to Delusion.
The Science that can conquer some disease
Which lurks malignant in our mortal frames,
Does nobler work for suff'ring humanity
Than heads of thousands bent in fruitless prayer.
The stronger mind that grasps a social wrong
Whereby the living touches labour lends
To all the dead and seeming inert mass
Is bacillus like keenly preyed upon
By Parasites, that feed on fair exchange,
Till all that's noble in the mind of man
Is crushed and he scarce left the human shape
To move his cogged existence in the round
Of this fine social mill that grinds the lives

To finest dust of fairest man and woman.
To him, I say, who grasps this foulest thing
That baser demons foist upon the race,
And wrestles with his might to conquer wrong,
Were worthier far the grateful thoughts of man
Than he who gives in boundless charities,
Which are but garnered from the unjust spoil.
What good to lap the sail around the hull
Whose gaping sides still suck the briny flood?
Then steer the straining bark from shelf ring shores
And court destruction from the tempest's force
Far out upon the stormy seas of Time.
There is a creed that's growing day by day
Within the hearts and minds of honest men:
Its life is in the precept strong and true
That justice shall be done to all mankind,
Not in some world remote from all we know,
But here, and now, where all men need it most,
Who scorn to pay, as purchase, noble deeds
Or acts of faith for state of future bliss,
But live by justices' cause—naught else is just—
And loving all mankind for sake of man.
This, for the one who views with keener sight

The distant peaks that form the lofty heights
Of universal human happiness,
Were heaven enough for noblest souls to strive:
This sense enthroned within the purest minds
Has made the Greatest Saviours of Mankind,
Who, moved to sorrow by the pangs of life,
The unequal lot of toiling, starving flesh,
Of wealth and want, light, glee, and dark despair,
So strangely mixed, so cruelly apportioned,
And surely makes those nobler lives we know,
Whose patient search along the rocky paths
That lead to gulfs of stern reality,
As strong in evidence of deeds most pure
As they, whose strength in curbing passion's sway
Comes from a hope, whose animating creed
Holds out a future life of ideal bliss
For doing what our better instincts prove
Is naught but Justice to Humanity.
Then let us all be giants, and with a will

Suppressing wrong, exalting right on high,
Thus hasten on the time that's surely nigh
When one encircling all-enduring clasp
Shall make a Grander Brotherhood of Man
Progress in glory over all the earth.

* * * *

This, then, my plea to Thee, Great Social Power—
The mighty mammoth of an age to come!
Oh, would that I might live to see those days
That shadows of a future seem to cast
Athwart the puny efforts of our time:
These Blossoms of a Fruit we may not taste,
To ripen in the days we may not see,
A heritage of Life in Harmony.

The Toilers.

We Come! We Come! A Mighty Throng
To Claim our Rights at last—
The rights ignored by Church and State
In all the ages past:
The rights that speak in every breast
Where Love and Justice wed—
That Wrong shall be forever slain
And Right shall reign instead.

The Monarch sitting on his throne,
Who claims the Right Divine
To take the thousands from their hearths
And spend their blood like wine,
Shall come down from his lofty place,
And in the busy moil
Take up his task by hand or head
Among the Sons of Toil.

The man that grinds his fellow man
In factory, mine, or mill,
And takes three-fourths his laboured sweat
Produces, shall refill

The hands and mouths he robbed by law:
By juster laws in force
Shall Labour's Wealth return to him
From whom it has its source.

The man who holds vast tracts of land
That should be held by all,
Whose title-deeds are drawn in blood,
Where rightful owners fall—
We hold no man shall own the earth:
'Tis Nature's gift to all :
As well lay claim to summer's rain
Or sunbeams on the wall.

Ye priestly band throughout the land,
No more to Mammon bow,
But rise and preach the cause that's just—
We call upon ye now.
The life we have must stand before
All thoughts of what may be—
The ailing wife and starving babe
Before Eternity.

We march along, a Mighty Throng
Encircling all the earth,
Fast gathering to our inmost selves
Whate'er there is of worth.
The day draws nigh,—'tis all but here—
For tyrant-times are past,
When man shall own whate'er he earns,
And Right shall reign at last.

decorative feature

J. Kentworthy, Typ., Patea.

Press Notices—Continued.

"The poem . . . deals with the problems of life—social and religious, and there is a humanitarian spirit running throughout the work."—*Auckland Herald*, 1893.

"The subject of the little booklet is the struggle of an earnest mind, an anxious soul, between Faith and Doubt, told in good well-formed blank verse. . . . The little book will repay perusal by all who feel interested in the great problems of life and death, in the origin and destiny of man, in his gradual rise as a civilised being . . . and in the unfoldment of his mental powers, his moral sentiments to perfection."—ROBERT WHITE, Lyceum, Christchurch.

It is evident from the way the writer has dealt with his theme that his pictures of human life in the multitudinous forms of joys and ills are not depicted by a mere recluse, but by a master hand, whose sympathies have not lain dormant and untouched in the great struggle of life or in the battle of the strong against the weak: . . . gathering up life's rich experiences at every turn of the road he points out the correct path but leaves the human will to fix the choice. We commend the little work to those who want truth apart from mere sentiment."—*Auckland Star*, 1893.

decorative feature

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Front Cover

Industrial Arbitration in New Zealand Is It a Success?

By J. MACGREGOR, M.A.,

Barrister-at-Law.

"A sophism is more dangerous to a community than a crime."—M. Proal.

(Reprinted from the *Otago Daily Times*.)

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Prefatory Note.

New Zealand has come to be regarded as a sort of laboratory for political and social experiments, and her people are inclined to be rather proud of the rôle, and are optimistic enough to believe that their experiments have issued successfully. Of such experiments, what is known as our system of Compulsory Conciliation and Arbitration in Industrial Disputes, is one of the most interesting, and in the following pages the writer has candidly answered the question appearing on the title page. It is with regret he finds himself constrained to answer in the negative, because, as a member of the Upper House, he helped the author of the measure, the Hon. W. P Reeves, to get it placed upon the Statute Hook. Having closely observed and studied the working of the system during the six years it has been in operation he claims to be in a better position to answer the question than Mr. Reeves can possibly be, inasmuch as he has been absent from the Colony during nearly the whole of that period. The writer finds himself driven by candour to admit that the system is not in any sense what it purports, and was intended to be—a means of settling industrial disputes and strikes by conciliation and arbitration—but is rather a system for the regulation of the industries of the Colony by means of ordinances (misnamed "awards") issued by a court of law. It is impossible for Mr. Reeves to contend that the system has been a success for the purpose for which he intended it, and the writer is convinced that Mr. Reeves is incapable of having resort to the subterfuge of arguing, as some people have done, that it has served its purpose of preventing strikes but in a different way from that intended—subjecting all industries to regulation by a court; and it is as such it must be justified by anyone who advocates its adoption by other countries. It may be necessary to remind such foolish people that a laboratory experiment is not a sufficient test, and that *ad poenitendum properat, cito qui judicat*.

It may be mentioned that since the first publication of the papers in the "Otago Daily Times," an Act has been passed which practically repeals the conciliation provisions of the Act; this has been done in spite of the opposition of the Trades Union Government. Mr. Reeves, as an honorable man, should either admit that the system has failed or disown it; only the skeleton remains and the skeleton is not the man.

Industrial Arbitration in New Zealand.

By J. Macgregor.

No. I.

Let no man who begins an innovation in a State expect that he shall stop it at his pleasure, or regulate it according to his intention.

Of all the labour laws of New Zealand the Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act has attracted most attention beyond the colony, and that mainly on account of the generally recognised difficulty of the problem dealt with, and the novelty and boldness of the attempt at a solution. Visitors from Britain, the United States, France, and the other colonies have inquired into the working of this and our other labour laws; numerous articles upon the subject have appeared in the newspapers and magazines. A well-known writer on industrial and social subjects, Mr Henry Demarest Lloyd, of Chicago, after spending some months in New Zealand, published a book with the title "A Land Without Strikes," eulogising our system; and now we have the report of a Royal Commission sent from New South Wales for the express purpose of reporting upon the subject for the guidance of the Government and people of that colony. One thing that must strike such visitors is the fact that we in New Zealand have so soon come to regard as mere matters of course experiments which to them appear so novel and interesting on this and other subjects—such, for example, as that of woman suffrage. The Arbitration Act has been in operation now for six years, and it is indeed truly remarkable how little attention has been paid by the people of the colony generally, and especially by employers, to the question of the probable ultimate effects of legislation so novel and far-reaching. What little discussion has taken place has been until quite recently somewhat optimistic in tone, and the explanation probably is that during the whole period the colony has been in the enjoyment of a gradually, increasing prosperity; employers and workers have been in the position of a healthy man of good digestion and with plenty to eat, who is unconscious of having digestive organs, and has no occasion to observe, still less to study, the processes going on. Thus it happens that up till now the opinion of employers upon the working of the system has been of so little value, and it is impossible to imagine an experiment being tried under circumstances more favourable; everybody wished it to have a successful issue. Three years ago the writer ventured to question whether the system was serving the purpose for which it was intended, but his voice was like that of one crying in the wilderness; now, however, when symptoms of waning prosperity are beginning to appear, and our Premier admits that the state of our public finance is causing him much anxiety, our general tone is not quite so optimistic, and now at length the question is being seriously discussed whether our much-vaunted system may not do more harm than good. Hitherto our newspapers—with, I think, only one important exception, the (Auckland) New Zealand Herald—have been friendly in their attitude towards the system; but now there are signs of a change. The employers have been too busy to pay much attention to the proceedings of the Conciliation Boards and Arbitration Court, or to form combinations to resist the multitudinous demands of the workers; they have, indeed, shown a remarkable lack of foresight and regard for their common interests, which they will probably have cause to regret. Another thing that renders the opinion of the employers almost valueless is that they are so completely at the mercy of the unions; they are afraid to say a word against the system, whilst many of them who enjoy Government patronage are afraid of giving offence in that quarter, for real liberty decreases as Liberalism increases. Whilst the employers have been content to shut their eyes to the future—content with making hay while the sun shines—the workers have been forming unions and working the machinery of the act at full speed for the purpose of raising wages, reducing hours, and generally making the utmost of their opportunities. There are at last some signs that the employers are beginning to see what the tyranny of trade unionism means, and to realise the necessity for laying aside their petty jealousies and making common cause against it.

To the question at the head of this article—Has compulsory arbitration been a success?—the answers will,

of course, vary a good deal; but it would probably be correct to say that, till quite recently, few thought of raising the question. Of course the Liberals and the Liberal Government declare that not only has the law been a success, but that it has largely contributed to the prosperity of the country; and there is no doubt that working people generally, but especially the unionists, are so satisfied of this that they regard as their enemy any man who dares to so much as question it. As for the employers, their attitude has been that of indifference, with, perhaps, a general inclination to regard the act as a success on account of their immunity from strikes. Their policy has been simply to make the best of the good times while they lasted, and to let the future take care of itself—a very short-sighted and dangerous policy, as they are even now beginning to find out. It is safe to say that if the employers in England had pursued a like policy, instead of combining to fight the great strike in the engineering trade in 1893, the result would have been irreparable injury to all concerned.

Proceeding, then, to endeavour to arrive at an answer to the question whether the act has been a success, we have first to recall to mind the object in view, and the circumstances under which the act was passed. It must be remembered, then, that the act was the direct outcome of the great maritime strike of 1890, which, so far as concerned New Zealand, was a purely "sympathetic" strike, and was really the only strike of any magnitude we have ever had. Defeated in the strike, the workers rushed to the poll at the general election which took place at the end of the year, and resulted in a great victory for the Liberal party under Mr Ballance. The Labour party, having identified itself with the Liberal cause, set itself to use to the utmost the powers of the Legislature for the attainment of their ends, and the passing of the act in 1894 was one of its great triumphs.

Obviously, then, the object of the Legislature in passing the act and of Mr Reeves in drafting and introducing it was to provide means by which strikes and lock-out and disputes likely to result in such might be prevented or settled.

In order to see how completely the Ensure has been diverted from its real purpose we have only to refer to Mr Reeve's speeches in Hansard. In volume 77, at page 30, we read:—"This House is only asked by public opinion to legislate to prevent that class of labour disputes which cause loss or danger to the community—loss to those concerned and danger inasmuch as they may arrest the processes of industry." One wonders what he would have said if any one had suggested that, instead of being brought into requisition in such disputes as he describes, the act would be plied daily for the purpose of creating disputes? And by answer may be inferred from the reasons he gave for preventing individual workmen from invoking the powers of the act. "I determined to confine its operation to deputed between masters and trade unions. . . . I was induced to take that course for several reasons, one of which is this: that, if you allow one workman or two or three unorganised workmen to drag an employer before the Board of Conciliation, not only would that be grossly unfair to the employer, but it would soon make a laughing stock of the whole system. It would make the measure so extremely unpopular that a succeeding Parliament would probably sweep it away." We have reason to suppose that Mr Reeves thinks his pet measure is being made a laughing stock in spite of his precautions, for in the Legislative Council in 1898 one of the representatives of Labour in that Chamber read from a letter a passage in which Mr Reeves expressed the fear that the act was even then in danger of being ridden to death. But the pace at that time was a mere canter compared with the galloping pace at which it is being driven now. Is it credible that he would have secured the passing of such a measure had he foreseen that, instead of being used for the settlement of strikes, or disputes likely to lead to strikes, it was destined to be perverted into a means of getting up disputes and of creating unions for no other purpose than that of creating disputes and haling employers—almost every, employer in the colony—before the Court of Arbitration? Listen to Mr Reeves when he declares: "If this measure fails it will be because it will be ineffectual, and not because it will do any active harm. If it fail, its failure will probably be because its provisions are not taken advantage of. . . . I can honestly say that the measure is not introduced as a one-sided or class measure. I hope that it may be so administered and so worked that the employers in days to come will welcome it as their best friend"! Unquestionably the employers would have welcomed the system if it had been administered as its author and as the Legislature expected and intended, and they would welcome it still more now after their experience of it as an engine of warfare rather than as a messenger of peace and goodwill.

If anything further were required to show how completely the system has been perverted we find it in Mr Reeves's references to the Massachusetts system: "I cannot help thinking after devoting many hours to the study of this subject that the ideal board is one consisting of three persons appointed by the State, paid an annual salary, and able to go to any part of New Zealand where a dispute arises—a board which should have the power to transform itself into a judicial tribunal, able to compel parties to come before it and make its decisions legally binding. But I do not think public opinion is ripe for that yet. I think objection would be raised to pay three permanent officers suitable salaries. This passage shows quite clearly that our Court of Arbitration was intended to discharge the same function as the Massachusetts Board—namely, to settle strikes and lock-outs and such disputes as inevitably arise in the ordinary course of industry. Instead of this we have a court of law constantly moving about from end to end of the colony, like a Court of Assize, to adjudicate upon a long list of

cases that have been got up by the unions and hurried through before the Conciliation Boards in order to be ready for trial by the court. Instead of one strike or dispute at a time, the court has long lists of cases awaiting for it at every centre, and it cannot overtake the work.

To complete the proof of this part of my thesis it only remains to mention the fact that Mr Reeves's act contemplated the imposition of only one fine, and that of a maximum sum of £500, under one award, the idea being that an employer locking out his men or a union persisting in a strike in defiance of an award could be brought to reason by the imposition of such a penalty. Instead of this we have a court that undertakes to regulate all the industries and most of the other businesses of the country down to the minutest details, simply because a union of perhaps only seven men, or even seven girls, has got up a "dispute" with the employers, and cited them before the court to have all the details of their business which the union has thought proper to mention adjudicated upon by the court! And thus it has come about that this statutory court, which has enormous powers against which there is no appeal, is seen perambulating the country like a peripatetic police court, inflicting fines of a few shillings upon some employer who has dared to give a job to a starving youth who has the misfortune to be a non-unionist!

At this point, then, our answer to the question, Has the system been a success? must be this : that as a scheme for the settlement of industrial disputes in the ordinary sense it has never been tried; and the ordinary argument in its favour—that it has saved the country from strikes—reminds one of the saying about the number of jives saved by pins—by people not swallowing them. The reply will probably be that it has made strikes impossible by reason of the fact that all industries are regulated by the decrees of the court. So be it; but let the system be judged as one used for that purpose and not for the purpose for which it was intended. The man who wrote "A Land without Strikes" shows by the very title of his book that he failed to realise the real nature and operation of the system. The same remark applies to Sir W. J. Lyne, Edmund Barton, and the other Australian politicians (not statesmen), who propose to introduce the system into Australia on the ground that it has been such a success in New Zealand as a means of preventing strikes. Mr Reeves said in Parliament "that it would take years before the public can say whether or not they consider it a good and useful measure—experience alone will show that"; obviously because he thought the compulsory clauses might not be invoked for years, inasmuch as they were not to be used except as a last resort for the settlement of some strike, lock-out, or dispute likely to" cause loss or danger to the community." For such a purpose the act has never been tried, and yet responsible Ministers of the Crown are ready to apply it to the whole of Australia on the strength of our experience, and a sentimental English bishop and that prince of cranks and faddists, W. T. Stead, are ready to run the risk of applying it to the enormous industries of Great Britain!

If there is any lesson to be learnt by other countries from the experience of New Zealand it is this: that, if they want a system of arbitration for the settlement of strikes and real disputes rather than one for the creation and multiplication of factitious disputes, they should adopt some such system as that of Massachusetts.

So far, then, our answer to our question is that the system cannot be said to have been a success, inasmuch as it has never been tried for the purpose for which it was intended; whether it can be pronounced a success as a system for the regulation of all the conditions of all industries, trade, and occupations is quite another matter, which we propose to consider later on.

No. II.

Conciliation a Failure.

In the meantime, let us consider it as a means of promoting conciliation. As we have already seen, the author of the system was utterly mistaken as to the purposes for which it would be used, and I propose to show now that he was equally mistaken as to the method in which it would be used. In moving the second reading (in 1894) Mr Reeves said: "I do not think the Arbitration Court will be very often called into requisition; on the contrary, I think that in 99 cases in 100 in which labour disputes arise they will be settled by the Conciliation Boards; but unless you have in the background an Arbitration Court the Conciliation Boards will not be respected, and they will be virtually useless." If he had been asked how long it would take for a hundred cases to arise he would probably have said nearly as many years; at any rate, there can be little doubt that, if he could have foreseen that within six years of the act coming into actual operation such a multitude of "disputes" had "arisen" (or rather been manufactured under it), he would have run away from it as from a dangerous monster. Thin is the outcome of a measure intended by its author to promote conciliation and goodwill between employers and employed, and still people can ask whether it has been a success! One member of the Upper

House who opposed the bill spoke as follows: "Talking about reconciling the employer and employed in the way proposed by this bill reminds me about the little rhyme about the young lady from Riga:

There was a young lady from Riga,
Who went for a ride on a tiger:
They returned from that ride
With the lady inside,
And a smile on the face of the tiger.

There can be no doubt as to which of these members had the clearest conception of the probable outcome of the measure—the tiger has indeed lain down with the lamb—inside, and the smile on his face is very broad. Three years ago the present writer contended that as a means of promoting conciliation the system had failed, and that the Boards of Conciliation should be abolished; and within the last few days the Premier has practically admitted this, although, instead of blaming the unionists, he blames the boards.

Reverting to our question, then, we can have no hesitation about saying that as a means of promoting the settlement of labour disputes by conciliation, this scheme, so far from being a success, has been an almost complete failure. The position, then, is this: that the measure intended to serve the same purpose as the Massachusetts system—namely, the settlement or prevention of strikes and lock-outs and disputes likely result in such—has completely missed object. If it can be said to be a success must be in some quite different way than intended. Now, we know there [unclear: has] been a general disposition in the community to take for granted that the system was success; employers thought of nothing beyond being left in peace to make the most of the good times while they lasted, [unclear: of] they were ready to concede almost [unclear: of] demands of their men, believing that [unclear: they] could reimburse themselves by raising [unclear: prices]. Thus it was that so many of them [unclear: were] inclined at first to regard the system [unclear: with] a certain amount of favour. As a class [unclear: they] have shown singularly little provision, [unclear: and] an almost total disregard for their [unclear: comm] interests. In the past, the leading [unclear: charac]teristic of the average New Zealand employer was fairness towards his employees and for some time after the new [unclear: system] came into operation this continued; but [unclear: of] is now giving way to a tendency to [unclear: be] aloof and to concede nothing more [unclear: that] law compels; whilst, as between [unclear: employes] and employees, there has been almost a [unclear: was] absence of that spirit of combination [unclear: to] common defence which saved the [unclear: English] engineering trade in 1898. But now [unclear: a] length there are indications that they [unclear: of] beginning to realise the necessity for [unclear: co]mbination for the common defence against [unclear: de] tyrannical exactions of the unions, and [unclear: the] tendency of the Conciliation Boards and [unclear: the] Arbitration Court to act upon the [unclear: principal] of giving the unions every time some [unclear: a] of their demands, instead of being [unclear: good] by principle. The truth is that [unclear: who] idea of conciliation and the [unclear: existenes] so-called Conciliation Boards is an [unclear: she] incongruity in a system applied not for [unclear: the] settlement of real disputes, but for [unclear: the] lation of all industries on the demand the unions. When the President of [unclear: the] Court said, shortly after his [unclear: appointment] that the boards should be retained [unclear: book] they bring the employers and employees [unclear: to]gether for friendly discussion, he [unclear: case] have realised what the boards have [unclear: been]—namely, courts of first instance, [unclear: where] employers as a rule do not meet [unclear: the] employees, except, perhaps, as [unclear: witness] called by the labour advocates, who are [unclear: a] even appointed by the employees, but [unclear: a] the Trades and Labour Council. There [unclear: was] be no such thing as conciliation [unclear: is] the proper sense where there is no real [unclear: dis] between employers and employed, [unclear: a] merely a long list of demands [unclear: formulae] by the union and the council. Even in [unclear: the] cases that have not gone beyond [unclear: the] ciliation Board there has been [unclear: no] [unclear: tion] in the ordinary sense. The employers have as a rule yielded to the demands where they could see their way to pass on the burden to the broad back of the public, and they have shown no determination to [unclear: fight] for important questions of principle [unclear: which] as the iniquitous demand for preference to unionists. There has been too much [unclear: concession] and compromise, but very little [unclear: liation;] whilst on the part of the [unclear: unions] there has been very little of either: [unclear: they] have no doubt in some cases accepted [unclear: less] than their full demands so long as they [unclear: secured] a minimum wage and preference; [unclear: but] it has been with the full determination [unclear: to] renew the fight on the expiration of the [unclear: period] of the armistice. Of the true spirit [unclear: of] conciliation they have shown none. Con [unclear: rious] made by the employers the unionists [unclear: have] treated as the Boers treated the con-[unclear: cessions] made by the British—as signs of [unclear: weakness].

Our conclusions, then, so far are that, as [unclear: a] scheme intended for the substitution of [unclear:

conciliation] and arbitration for strikes and [unclear: lock]-outs in real industrial disputes, the sys-[unclear: tem] has never been tried, and therefore to [unclear: speak] of it as either a success or a failure [unclear: is] a misuse of terms, and that as a scheme [unclear: for] the promotion of conciliation it is a [unclear: failure] I am convinced that no one who [unclear: has] followed the reasoning with competent [unclear: knowledge] of the nature and working of the [unclear: system] can fail to admit the correctness of [unclear: there] conclusions; but it must be observed [unclear: that] I do not say the act has been a failure. [unclear: What] I do say is that, if it is a success, [unclear: it] is not as that which it was intended to [unclear: be], but as something quite different. It [unclear: follows] that those who describe the system [unclear: as] a success by reason of its securing to us [unclear: immunity] from strikes are either wilfully [unclear: or ignorantly] misrepresenting the facts. The [unclear: very] title of the book, "A Land Without [unclear: Strikes]," is a misrepresentation, inasmuch [unclear: as it] implies that the system has been com-[unclear: pletely] effectual in the settlement of dis-[unclear: putes] which would otherwise have resulted [unclear: in] strike, whilst the fact is that no one [unclear: can] say it has ever been invoked in such [unclear: wa] When the then Premier of New [unclear: South] Wales, Sir W. J. Lyne, met a deputa-[unclear: tion] opposing the introduction of the system [unclear: into] that colony with what he apparently [unclear: considered] the conclusive answer that in [unclear: New] Zealand the system had been satisfac-[unclear: tory] because "it had put a stop to strikes," [unclear: he was] simply showing how utterly ignorant [unclear: he] was of the subject.

III.

Let us now proceed to consider the actual working of the system, and whether it can be described as a success. Although it is incorrect to say that "it has put a stop to strikes," the fact remains that during the period the act has been in operation New Zealand has been a "land without strikes," I am prepared to go the length of admitting that the probabilities are that but for the existence of the act we should have had one or more strikes. Is it then correct, after all, to say that the act has prevented strikes? Have we simply been splitting straws all the time? By no means: the act was intended to be applied, like the Massachusetts system, for the prevention of strikes in the sense of providing the means of settling disputes resulting in or likely to result in strikes or lock-outs. If the system has prevented strikes it has done so by reason of its being worked, not as a method of settling disputes arising in the ordinary course, but as a method of enabling unions to get up factitious "disputes" for the express purpose of having them adjudicated upon by a court of law. Herein lies the whole crux of the question. This is one way of "preventing" strikes, but it is not the way contemplated by the author of the measure nor by the Parliament that enacted it. Still, the question is whether it has been successful, and we should have had no fault to find with those who declare that it has been successful had they not used terms implying that the system had been used, and successfully used, in the settlement of disputes in the ordinary sense. That it has been successful as a system for getting up "disputes" for the express purpose of having them adjudicated upon there is no doubt; but the real question is whether a system which "prevents strikes" in this way is necessarily beneficial. We have now succeeded in making clear the absurdity of describing as a method of preventing strikes a system used for an entirely different purpose—namely, the regulation of all the details of trade and industry by the decrees of a statutory court of law made under the pretence of settling disputes—disputes got up for the express purpose of being, submitted to the court, and which in all probability would never have been thought of but for the fact that the existence of the court prompted them.

What we have to inquire about, then, is the success or failure of a scheme, not for preventing strikes, but for the control and regulation of the trade and industries of the country with the object of making strikes impossible—two very different things; and the real question is whether immunity from strikes is a matter of such transcendent importance as to make it worth our while placing the regulation of our industries under the control of a court of law. That is the real question, and books like "'A Land Without Strikes" must be re-written to be of the least value. "Liberal" politicians for whom the history of the "wretched past" has no lessons, and socialistic unionists who think they enjoy immunity from the laws of political economy since it was banished to Saturn, will have no hesitation in saying, not only that immunity from strikes is worth the price, but that the regulation of trade in that way is a good thing in itself; but I confess that to me there is a very strong presumption against the permanent success of any such arrangement.

Let us see what it means in actual practice. During the period of less than six years that the act has been in actual operation a multitude of disputes have been "faked up" under it, and there is scarcely an industry or trade in the colony that is not subject to restrictions imposed by an award of the court at the instigation of the unions, and in a sense at their dictation, inasmuch as they can call upon the court to adjudicate upon any question they think proper to raise affecting any industry. There is scarcely an employer in the colony that is not subject to an award of some kind, and many are subject to quite a number of awards at the same time: in the engineering

trade, for example, an engineer may be hedged round by seven different awards. The modus operandi is very simple. A meeting of the union in any industry, from shipping or coal mining to hair-dressing or shirtmaking, is held. A long list of demands is drawn up, and great ingenuity and resource is shown in formulating them so as to cover the minutest details of the trade. This list of demands is sent to the employers in the trade, and in case of any of them refusing or ignoring the demands, a "dispute" is held to have arisen within the meaning of the act, and the machinery is put in motion for the "settlement" of the "dispute." As a rule many of the employers, and those of the employed who do not belong to the union, are not aware of the existence of the "dispute" until they see some reference to it in a newspaper. In many instances the so-called trades union is as purely factitious as the "dispute," inasmuch as it is formed for the express purpose of getting up the dispute. And so the formation of unions, the getting up of "disputes," and the settlement or the adjudication of them goes merrily on. If the act was intended simply to provide the means of getting up disputes for the express purpose of being adjudicated upon, regardless of ultimate consequences, then it must be pronounced a success; but I have shown clearly that it was intended for quite a different purpose. It cannot be said [unclear: to] have failed (except in so far as its [unclear: objects] was the promotion of conciliation), [unclear: into] much as it has never been tested for [unclear: its] proper purpose. Neither has it been a [unclear: su] cess for that purpose, but it does not [unclear: fol]low that it may not have been a success [unclear: is] a different and perhaps better way. This is what we have now to consider.

The position, then, is this: that the [unclear: people] of New Zealand find in active, very active, operation amongst them a system which controls and regulates all the industries of the country in a manner that neither the people nor the Legislature intended; that the system has been diverted from its purpose in this way by the unionists, who form [unclear: a] comparatively small proportion of the population, and furthermore by a comparatively small proportion of the unionists—namely, the agitators or wire-pullers amongst them. As we shall see further on, the system has been thus perverted to serve the ends of one particular class, the unionists. From their point of view and as a means of [unclear: securing] political support for their Government the scheme has been a decided success; but the real questions are: Has it been a success in the sense of being beneficial to the country as a whole? Is it likely to be, or is there any chance of its being a success in this sense?

If the system had been put to the [unclear: had] say once in each of the six years it has been in force, for the purpose of settling [unclear: strikes], we might by this time have been [unclear: justified] in forming an opinion as to its success. But since it has not once been put to the test, no man of competent knowledge, and having a due sense of responsibility? [unclear: would] commit himself to any opinion on the subject. When one finds the Premier of a great colony—the mother colony—[unclear: expressing] himself thus in reference to it: "Whatever will prevent the repetition of strikes is [unclear: as] absolute success, and they have [unclear: prevented] strikes in New Zealand—from whatever cause they have done it," one can only [unclear: it] claim with Oxenstiern, "with how [unclear: le] wisdom is the world governed?" If we [unclear: have] prevented strikes in New Zealand we [unclear: have] achieved this object, not in the way [unclear: we] intended, but by subjecting all our [unclear: industries] to regulation in every detail by a [unclear: con] if Sir W. J. Lyne had been aware [unclear: of the] would he have committed himself to [unclear: and] a statement? One can understand of the Marxian school of socialism [unclear: talking] up such a position, but not a .Minister of [unclear: the] Crown who makes pretensions to [unclear: statesman] ship. No man is justified in describing [unclear: the] system as a success either as a means [unclear: of] preventing strikes or as a scheme of [unclear: trade] regulation. Mr Beeves said, "It will [unclear: told] years before the public can say whether or not they consider it a good and useful measure—experience alone will show that." We have had absolutely no experience of it in the way in which he intended it to be used; but if, say, six years would have been necessary to test it as a means of settling strikes, how many years would be required to test it as a means of regulating all industries so as to make strikes impossible? Would any reasonable man say that a period of six years of steadily-increasing prosperity in trade is sufficient to test such a scheme? Unscrupulous politicians and union agitators and fanatics are prepared to go further, and say that our prosperity has been largely due to such legislation; but it were waste of time to reason with people of this kind. But the point I wish to emphasise is that no one, so far as I am aware, has undertaken to estimate the success or failure of the system its what it really is—a system for placing all employers of labour and all the details of our industries under the control and regulation of unions issuing their mandates through a court of law; if it has been successful in the prevention of strikes (the purpose for which it was intended) it has effected this by being applied to a purpose for which it was not intended; and those who like Henry Demarest Lloyd and Sir W. J. Lyne, have pronounced it a success are found to justify the system as one of complete regulation of industries. This they have not attempted to do, and so they stand convicted of ignorance—or what is worse, disingenuousness,—and their opinion is worse than valueless.

Objection will probably be taken to my describing the Court of Arbitration as a court of law for dictating to employers and regulating industries at the instigation and dictation of unions, but the terms are perfectly justifiable. In the first place, the [unclear: court] has unconsciously allowed itself to be [unclear: verted] from

the purpose for which it was [*unclear: tended*] intended by the Legislature—the settlement of real disputes and not mere factitious demands. This was done at the instance of the unions. The result is that a union that has been in existence only seven days, and probably consists of only seven youths or girls, can invoke the aid of the court for the purpose of enabling them to dictate terms to their employers, and to interfere in the carrying on of his business down to the minutest details. And the court has completed its own transformation by ordering employers to give a preference of employment to unionists! The system is in its very nature to a large extent one-sided, but the court has made it completely so. The result is that, instead of a court for the settlement of strikes, we have the sorry spectacle of a Supreme Court judge per-ambulating the colony from end to end, inflicting paltry fines upon employers for offences which have no existence in the jurisprudence of any other civilised country—offences that have no existence apart from the award of the court that created them at the instance of trades unions. The act says there is to be no appeal from this modern Star Chamber, and so far as the employer is concerned there is no appeal; but the unions have an appeal, in spite of the act, to the People's Government and the trades union Parliament, and they never appeal in vain to that quarter. If, for example, the court refuses the demand for a reduction of hours from 48 to 44 without reduction of wages a bill is brought in for that purpose, or if the court boggles about its jurisdiction to grant preference to unionists the question is straightway settled by statute. Surely never outside of Baratara was such a court ever seen or imagined; and yet the court goes on its way, trying hard to look dignified as it hurls its mimic thunderbolt! against some wicked master baker for the heinous offence of employing some hungry boy guilty of the offence of being a non-unionist: fined 5s, with costs! Employers had better take warning, for this court had the power of inflicting a fine up to £500 and the next offender may not tret off so lightly!

IV.—"The Statute of Labourers Upside Down."

When one learns that nearly every industry in the colony has its award, one begins to see a strong resemblance between such awards and the "Statute of Labourers" of a Tudor tyrant, and to wonder whether the most progressive country in the world (in its own estimation) has gone to the fourteenth century for its notions of political economy. In New Zealand, methods essentially the same as those used in the fourteenth century by masters against men are now being used by workers against employers. In the fourteenth century, a Parliament of masters, because of the "insolence of the servants," who asked for higher wages than had been previously paid, "to the great detriment of the lords and commons," ordained that no person should refuse to labour for the same wages they were accustomed to receive in the twentieth year of the King's reign (1347), and that even the lords of the manor, if they paid higher wages, were to be fined in treble damages. Also that the lord was to have the first claim to the labour of the serf, and those who refused to work for him or others at the fixed price were to be sent to the common jail. Now, however, the tables are turned (and not before it was time), and the Workers' (unionists') Court, created by a workers' Parliament, ordains that the employer is not to pay the workman less than a certain minimum wage, and that he is not to employ a non-unionist except in case of his not being able to find a unionist, and if he gives a job to a non-unionist because he is poor and hungry, or if he pays less than the minimum wage to a man who is glad to get it because he knows he is not worth the minimum wage, the employer is to be sent to the common jail. The resemblance is indeed remarkable, and I am inclined to think the older ordinance was the more rational of the two, considering that the one was made in the fourteenth and the other in the enlightened nineteenth century. The older ordinance, whilst ordering the worker to work for a certain fixed wage a day, attempted to secure for him cheap food by enacting that food must be sold at reasonable prices; but our modern ordinance (award), whilst commanding employers to pay not less than a minimum wage, makes no attempt to secure for them a fair price for their goods or to compel the worker to accept employment at the minimum wage. All things considered, it is hard to say whether the old English ordinance is not as rational as the boasted product of "Liberalism" and enlightenment in New Zealand, the most progressive country in the world, "the heir of all the ages, in the foremost files of time."

This wonderful ordinance of the English masters remained on the Statute Book over 200 years, and for some time the fines and forfeitures levied under it formed a large source of Royal revenue; but in spite of Kings and Parliaments, and pains and penalties—even to branding of the forehead with a red-hot iron—it became impossible to enforce the law, for wages kept rising in spite of all. The landowners complained that the law was entirely inoperative, and Parliament obediently made further enactments; and in 1363 an act was passed fixing the quantity, quality, and price of both food and clothes the labourers should have. Our New Zealand Parliament is quite as subservient to its masters, the unions, as ever an English Parliament was to the landowners, and nothing will be wanting on its part to enable them to have their own way with that "social pest," the employer, and the fines levied for breaches of awards might become a useful source of revenue which might be devoted to the endowment of unionism. Already we hear of a proposal to prevent by legislation the

reduction of wages when the boom is over, the counterpart of the old enactments fixing the quantity, quality, and price of the labourers' dress and food. Is history going to repeat itself, and political economy to be brought back from Saturn—the community paying the [unclear: expen] of the double journey?

In obedience to the demand of the [unclear: uni] our act has been altered almost every—not for the purpose of lessening its [unclear: se] able one-sidedness and unfairness to employers, but for the purpose of rendering [unclear: to] more efficient as a weapon of offence [unclear: ag] them. In fact, its most essential [unclear: feature] have been recast. Under the act of [unclear: 1895] awards were to be enforced by writ of attachment issued from the Supreme Court the unions were unsuccessful in their [unclear: for] attempts to obtain attachments, and they appealed to Parliament, which forthwith [unclear: endowed] the trades unions court with full powers. It was one of the essential feature of the original act that awards were not be legally enforceable unless the Court of [unclear: bitration] so declared by the award itself. [unclear: On] this point the author of the original [unclear: me] said:—"As the court is likely to consist [unclear: of] experienced and reasonable men, I do not think they are likely to misuse [unclear: the] powers placed in their hands, especially [unclear: when] we make it clear that they are only [unclear: to] such awards binding as they may [unclear: think] will be common sense to try and [unclear: enforce] law. Therefore I have steered this [unclear: middle] course of making some [unclear: awards] (legally enforceable), and leaving others [unclear: to] good sense of the parties." If, for examples it had been suggested that this [unclear: court] be so unreasonable as to make awards [unclear: ing] employers to give the preference of employment to unionists, and [unclear: make] legally enforceable, Mr Reeves, I [unclear: am] would have scouted the suggestion as an [unclear: insult] to a court presided over by a [unclear: Supreme] Court judge. Yet this is precisely what [unclear: the] court gradually came to do under [unclear: consist] pressure from the unions; yet even [unclear: then] unions were not satisfied, and [unclear: Parliament] to take from the court the power of saying whether its awards were to be legally [unclear: able] or not. In short, the history of [unclear: the] act is the history of coercion by [unclear: legislation] everywhere—one dose renders another [unclear: sary]; it is like drinking sea-water. [unclear: And] again, as though they were [unclear: determined] move all the leading features of Mr [unclear: Re] handiwork, the unions got their Parliament transform the Boards of Conciliation what they now are in reality—courts [unclear: of] instance; so that now, instead of Mr [unclear: Re] Boards of Conciliation settling 99 per [unclear: cent] of disputes by conciliatory methods, [unclear: with] Court of Arbitration "in the background we have two courts—a court of first [unclear: ins] and a Court of Appeal, to which there [unclear: is a] larger proportion of appeals than [unclear: to any] court in the world. And now, as [unclear: I] there is still another amending bill Parliament, entirely dictated by [unclear: the] [unclear: unions] or the Labour department, whose [unclear: function] it is to keep their demands [unclear: constantly] before Parliament. One of the proposed amendments consists of only five lines, and yet it will have the effect of placing in the hands of the unions the most effective weapon against employers which their devilish [unclear: ingenuity] has so far devised. The original [unclear: act], furtherance of its design of settling and [unclear: preventing] strikes and lock-outs, provided that whilst a dispute was before the board or the court an employer was not to lock out his [unclear: sig] and a union was not to strike; the proposed amendment is intended to deprive [unclear: employers] of the power of dismissing a [unclear: union] not merely when a dispute is in course of settlement, but when anything is pending "preliminary to the reference of the dispute and connected therewith."

Then follows a specimen of coercive [unclear: legislation] so perfect in its way as to be worth [unclear: quoting] in full:—"In case either of the parties shall interrupt the relationship of employer and employed by the dismissal of any of the employees, or by any of the employees [unclear: discontinuing] work, the onus of proving that each discontinuance of work or such [unclear: dismissal] was not done in contravention of section [unclear: 100] shall be on the employer if he dismisses [unclear: as] aforesaid, and shall be on the employee if [unclear: discontinues] work as aforesaid. And yet [unclear: Mr Reeve] fondly imagines he can trace the [unclear: features] of his beloved offspring in this [unclear: mon]. I sincerely hope he may not have to [unclear: admit] that he regrets having fathered it.

V.—Colonial Trade Unionism.

Dominations in alios servitium suum Mercedem dant.

Having shown, I think conclusively, that the system is not, and never can be, a success [unclear: for] the purpose for which it was intended, I [unclear: propose] to consider the chance or possibility [unclear: of] its being success as a system for the [unclear: regulation] of industries. A glance at an award [unclear: will] show the lines upon which the court [unclear: pro]-under the guidance of the unions. The [unclear: two] points upon which the unions have [unclear: insisted] most strenuously are the minimum ([unclear: living] wage and monopoly of employment for [unclear: ists], But, besides these, the court [unclear: deals] all the usual aims of

trades unions, such [unclear: as] reducing the hours of work, limitation of [unclear: member] of apprentices, and making [unclear: indenturing] compulsory, abolition of payment by [unclear: the] and of overtime, etc. The first thing [unclear: top note], then, is the enormous power of the [unclear: unions]; the act gives them the right to [unclear: call] the court to adjudicate (practically [unclear: legislate] upon any subject, however important or [unclear: however] insignificant, and the right might [unclear: as well be] exclusive, for the employers never [unclear: exercise] it, and probably never will, and the court has made the unions masters of the situation by granting them monopoly of employment, as this has led to great increase in their numbers.

It has been truly said that unionism must dominate Parliament if it is not controlled by Parliament, and in New Zealand for some years it has dominated the government, and through it the Parliament. The ultimate aim of the ringleaders in the conspiracy is to dominate the employers and control all the industries of the colony; and Parliament has deliberately furthered their aims, whilst the court, by awarding preference to unionists, has unconsciously played into their hands. They have achieved their object, and the employers from end to end of the colony feel themselves to be at their mercy. This is no exaggeration, but a sober statement of fact. Is it possible or conceivable that such a system can be a success?

If the teachings of history have any value at all, there is a strong presumption against the success of legislative and other artificial attempts such as this to fix wages and otherwise arbitrarily regulate the production and distribution of wealth; and this presumption is almost raised to a certainty when the attempt is made by means of a system so completely controlled by unionism as the New Zealand system is. In New Zealand, as in the other colonies, and in the United States, there is amongst the working classes generally a growing tendency towards socialism of a vague kind; whilst the leaders of unionism are, with probably few exceptions, influenced by the materialistic socialism of Karl Marx. They regard Marx's "Capital" as their Bible and accept as infallible truths fallacies which have been exploded over and over again, and doctrines which Marx himself admitted towards the end of his life to be erroneous. Many of them accept as gospel the asserted right of the worker to the whole produce of industry, which has been called "the fundamental revolutionary conception of our time," and consequently they regard the capitalist as the vampire that sucks the blood of the workers. They accept as beyond question Marx's teaching as to class warfare, which sees in society simply a war of classes for the possession of material advantages, and regards the capitalist as a stranger and an enemy; it is not justice they demand for the workers, but power, looking forward to the time when the workers, organised into federated unions and societies, must obtain complete control of the government of the country and of all the instruments of production. They also echo his contempt for patriotism: the union and the interests of one particular class have taken the place of patriotism, and there is good reason to believe that many of the leaders are pro-Boer in their sympathies.

Unionism in New Zealand has become a triple tyranny—the ringleaders and agitators tyrannise over the general body of unionists: the unionists, who are only a minority of the workers have established a tyranny over the workers generally, and they exercise almost complete control over the Ministry and the Legislature. They are at present concentrating all their efforts upon one object—to compel employers to use their capital according to the determinations of the unions, dictated through the Court of Arbitration, and in the meantime to give the least possible return to the employers for wages received.

The submissiveness of the general body to a small clique has always been characteristic of unionism. "There is too little individual thought or volition among them, and that little is rarely courageous. They follow others, thinking they are going with the majority, when in truth often half the majority are ignorant or reluctant, the impulse being given by a small, often unwise, sometimes selfish and dishonest clique. There is, perhaps, no such thorough oligarchy as that often to be found among trades unions." In order that they may coerce the employers, they are content to surrender their individual liberties and individual judgments, and they show no resentment, however dictatorial may be the rule exercised over them by their self-constituted leaders. This feature of unionism generally is specially characteristic of the peculiar variety created and fostered in New Zealand, inasmuch as the preference of employment to unionists compels large numbers to join the ranks who would much prefer to retain their liberty. A solidarity which is quite artificial and unreal is made the pretext for tyranny, not only over members, but also over non-unionists.

We have already seen how completely the unions have captured Parliament; this is entirely the work of a few wire-pullers, who arrange the "tickets" at elections, and succeed in imposing themselves, not only on the unionists, but upon the workers generally. At our last general election, for example, the wire-pullers consummated a secret alliance of the labour party with the Roman Catholics and the liquor interest, by means of which they succeeded in foisting upon the constituencies members of whom they were in some cases ashamed when they came to know them. But there are indications now of a determination on the part of the other classes to throw off this infamous tyranny of a minority of a minority—this government within the government.

With such a spirit animating trade unionism, it was inevitable that our system of conciliation and arbitration

should be perverted into an instrument of tyranny over employers; and the action of the court in granting the right of preference to [unclear: uni] presents an instance of fatuity that [unclear: would be] difficult to parallel. But it is [unclear: incono] that such a detestable tyranny as the [unclear: leading] of unionism are striving to establish [unclear: can] be tolerated. It has been said that labor passes through three stages—when it [unclear: is] slaved, when it is free, and when it is the [unclear: try] cal; in New Zealand it has reached [unclear: the] stage.

One of the features of new unionism [unclear: gen] ally is its contempt for the old [unclear: unioness], especially for its encouragement of [unclear: thrifts] self-help. The inculcation of thrift is [unclear: lo] upon with coldness, if not with aversion our New Zealand variety of unionism, [unclear: as] indeed, it is by materialistic socialism [unclear: generally] Experience shows that amongst [unclear: the] as a rule, thrift goes with [unclear: unselfishness] a sense of duty and responsibility and unthrift with selfishness [unclear: and] self-indulgence. The whole tendency of [unclear: ism] amongst us is to destroy in the [unclear: wo] the one thing on which his [unclear: manliness] chance of real happiness depend, by [unclear: dispa] ing the old unionist idea that it is [unclear: a] duty to carry at least his own [unclear: burden]; tends also to discourage the foresight [unclear: and] control which form one of the [unclear: element] factors of morality—"a quality in [unclear: moral] actor which determines the [unclear: happiness] misery of them who possess or do [unclear: not] it, in a way that goes far deeper into [unclear: life] by mere success or failure in laying by [unclear: a] of money." The difference between [unclear: the] unionism and colonial unionism is [unclear: clearly] in their different attitudes towards the [unclear: motion] of old age pensions, the [unclear: tendency] us being to look to the State for [unclear: everything] and to discourage self-reliance. It [unclear: is] more clearly seen in the fact that [unclear: among] unionists in New Zealand there is almost [unclear: comp]lete indifference to real [unclear: co-operation] in England has made such [unclear: remarkable] gress in recent years. The whole [unclear: tend] our boasted labour legislation is to [unclear: discomfort] real co-operation, and one of the [unclear: worst] of our arbitration system is that it [unclear: tends] only to divide permanently [unclear: employer] wage-earners into two hostile camps, [unclear: and] render it more and more difficult [unclear: for] wage-earner to become an employer, [unclear: but] to segregate the wage-earners more [unclear: and] from the other classes in the community.

Such are the general tendencies [unclear: and] ter of unionism of the colonial [unclear: type] must be admitted that the [unclear: probabilities] against the success of a system of [unclear: conciliation] and arbitration in which [unclear: unionism] such a preponderating influence. [unclear: Con] and class-warfare are of the [unclear: very] it, and we can now see that [unclear: failure] inevitable fate of any system [unclear: based] conciliation. Unionism, like [unclear: other] [unclear: possesses] no other virtue than that of [unclear: the] men of flesh and blood who apply it, and [unclear: the] leaders of colonial unionism, like their [unclear: master], Karl Marx, profess the most pro[unclear: found] contempt for moral ideals generally. [unclear: Their] reliance is upon force, not upon character.

The quality of our unionism strengthens [unclear: enormously] the presumption against the [unclear: success] of the system as one for the regulation [unclear: of] trade and industry by legal decree. In [unclear: "Industrial] Democracy, a book that is [unclear: regarded] as the very gospel of unionism, we [unclear: read]:—"The economist and the statesman will judge of trade unionism, not by its results [unclear: in] improving the position of a partiular [unclear: section] of workmen at a particular time, but by [unclear: its] effects on the permanent efficiency of the [unclear: nation]" Is it to be expected that unionism, [unclear: bned] with such a spirit as I have [unclear: described], promote the efficiency of labour? How[unclear: ever] may be elsewhere, there can be no [unclear: doubt] of this—that unionism in New Zea[unclear: land] does not even PROFESS to have any such [unclear: aim], that its whole tendency and infl[unclear: uence] is in the opposite direction. If it be true that [unclear: unionism], like government, is to be [unclear: measured] by the men it eventually makes, not by the advantages it immediately confers, [unclear: them] colonial unionism and the new unionism [unclear: generally] stand condemned.

The authors of "Industrial Democracy," in [unclear: their] advocacy of the cause of unionism, find [unclear: themselves] compelled to make an important, [unclear: disclaimer] of certain abuses which they [unclear: describe] as mere accidents, and which, [unclear: according] to them, form no part of the policy of [unclear: lsm]. On behalf of English unionism [unclear: they] disclaim the following:—The exclusive [unclear: right] to a trade, the restriction of the number of apprentices, the objection to piece [unclear: work], objection to the introduction of [unclear: roved] machinery, the "ca' canny" [unclear: principle] and interference with management.

[unclear: Now], most people will be inclined [unclear: in] doubt whether even English union[unclear: ism]; is entitled to this disclaimer; [unclear: but] it certain that colonial [unclear: union] and specially the bastard New Zealand [unclear: variety], is not entitled to it. The whole spirit of [unclear: anionism] in New Zealand is to give the [unclear: loyer] as little value as possible for the [unclear: maximum] amount of wages.

To say that this is [unclear: true] of all unionists would, of course, be [unclear: el] on many excellent men who are [unclear: ists] but my reference is to the general [unclear: spirit] and tendency of the system. Employers are [unclear: fully] that, whatever the theory [unclear: may] be there is a good deal of "ca' [unclear: canny]" is [unclear: actual] practice. Judge Backhouse, the [unclear: south] Wales Commissioner, in his [unclear: report], mentions a case in New Zealand in [unclear: which] the offence had been sheeted home: [unclear: the] the value of the disclaimer of Dr and Mrs Webb on this point may be judged from the following facts: Sir Hiram Maxim gave an instance of a small gun-attachment which the union committee classified as a-day-and-a-quarter-job. He invented a machine to make it, but the men would produce the piece only in a day and a-quarter, even with the machine. He then hired a German workman, who easily produced 13 pieces a day. It is only necessary to add that Dr and Mrs Webb admit that the "ca' canny" rule is an "adulteration of labour" which may "easily bring about the final ruin of personal character."

The limitation of the number of apprentices is a subject on which New Zealand unionism insists very strongly, and almost every award of the court imposes such restrictions; and yet our authors describe it as "undemocratic in its scope, unscientific in its educational methods, and fundamentally unsound in its financial aspects."

To see how little New Zealand unionism is entitled to the disclaimer of interference with management, one has only to read the demands filed by the unions and the awards of the court. That court has stretched its enormous power of interference even beyond its very wide legal jurisdiction by ordering an employer, on the demand of the union, to reinstate certain unionists whom he had dismissed. As an instance of interferences on the part of a union, I give the following specimen of a letter from the secretary of a union to an employer:—

"May 27, 190D1.

"Mrs.....

"Dear Madame,—I have been instructed by the Industrial Union to inform you that unless Miss (to whom you gave one week's notice without just cause whatever, after being in your employ for a considerable number of years) is reinstated within three days from date, further proceedings will be taken by the above union.

"I have also the honour, as secretary, of forwarding you the log, which is enclosed, and agreed upon by this union, to which we shall be pleased to hear of your answer on Saturday, June 1 inst. Failing that, we intend to file the statement immediately after that date.

I am, dear madam,—Yours truly,

"....."

This is an example of what employers are getting used to in the way of interference (to put it mildly) in the Land without Strikekes; the case is interesting also as an illustration of the way in which a "dispute" is got up for conciliation. Down to the minutest details the unions interfere with management: in a reference filed by the tramway employees, one of the demands is, "That employees be allowed to smoke when the car is not in motion!"

VI.—The Economics of the Minimum Wage.

Call that which is just equal, not that which is equal just.—Greek proverb.

The result of our investigation up to this point has been to find that a system intended by Parliament as one for the settlement of strikes has proved in actual practice to be an arrangement for placing the regulation of all trade and industry under the control of the unions exercised through a court created for the purpose. The union leader is constituted a Lycurgus, organising things according to his own ideas, and he is busily engaged in framing a constitution for a society composed of consumers, employers, and wage-earners, amongst whom he undertakes to distribute wealth as he thinks proper. How little consideration the consumer receives either from the unions or from the court we shall see further on. The unions assert and exercise through the court the right to say what wages all classes of workers are to receive and what work they shall give in return; and the question arises whether this is practicable in a community not founded upon pure Socialism, but upon private property, and ostensibly upon freedom of contract, and in which industries are carried on by private employers at their own risk and with their own capital. This attempt is made by arbitrarily fixing a minimum wage for each industry, and it is probably not the least use arguing with the workers that all such efforts to enrich one class at the expense of another are wholly uneconomic: for they would probably reply, "So much the better"; nor is it

any use expecting to convince them that the only way to permanently raise wages is to increase production. For the teachings of history and economics not only the unionists, but the delegates they send to Parliament, have the most profound contempt; and so it is useless to prove that such arbitrary devices to increase wages are as ineffectual as were the "Statute of Labourers" and the conspiracy laws to keep wages down. The unionist refuses to believe that wages are proportioned to the productivity of industry and the abundance of capital, and that whatever tends to restrict output, whether it be legislation or union regulations, reacts in the long run upon the worker. Unfortunately for the worker the tendency of unionism has been to lead him to look upon wages as so much money extracted from the capitalist, and to regard the capitalist as an enemy to be despoiled; whereas facts show that if the interests of capital and labour are not identical they are certainly not antagonistic: they are reciprocal. The real antagonism is between employer and employer. There is [unclear: reason] fear that the evil done by [unclear: unionism] fostering this spirit of antagonism [unclear: far] than countervails any good they do. [unclear: In] a country which has been described as [unclear: the] Paradise of the worker's, the [unclear: agitators] him that he is unjustly treated, [unclear: that] has a right to more than he [unclear: receives], the only obstacle to his obtaining [unclear: more] the employer, and that the way to [unclear: extract] it is by coercion. Such teaching [unclear: is] ally mischievous in a country such [unclear: as] New Zealand, where the people are [unclear: omni] Unionism has its uses, but as an [unclear: instructor] of socialistic warfare it is [unclear: utterly] chievous. At present this warfare [unclear: is] on by means of legislation directed [unclear: ap] capital through the Arbitration [unclear: Court].

By means of incessant labour [unclear: lega] and everlasting disputes capital is [unclear: kept] a state of uncertainty and [unclear: perturbation] but the union leaders either refuse [unclear: to] cognise the fact or glory in it. They [unclear: ha] as the idea of frightening capital, [unclear: and] it a "bogy" set up by the [unclear: employee] just as they laughed at the "[unclear: bogey]" foreign competition in the [unclear: engineer] out of 1897-8.

In England the danger is proving [unclear: to] so real that a scheme is now on [unclear: foot] send union delegates abroad to [unclear: see] themselves and report to their deluded freres. In France the Socialist. [unclear: Lab] party is actively engaged in labour legislation, and M. Millerand, the representative of that party in Military, has found it necessary to of the danger of frightening capital taking flight. In New Zealand [unclear: there] unmistakable signs that capital [unclear: is] ing alarmed, but nothing short [unclear: of] experience can bring conviction to [unclear: the] rage unionist, whilst as for [unclear: the] ho glories in frightening capital.

At present the unions are [unclear: concent] their efforts mainly upon two [unclear: objects]—the court for the purpose of [unclear: securing] preference for unionists and getting [unclear: a] minimum wage fixed in every trade. [unclear: They] to think that the decree of the [unclear: court] maintain a "living" wage in [unclear: spite] of bad times. We could forgive [unclear: to] ism a great deal if it tended [unclear: to] the efficiency of labour, but it [unclear: cannot] does not make any such pretension. [unclear: T] can, indeed, be no doubt that [unclear: the] effect of the minimum wage and [unclear: the] preference to unionists is very much in [unclear: the] opposite direction. Formerly consisted of the [unclear: elite] of the [unclear: worked] cause the policy was to exclude [unclear: men] were not worth the standard [unclear: wage]; this is now impossible. The effect [unclear: of] is to countervail whatever [unclear: tendency] [unclear: ism] had towards increasing the efficiency [unclear: of] labour, which is admitted by Dr and [unclear: Mrs] Webb to be essential to justify their [unclear: existence]. It has no doubt made them [unclear: e] "independent," as the following [unclear: incident] will show:—A master painter engaged [unclear: two] unionists for a job of painting and [unclear: preparing]; one he selected because of his [unclear: being] an expert paperhanger, and the other because of his skill as a painter. On [unclear: visiting] the job for the first time he found the [unclear: paperhanger] doing the painting and the painter doing the paperhanging. On [unclear: asking] the men to change places, one of them [unclear: instead] of complying, told this [unclear: tyrannical] to go to—with his job, and left.

[unclear: This] is what unionists would call a spirit [unclear: of] independence. It is perfectly clear that [unclear: when] such a spirit as this pervades the men [unclear: an] employer has no control over his busi[unclear: ness] and to dismiss a unionist for [unclear: disregarding] instructions is out of the question. [unclear: But] even Mill, the great advocate of [unclear: unionism] that to extract work from [unclear: employees] without the power of dismissal is and practicable. But matters are coming [unclear: such] a pass in this best of all possible [unclear: tries] that employers durst not dismiss a [unclear: workman] if he is a unionist. The following little incident illustrates the obverse unionists' idea of independence. [unclear: An] employer on his way to a job one [unclear: morning] forgathered with two of his men. The [unclear: employer] happened to be carrying a parcel [unclear: of] material for the job, and the men [unclear: re] of the burden. Presently they [unclear: lly] handed him back the parcel, [unclear: pointing] to some workmen who had come [unclear: in] some distance off, and explaining that [unclear: they] they should be seen by other members of [unclear: union] carrying anything for the [unclear: em] before starting time they were liable to [unclear: be]

reported to the union and fined! [unclear: Anything] more contemptible than such a [unclear: it] amongst men it were indeed difficult a [unclear: imagine]: tyranny, miscalled independence [unclear: towards] employers and espionage and [unclear: dation] as between themselves, and through it all the determination to give [unclear: the] employer as little value as possible [unclear: for] received.

[unclear: The] evil effects of the minimum wage [unclear: ially] when combined with [unclear: preference], membership of a union is no [unclear: guara] competence are obvious. In the first [unclear: although] although the fixed wage is a [unclear: mini] not a maximum, it is to be expected that [unclear: the] minimum will tend to become the [unclear: maximum]. An employer compelled to [unclear: pay] of his men more than, they are worth is [unclear: certain] to pay good men less than they are [unclear: worth], unless the demand for labour is [unclear: to] make this impossible. This [unclear: is] admitted by the authors of "[unclear: Industrial] Democracy," and our experience in New Zealand shows this to be the actual result. The skilled workman, who is naturally inclined to take pleasure in the full exercise of his skill, and who is probably too, high spirited to submit to union tyranny, is affronted to find that the duffer at his elbow, who perhaps works on the "ca' canny" principle, receives the same wage as himself. The effect of this upon the industry of the country must be very serious; but what is most serious is the effect upon the character and efficiency of the worker. The effect upon apprentices must be most pernicious; knowing that as soon as he becomes a journeyman, he becomes entitled to the minimum wage, the apprentice has no incentive to improve himself and carry on his education. Decline of efficiency is inevitable, and I am informed by employers in the building trade that within the last few years it has been so marked that, in estimating the cost of work, they have to allow for three men where formerly they allowed for only two. If this be really the effect of unionism and regulation of industry by law, then there could be no greater condemnation, for it is not only our industries that are endangered, but the character of our people, and even civilisation itself.

Let us now proceed to consider some of the more direct effects of the minimum wage. The unions strenuously claim credit for the general rise in wages; but there is good reason to believe that in many cases it has been attained not by means of unionism, but in spite of it—by reason of the increase; of production, by the increased use of machinery, and improved methods of work. As to the fact of the increase there is no doubt: not only the nominal (money) wages but the real wages have increased, because the prices of the necessities and conveniences of life have tended to decrease even more than nominal wages have increased. That this is the tendency under conditions of freedom there is no doubt; but can the same be said under a system used for the purpose of artificially and arbitrarily raising wages? The answer must be in the negative so far as the New Zealand experiment is concerned. Nominal (money) wages have been raised in many instances by the court, but even unionists admit that prices have gone up in a greater proportion. The ultimate outcome is that real wages (i.e., the number of commodities that can be bought with the money wages) have not increased. A natural rise of wages does not increase prices or diminish profits, but an arbitrary rise tends to produce both of these effects, and the only way of increasing the income and improving the material condition of the wage-earners is through a natural and permanent, advance of real wages. The worker's standard of living is not improved by merely giving him more money to spend, but by enabling him to buy more of the good things of life with his wages. Unfortunately his notions on the subject are perverted and confused: he imagines, with Ben Tillet, that wages should regulate prices instead of prices regulating wages, and one can easily see that this preposterous idea lies at the root of many of the demands made before the court. But even the unionists are beginning to realise the absurdity of the idea that a general rise of wages attained by means of an equal or greater rise in prices is beneficial; and in some cases it has actually been suggested that the court might raise wages by reducing the price of the raw material! A beautiful illustration of the difficulties created by artificial devices for raising wages! The unionist leaders seek to evade this difficulty, and at the same time appeal to the prejudice against employers, by putting into the worker's head that most mischievous and fallacious conception that wages come out of the employer's pocket. The unionist imbued with the teachings of Karl Marx thinks it is for the benefit of the workers that the employer's capital should be eaten up and consumed in the payment of wages.

The recent history of the boot trade in New Zealand presents a lesson which even the unionists are taking to heart. It will be remembered that the court, having regard to the effect of the importation of American goods upon the local industry, refused to raise the minimum wage. What is the result? That the workers, recognising the impossibility of keeping up wages by decree of the court, have joined the employers in sending two operatives to the United States to learn the American system. Here, then, is a case in which even unionists have been constrained to admit that neither acts of Parliament, nor awards, nor further protection could enable them to compete with the Americans, and that the only way is to increase and cheapen production.

The same thing must happen in all industries in which foreign competition can operate. There are, no doubt, some industries in which it is possible to maintain a minimum wage by raising prices, and in some trades there has existed what can only be described as a conspiracy between the unionists and the employers (to which

the Conciliation Boards and the court have been parties) against the interests of the public as consumers. But, after all, the workers themselves constitute by far the larger proportion of the consumers, so that an increase of (nominal) wages gained at the cost of an equal (and probably greater) increase in the cost of necessities is no real benefit to them, whilst such an increase is positively unfair to other classes in the community. Here we come face to [unclear: face] one of the fundamental objection [unclear: is] minimum wage—the fact that it [unclear: does] give the first place to the interest [unclear: of] consumer. No one objects to [unclear: the] seeking to obtain for the workers [unclear: a] share of the social wealth of the [unclear: comm] but when they try to attain this [unclear: end] expense of other classes or [unclear: otherwise] by increasing the wealth of the [unclear: eco] their influence is wholly mischievous.

There is one class in particular [unclear: that] all to lose and nothing to gain by [unclear: the] of the unions, and the Court [unclear: of] tions, and, indeed, by our [unclear: boasted] legislation generally—the farmers, [unclear: the] important class in the community. [unclear: Age] ture, according to a Chinese [unclear: pro] the root of the social tree, and [unclear: manufacturer] and trade are merely the [unclear: branches]. member seeing a pictorial [unclear: presentation] the same idea in a country [unclear: store] almanac, where the clergyman [unclear: was] sented as praying for all, [unclear: the] pleading for all, the soldier as [unclear: fighting] all, whilst the farmer at his [unclear: plough] last, saying "I work for all." [unclear: When] unionist mechanic, who makes [unclear: the] plough, applies to the court [unclear: for] of wages, he imagines he can [unclear: over] objection by suggesting an [unclear: equal] in the price of the plough; and [unclear: when] the statutory Providence to whom we [unclear: have] to trusted the regulation of all [unclear: our] ventures mildly to suggest that [unclear: an] in the price might reduce work by [unclear: ing] importations, the unionist is [unclear: ready] his favourite remedy—more protection increase of duty; or if the industry [unclear: in] tion happens to be one in which [unclear: mer's] produce forms the raw [unclear: material] unionist will suggest that the [unclear: difficulty] be met by a reduction in the [unclear: price] to the producer—the farmer. [unclear: This] happened in the case of the [unclear: tanners] a reduction in the price of hides [unclear: was] gested! And yet the unionists [unclear: and] unionists' Premier think the [unclear: farmers] not form unions. Self-[unclear: protection] utmost the poor farmer can hope [unclear: to] by forming unions, for neither [unclear: the] Providence that presides over [unclear: the] Court of Arbitration, nor the [unclear: onm] Parliament itself can fix a [unclear: minimum] for the farmers' oats, his wheat, [unclear: or] mutton, or his wool. No, not even [unclear: if] Trades and Labour Council [unclear: gave] mission to fix a minimum price [unclear: and] safed to the farmers the [unclear: official] and support of the Labour party.

Even the unionists themselves [unclear: are] ning to have a doubt as to the [unclear: pre] of fixing and maintaining a [unclear: minimum] by ordinance, and it is begining [unclear: to] upon them that they may [unclear: eventually] [unclear: to] come out by the same, hole where they [unclear: went] in." The labour advocates before the [unclear: boards] and the court are in the habit of [unclear: attempting] to justify their demand for [unclear: increase] of wages by pointing to the great [unclear: increase] in the cost of necessities of life, [unclear: and] specially the rise in house rents. They [unclear: are] compelled to admit that to some extent [unclear: this] is the result of the working of the sys[unclear: tem], but they find it necessary to complete [unclear: the] circle by bringing all industries [unclear: under]. In a recent case one of the labour [unclear: advocates] urged upon the board the fact that [unclear: Dunedin] is one of the most expensive towns [unclear: the] world to live in! and therefore it [unclear: necessary] to raise wages: the old circle [unclear: of] protection and restriction making further [unclear: protection] necessary.

[unclear: One] of the favourite arguments of the [unclear: agitator], termed advocate, is the [unclear: enormous] in house rents, which he, of course, [unclear: to] the rapacity of the landlords. The [unclear: Landlord] may have to pay about one-[unclear: third] more for material and labour in order [unclear: that] the worker may receive higher wages, [unclear: he] must not raise the rent; and in [unclear: order] to reduce rents the Government or the [unclear: municipality] must build houses to be let to the poor workers at low rents! At all [unclear: the] wage-earner must be saved from [unclear: the] consequences of his own action. If the [unclear: ale] capitalists button up their pockets and [unclear: refuse] to make work for him, then the [unclear: Government] must do it! As for the farmers [unclear: and] other classes who suffer equally in [unclear: consequence] of increased prices, they are not [unclear: worth] considering!

[unclear: Such] are some of the difficulties [unclear: incidental] to attempts to fix arbitrarily the rate of [unclear: wages]. Another evil inseparable from [unclear: the] minimum wage is the hardship it [unclear: en] the elderly and the slow work[unclear: man]. In many cases employers are anxious to [unclear: keep] on faithful workmen when they [unclear: are past] their best, and are no longer worth the [unclear: minimum] wage, but of course at a [unclear: lower]. But this is not business, but [unclear: mere] and it is not allowed by [unclear: the] such men must become pensioners [unclear: the] State. We are, of course, aware [unclear: the] awards make provision for "[unclear: per]-" allowing elderly or slow [unclear: workmen] take employment at wages less than the [unclear: minimum]. But such a system is open to [unclear: many] objections—it is

humiliating to the [unclear: when] the demand labour is exceptional, employers prefer [unclear: nothing] to do with men who [unclear: are] worth the minimum nor free to [unclear: work] at a wage which the worker him[unclear: self] as well as the employer, may consider [unclear: pays]. It pays the employer better to pay the [unclear: minimum] to good men than to pay less [unclear: to inferior] men. Many a deserving man has had to endure bitter humiliation and hardship from the operation of the minimum wage in Victoria, and there the system has utterly broken down.

An instance of this has been brought under my notice as I write. An employer in Christchurch was keeping on one of his workmen when he was over 70 years of age, and paying him 7s a day. The unionists came along and insisted upon the employer paying the minimum wage, and the consequence was that the workman had to be turned adrift. The unionists will no doubt say he can get an old-age pension; and if he cannot, he is entitled to charitable aid!

We have yet to learn that there are some demands which can only be made by madmen and listened to by fools, and this demand for a minimum wage in all industries seems to be one of them. At the root of it lies the Utopian cry "Equality and Fraternity," at once preached and discredited by the French Revolution. For Liberty we have substituted Liberalism, which in New Zealand means its opposite; and we are likely to learn by experience the truth of the saying, "Equality may be a right, but no human power can convert it into a fact." But we may perhaps console ourselves with the reflection that there is a presumption that what cannot be accomplished ought not to be accomplished.

VII.—Judge Backhouse's Report.

If hopes are dupes, fears may be liars.

We have been studying the working of a unique experiment in labour legislation, the outcome of which is being closely watched by other countries. In New South Wales a bill embodying the principle of compulsory arbitration (but without conciliation provisions) passed the Legislative Assembly last year, but was lost in the Council. Now, it is perfectly clear from the expressions used by the then Premier, Sir W. J. Lyne, that when he undertook the great responsibility of introducing a measure of such tremendous importance he must have been quite ignorant of the real nature and outcome of our act. It is indeed comical, and says little for the statesmanship of New South Wales, and indeed of the other Australian colonies, that their politicians should be so ready to slavishly follow the example of New Zealand in this and other matters. It reminds one of our own action during the last Melbourne boom, when New Zealand was sunk in depression and we thought of nothing but studying and imitating the means by which the supposed marvellous prosperity of Victoria had been brought about. But it is not merely the supposed success of our labour legislation as a means of advancing the prosperity of the colony that has made it so attractive to Australian politicians, but rather its proved effectiveness in securing for the Seddon Ministry the support of the Labour party, and a long term of office. This is sufficient to account for the New South Wales Industrial Arbitration Bill, and for the infamous conduct of the first Commonwealth Government in introducing into their programme, for the sake of securing the Labour vote, two such momentous measures as compulsory arbitration and old-age pensions. If anything further were necessary to confirm thinking people in New Zealand in their opposition to federation the fact that the first Federal Ministry should consist of men capable of paltering with such subjects should be sufficient. The attitude of Mr B. R. Wise, Attorney-General of New South Wales, on this subject is difficult to understand. Here we see a pronounced individualist and author of an able book against Protection, advocating a measure which involves infinitely more of State interference and regulation of industry than does mere Protection. The position of Mr Reeves, the author of the New Zealand act, was very different: he described himself as "a straightout socialist" (whatever he may be now), and I think it is perfectly clear from the extracts from his speeches given in my first paper that even the socialistic Mr Reeves would never have fathered our act if he could have foreseen that it would be perverted into a system of State regulation of industries; one thing is certain—the New Zealand Parliament would not have passed it in 1894. When Air Mr Wise introduced his bill first he probably intended it, as Mr Reeves intended his bill, merely as a means for the prevention and settlement of strikes, and he was probably not aware of the fact that our act had never been applied to the purpose for which it was intended, when he referred to the success of our act in justification of his action. But he cannot urge that excuse any longer, for he cannot fail to see, even through the opaque medium of Judge Backhouse's report, that our system is not one for the prevention of strikes. The members of the New Zealand Legislature thought they were enacting a measure "to facilitate the settlement of industrial disputes" (in the words of the preamble); they find they have created a perfect Frankenstein's monster. If, in spite of our experience, Mr Wise persists in the attempt to foist upon his country an act which must inevitably be perverted as ours has been, then great indeed will be his responsibility; but, if by reason of the political exigencies

unclear: of] party he should refuse to read [*unclear*: the] to be derived from our experience, [*unclear*: the] terms adequate to characterise [*unclear*: his] would be such as no statesman [*unclear*: would] to have applied to him.

Turning now to Judge [*unclear*: Backhouse's] the first thing that occurs to [*unclear*: one] strange fact that a judge should [*unclear*: have] sent upon such a mission rather [*unclear*: that] experienced business man. It [*unclear*: shows] that those who selected him [*unclear*: most] thought that what he had to [*unclear*: report] a system for the settlement of [*unclear*: real] and not one for the regulation [*unclear*: of] It is much to be regretted that [*unclear*: the] has failed to make it clear that [*unclear*: be] the difference between what he [*unclear*: exp] find and what he actually did [*unclear*: find] omission renders his report not [*unclear*: only] paratively little value, but [*unclear*: posit] leading. He refers over and [*unclear*: over] "the principle of the act." and [*unclear*: inter] Government and the people of [*unclear*: the] that in New Zealand "a very [*unclear*: large] of the employers interviewed are [*unclear*: is] of the principle of the act"; [*unclear*: and] nowhere points out the [*unclear*: divergence] principle in actual practice—that, [*unclear*: is] of fact, the principle has never [*unclear*: been] at all. The principle of which [*unclear*: the] approve is that for which the act [*unclear*: att]ended, not that to which it [*unclear*: has] verted. If the judge were to [*unclear*: return] Zealand he would find that [*unclear*: the] are only now realising what the [*unclear*: act] in its actual application, and [*unclear*: that] as far as possible from [*unclear*: approving] he would find, instead, that [*unclear*: the] rapidly spreading in the [*unclear*: community] the act continues to be abused [*unclear*: it] come a curse and a [*unclear*: nuisance] what it was intended to be—a [*unclear*: ble] the judge had exercised any [*unclear*: pen] sagacity he could not have failed [*unclear*: to] that what he found in operation [*unclear*: is] system for the settlement of [*unclear*: industry] putes (in the ordinary and [*unclear*: proper] but one essentially the same as [*unclear*: that] in Victoria; the differences [*unclear*: being] Victoria the boards are [*unclear*: serving], the purposes for which they were [*unclear*: created] the or for ill), whilst our boards [*unclear*: and] serving a very different purpose [*unclear*: hu] for which they were created. And [*unclear*: the] torian system is much more [*unclear*: rational] inception than ours. What is the [*unclear*: rec] our system places a Supreme [*unclear*: Court] at the head of the Court of [*unclear*: Arbitration] is simply that his function [*unclear*: was] to be the settlement of strikes [*unclear*: and] likely to issue in strikes. Is it [*unclear*: to] posed that, if the New [*unclear*: Zealand] had intended to create [*unclear*: an] regulating all the conditions of [*unclear*: in] [*unclear*: would] have chosen a judge for the purpose? [*unclear*: There] is no presumption that a judge has [*unclear*: any] qualifications for the discharge of such [*unclear*: function]. If Judge Backhouse had realised [*unclear*: the] real nature of the system he could not [*unclear*: have] failed to note the absurdity of [*unclear*: com] to a court of any kind the regulation [*unclear*: of] industries. As a tribunal for the settle[*unclear*: ment] of real disputes, a court consisting of a [*unclear*: Supreme] Court judge and two members [*unclear*: representing] the contending interests might [*unclear*: well] enough; but to commit to a single [*unclear*: individual], merely because he happens to be [*unclear*: a] supreme Court judge, with an associate [*unclear*: each] side for the purpose of pulling him [*unclear*: to] opposite directions, would be a supreme [*unclear*: art] of folly. This is what we have done in [*unclear*: New] Zealand, but we have the excuse that [*unclear*: it] is what we intended; we did not [*unclear*: foresee] the possibility of the judge having [*unclear*: to] play the part of Governor-general of In[*unclear*: dustries], which the unions have imposed [*unclear*: upon]. Judge Backhouse says: "There is one [*unclear*: er] about which both sides are emphatic [*unclear*: ely] the necessity of having a Supreme [*unclear*: Court] Judge as president of the court, [*unclear*: and] leaves to be inferred that this is on [*unclear*: account] of some special fitness in such a [*unclear*: president]; but the reason is simply [*unclear*: that] is independent of the Executive. [*unclear*: That] any Parliament should, with full know[*unclear*: ledge] of the facts, deliberately follow our [*unclear*: example] is simply inconceivable. The un[*unclear*: fortunate] thing is that there is nothing to [*unclear*: above] that Judge Backhouse realised clearly [*unclear*: the] significance of the fact that the system [*unclear*: in] actual operation was some[*unclear*: thing] different from what he came to report [*unclear*: upon]; and that he professes to find in [*unclear*: the] actually existing answers to ques[*unclear*: tions] regarding a system that has never [*unclear*: judge says] "the act has pre[*unclear*: sented] strikes of any magnitude," and the [*unclear*: ent] will no doubt be seized upon by [*unclear*: Governagement] as justifying their action; [*unclear*: point] of fact, the words are meaningless [*unclear*: relation] to a system that has nothing [*unclear*: with] to prevention of strikes. The [*unclear*: statement] is therefore misleading. Again, [*unclear*: the] Judge says "the act has, on [*unclear*: the] brought about a better [*unclear*: relation] employers and employees than [*unclear*: would] have existed if there were no act. [*unclear*: Now], if by these words the judge means to [*unclear*: that] relations are more friendly now [*unclear*: then] they were before the act, how is he [*unclear*: in] reconcile it with the fact stated by [*unclear*: him] that in loss than five years 109 [*unclear*: dis] have come before the boards, and that [*unclear*: in] only about a third of them was [*unclear*: concilia] brought about. Formerly, the [*unclear*: rela] were generally friendly, but now they [*unclear*: as] friendly as those of [*unclear*: litigants]. If the judge means that rela[*unclear*: tion] are now more friendly than they would be if the act were to be repealed, he is probably right,

for the simple reason that under the operation of the act labour has passed from the stage in which it enjoys and appreciates freedom into that in which it has become used to the exercise of tyranny.

If the New South Wales Government had appointed as its commissioner a business man of some perspicacity, who could see the true inwardness of our system for himself, instead of a judge, who merely summarises what he was told, we should probably have received some fresh light upon the subject, and found him arriving at some such conclusions as the following:—

- That he found in operation a system totally different from that which he expected to find, and from that which the New Zealand Parliament intended to set up.
- That the same thing will inevitably happen in New South Wales if an act should be passed on the lines of the New Zealand act.
- That the experience of New Zealand affords no guidance as to the practicability of schemes for the settlement of industrial disputes by compulsory arbitration; but that it shows conclusively that it is impossible to combine in the same scheme conciliation and compulsory arbitration.
- That a permanent tribunal set up for the settlement of industrial disputes will inevitably be perverted into a means of regulating all industries, if the workers are accorded the right of invoking the intervention of the court in any dispute; and that the way to avoid this is to adopt the Massachusetts system, under which it lies with the Conciliation Board to constitute itself a legal tribunal, in case of the failure of conciliation.
- That the New Zealand experiment is valueless except for negative conclusions, inasmuch as the period of six years that the act has been in actual operation has been one of gradually increasing prosperity.
- That the presumption against the success of any scheme for the arbitrary regulation of industry is fortified by the New Zealand experiment, inasmuch as it has largely increased the cost of living.

It only remains to add that the writer did his best as a member of the Legislature to secure the passing of the act; that he believed it would prove a beneficent measure, and still believes it would have so proved had it not been perverted to improper uses; that he has watched it closely from its inception, hoping against hope that it might yet fulfil its promise and justify the expectations of its author; that he has been reluctantly driven to the conclusion that it is proving, and must more and more prove, a curse instead of a blessing; that the best thing that could happen would be the repeal of the act, but that this is impossible because of the domination of organised labour; that the trade unions, by persisting in their abuse of the system by using it as a means of tyrannising over employers and others, will sicken and disgust the community, and that when dull times come the act will be allowed to fall into desuetude. The experiment presents a remarkable illustration of the truth of Machiavelli's saying, "Let no man who begins an innovation in a State expect that he can stop at his pleasure, or regulate it according to his intention." Judge Backhouse concludes his report upon the act with the following words: "Whatever may be the result, the world owes a debt of gratitude to New Zealand for having [unclear: and] taken the task of demonstrating [unclear: whether] is possible or not to [unclear: settle] troubles by compulsory [unclear: arbitration].' the judge had exercised some [unclear: judgment] perspicacity, he might have [unclear: earned] gratitude of his colony by [unclear: pointing] that, although New Zealand [unclear: undertook] task, she has failed to perform it, [unclear: or] to attempt performance; and [unclear: that], of admitting her failure, she tries [unclear: to] herself and others into the belief [unclear: that] has successfully performed the [unclear: task] undertook: "her faith unfaithful [unclear: makes] falsely true." As to the motives author [unclear: of] the measure there can [unclear: be] doubt, but the outcome shows how [unclear: true] is that the highest motives lead the [unclear: best] men to the most doubtful of policies.

decorative feature

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Federal and State Banks and Currency Reform.

By John Ross.

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Introduction.

This pamphlet is a re-print of an article which was published in the *Age* newspaper of Saturday, March 23rd. It had to appear in a condensed form owing to the pressure on space at a time when the contests for seats in the Federal Parliament were at their height. To have appeared in the columns of a leading newspaper at such a time was, in itself, a recognition of the great importance of the question, and of the necessity that it should be made the subject of early legislation. The deplorable sufferings caused by the financial crash of 1893, which deprived so many thousands of people of all ranks of their life-long savings and means of livelihood, has taught this lesson. Great as these sufferings have been, it is, probably, all the better for our future prosperity that the

disaster should have been so thorough as to have impressed bankers, investors, and all business men with the dangerous nature of the foundation upon which our financial and commercial systems are reared—a huge volume of credit resting upon an insignificant volume of legal-tender metallic coin. It is now recognized in influential quarters that the State must come to the rescue, and remedy this by the creation of a Federal Bank of Issue, from which private commercial banks can draw their supply of notes under conditions that will give elasticity to the note circulation commensurate with industrial requirements. It is not, however, so clearly apprehended that the Federal Bank of Issue should be so constituted as to leave it open for each State to create a State Bank of its own in touch with the Federal Bank of Issue so as to obtain from this source an elastic note currency with which to conduct and develop State trading operations.

Every attempt to better social conditions will have but little real or permanent value without this complete monetary reform. No stability can be given to trade, nor safe expansion to commerce, nor certainty and regularity to employment, nor just compensation to labor, without a monetary system that will keep even pace with industrial and commercial progress, and that will afford instant and unhesitating support to every sound business at times when temporary suspensions of credit might otherwise develop into panics.

It is understood, from remarks made by Sir George Turner in a speech recently delivered at St. Kilda, that he is in touch with representative bankers with the view of early legislation on the subject in the Federal Parliament. I would beg leave to suggest that a Federal Banking Scheme be formulated in consultation with State Governments as well as with bankers, so that ample provision may be made for supplying States with federal notes in a direct manner, and not give private banks a monopoly of the circulation. To fail in this would be a serious mistake, limiting the elasticity of the currency, and depriving States of monetary facilities for economically developing their resources and promoting social improvements.

Federal and State Banks and Currency Reform.

BY JOHN ROSS.

No. I.

The need for a State bank is perfectly plain as a means for regulating the currency, to give all possible stability to credit and commerce, and prevent the enormous sacrifices of values occasioned by ever-recurrent monetary panics. The uniformity of the monetary circulation is the object to be aimed at, and an instrument whereby to accomplish this, so as to reduce to a minimum the fluctuation between inflations and contractions of credit, is the thing desired. The keeping of this main object steadily in view will provide a guiding principle in the framing of a constitution for a State Bank, and in directing its operations. The quantitative theory of money, as stated by Mill, is "that the value of money, other things being equal, varies inversely as to its quantity; every increase of quantity lowering its value, and every diminution raising it, in ratio exactly equivalent." The supreme importance of this law will be more evident when expressed in its alternative form, namely, the values of commodities rise or fall, other things being equal, in direct ratio to the rise or fall in the volume of money. For instance, if, by any means, the volume the world's money were reduced to one-half, that half would come to command as much of the world's goods as the entire volume could have done before its reduction, to the great injury of industry and commerce. An inflation of the currency would work in an exactly opposite direction; both are evils, but a currency contraction is by far the greater of the two. An increasing commerce will soon overtake a redundant currency and reduce inflated values to normal levels, but if trade expands without a corresponding expansion of money volume prices must keep on falling in proportion, and no manufacturer would continue to produce, nor merchant to purchase, goods which had to be disposed of in a continuously falling market. The consequences would be that commerce would have to limit itself to articles of more absolute necessity, and that the effective demand for articles of minor necessity would become continuously lower with increase of population—a reversion towards barbarism. "If money depreciates," says Hume, "and prices rise, everything takes a new face. Labor and industry gain life, the merchant becomes more enterprising, the manufacturer more diligent and skilful, and even the farmer ploughs with greater alacrity and attention. If it appreciates and prices fall, then poverty, beggary and sloth are easily foreseen." But the desideratum is to find a scientific monetary system capable of expanding in exact ratio to the natural expansion of commerce, and not liable to the sudden contractions to which a monetary system formed of credit based upon gold only is constantly exposed. A period of prosperity may have no speculative "boom" in it such as naturally leads to financial failures; it may be a perfectly legitimate and necessary expansion of commerce, tested by uniformity and steadiness of values. Yet hundreds of circumstances, such as the sudden cessation of a large public

expenditure, a bad harvest, shortage in the supply of the staple of some leading industry, and so on, may interfere with the smooth course of commercial exchanges, and bring about a period of unrest, which may easily develop into a crisis, when credit may become suspended and a demand for gold set in. "At no time," says Ricardo, "can there be in a bank or in a country so much specie or bullion as the moneyed individuals of such country have a right to demand." Bankers themselves, therefore, in sensitive apprehension of danger, are influential factors in the precipitation of panics. In preparing for possible contingencies, solvent customers are more likely to suffer, in order to replenish a bank's treasury, than those from whose assets it would be hopeless to realise the amount of their indebtedness, with the not infrequently anomalous results that good estates are forced into liquidation, whilst bad and doubtful ones may be permitted to weather the storm.

Fortunately, leading bankers seem to recognise the gravity of the situation, and to realise that in State aid only can safety be found. This was clearly manifested at a conference of bankers held in Sydney in June, 1895, a report of whose transactions forms part of the appendix to the report issued in the same year by the Victorian Royal Commission on State Banking.

In the number of "United Australia" for April last year, Mr. H. G. Turner, general manager of the Commercial Bank, Melbourne, advocates uniform legislation, applicable to all banks carrying on business throughout the Commonwealth, and to the July number of the same quarterly Mr. J. Russell-French, general manager of the Bank of New South Wales, Sydney, contributes a paper on Federal Currency, of very great value to the State Bank discussion, but with a banker's bias respecting the control under which the Federal Bank notes ought to be distributed. "Some scheme," says Mr. French, "is earnestly to be desired of a Federal character to place our paper currency on a satisfactory basis as regards its usefulness, and to lift it out of the comparatively subordinate position it now occupies. The bankers recognise that this can be accomplished more successfully if the management is brought more closely in touch with the State; but at the same time they believe that the banks are the most convenient and suitable medium of distribution."

Mr. French clearly depends upon a State Bank of Issue as the instrument, under bankers' control, by which the currency can be endowed with the qualities of elasticity and stability so necessary for the expansion and steady maintenance of commerce. He says:—"As time goes on and our population increases and internal trade expands, the currency arrangements must be made to keep pace with them; and if, in addition to the ordinary requirements, some elastic properties can be imparted to it of a sound but simple character, so that it may prove a weapon of defence in times of crisis, then it will become a real benefit to the community, instead of a very partial one, as it is at present." This is really admirable. In this way the elasticity of the currency, which comes from the expansion of a credit which is timorously ready to collapse as soon as it receives a slight check and a demand sets in for a little of the ridiculously insufficient volume of legal tender money upon which it is based, would be substituted by an elasticity derived from a credit based upon State notes, available to supply all solvent banking demands, and which all creditors would be ready to accept without doubt or hesitation. This would supply an elastic and stable currency, involving a complete departure from the theory that every bank note must represent so much actual gold in reserve. Yet, notwithstanding this, the monetary value of a bank note would still be measured by a gold standard. "So long," says M'Leod, "as the market or paper price of gold bullion coincides with the mint price it is an infallible proof that the currency is not depreciated, that the paper is at its par value. We have little hesitation in saying that the maxim that the issues of paper must be rigidly restricted to the gold which they displace is an unnecessary and cruel hardship to commerce and agriculture." It is necessary that all this should be understood as the keynote to the situation. The form of State aid to banking which Mr. French recommends is that which was adopted by the Sydney conference of bankers in June, 1895, of which Mr. French was unanimously elected chairman, and the main features of which he presents in his recent paper, as follows:—

The present separate issues of the banks in the Australian colonies to be given up, and their place taken by an uniform issue for each colony, managed and regulated by commissioners, under appropriate acts of Parliament, the banks to act as agents or medium of distribution, and to share with the Government in the appointment of representatives on the commission, and also in the profits derivable from the working of the issue.

The banks on application to have rights to receive notes from the commissioners in exchange for coin; the supply of notes to each being regulated by their existing note issues and their total assets and liabilities in each colony; that is to say, in proportion to their business.

These notes to be used:—First, to retire from circulation existing notes of the banks of issue; secondly, to provide till money in lieu of the existing rights to issue notes from these tills.

The coin so provided, save 25 to 30 per cent kept as a reserve in coin, to be invested in local Government stock.

Notes thus issued to be legal tender, save at the office of the commissioners, where they would be converted into gold.

The Expansion Clause provided for the issue of further quantities of notes to any bank requiring them on special deposit of 20 per cent, of coin, in addition to lodgment of approved Government securities, on such terms of interest and repayment as might be arranged. Discretionary emergency powers were provided, so that the commissioners could issue notes on other classes of securities in very special cases.

"The foregoing scheme," Mr. French remarks, "would be as applicable under federation as in the case of separate colonies. The issue would, of course, need to be uniform in character throughout, and it would gain additional strength by resting on the much wider and more solid basis of Federal instead of State security. It is probable that the bankers who formulated that scheme would not see any necessity to modify their lesions very materially at the present day, and that is the reason why I have given it fine prominence."

The proposed legislation suggests a real and practical currency and banking reform, based upon scientific conceptions of currency principles, infinitely superior to the flaky, haphazard system it is intended to supersede. If, however, the scheme were to be adopted without modifications of its proposed management, it might be found to favor restrictions which would prevent its marking out for the public benefit to the full extent of which it is capable. It seems evident, and, indeed, inevitable, that State Governments will have to create State Banks in touch with a Federal Bank of Issue the better to enable each to fulfil its obligations within its own territory as universal landlord and if private banking interests were to dominate in the administration of a Federal Bank of Issue, it might find an obstacle to the due performance of the duties which a State Government might find itself obliged to undertake the interests of country settlements [unclear: and] industries, and in rendering financial aid to municipalities, shire councils, [unclear: credit] societies for the better housing of people and other projects. It [unclear: would] far more advisable to preserve the management of the Federal Bank of Issue from the influence of bankers and politicians, and to have its affairs administered by a board of commissioners chosen from picturing, mercantile, pastoral and [unclear: rural] circles; men of known caution and business capacity, such as banking and company directorates are supposed to be supposed of, and likely to give more satisfaction than boards formed of banking [unclear: exp] only.

It is not only necessary that a Federal Bank of Issue should have the power to apply private banks with sufficient [unclear: liber-] enable them to afford steady support to an expanding trade, but also [unclear: to] notes to State Banks for the purpose of developing the country's resources. As already observed, bank notes are not to be prepared as representing so much [unclear: actual] in reserve, but as paper money regulated in value by a gold standard. M'Leod follows up remarks upon this principle of elasticity in currency by saying:—

While, therefore, we utterly dissent from the doctrine that paper should be limited by the actual quantity of gold it displaces, we think the preceding considerations suggest the following as the only limit:—That the quantity of paper which the industry of the country can absorb at its par value . . . is the quantity of paper it legitimately requires for a due development of its resources, and that is the quantity it ought to have. . . . The more paper the better, so long as it is exactly equivalent to its nominal value in gold, because it proves that the industry of the country is prosperous.

He then proceeds to show how this currency expansion could, and ought to, take place, so as to develop sources of wealth otherwise neglected.

Let us suppose, he says, that there is a tract of uncultivated or unreclaimed land which is, however, capable of being cultivated; let us suppose that there are a number of people living in its neighborhood sunk in poverty and misery from having no one to employ them. Suppose that a bank, seeing this state of things, plants a branch in this district of country, and a number of poor but skilful and industrious farmers settle there, and take leases of this uncultivated land. The bank agrees to advance them a number of its notes. With the advances so made the farmers engage the poor people as laborers, and in a very short time that which was a moor and a waste is covered with fields of waving corn and turnips and potatoes, affording sustenance to a large population; and cattle, and the excess of its produce over what is required for their support is exported abroad, and brings all sorts of commodities in exchange.

The history of land reclamation and farming in Scotland presents not a few practical instances of this kind, owing to the freedom with which Scottish banks could issue notes without slavish adherence to actual gold reserves.

A perfect and often quoted example of the benefits to be derived from a judicious issue of paper money is afforded by a scheme under which a meat market was built in the Island of Guernsey in 1822, as narrated by John Jacob, in his "Annals of the British Norman Isles":—

The estimated cost of the new market being about £4000, how to raise the amount became the immediate question with the promoters of the scheme. Numerous consultations were held, the upshot of which was that, instead of borrowing gold at interest payable in gold, the promoters determined to issue "market house scrip," or legal tender notes of their own, founded on the credit of the island. The politicians of the day called them a set of innovators for adopting a course so opposed to ancient custom: but, notwithstanding all opposition, market house scrip to the requisite amount was ultimately issued by the authority of the House of Assembly,

when Daniel de Lisle Brock was Governor of the island. The materials were found, the men put to work, the market erected, and the stalls rented. Every month's rent reduced the total of the scrip, and in less than ten years all the scrip was paid back into the public treasury, stamped "cancelled"; and thus ended the life of the Guernsey market house scrip. But the rents have to this day continued, and are applied to local improvements.

The value of a monetary issue of this description cannot be doubted. Although the notes were not made convertible, their issue did not disturb the uniformity of the currency owing to the confidence with which the public accepted them at par value with gold, to the reproductive character of the work upon which the money was expended, and to the gradual extinction of the notes as the returns from the investment came in. Before the American Revolution the State of Pennsylvania was made prosperous by an issue of paper money under similar guarded conditions. Hume says of it:—

A planter, immediately he purchases any land, can go to a public office and receive notes to the amount of half the value of his land, which notes he employs in payments, and they circulate through the colony by convention. To prevent the colony being overwhelmed by this representative money, there are two means employed—first, the notes issued to any one planter must not exceed a certain sum, whatever may be the value of the land; secondly, every planter is obliged to pay back into the public office every year one-tenth of his notes.

The prosperity of Pennsylvania under this monetary system was phenomenal. The limitation of the notes issued to any one individual land owner discouraged land monopoly, and the loans were repaid and the notes canceled in periodic instalments, whilst the gold in the State was left free for use as international money. These two instances supply examples of a perfect circulating medium of exchange. Paper money was issued to effect certain reproductive purposes, and from the new sources of profit thus created the notes were repaid with periodic regularity, leaving behind them results which permanently enriched the communities—in the one case, a revenue-producing public market; in the other, land settlements and improvements, and the trade expansion which naturally accompanies them.

No. II.

The Credit Foncier System of Loan Repayments.

The valuable principle set out in my previous article is embodied in the Credit Foncier method of loan repayments, and is applied by Credit Foncier associations to their borrowings as well as to their lendings; a practice which ought to be followed as closely as may be found possible by Governments, municipalities and money lending societies, as one of the best safeguards against bad business, and a most efficient regulator of the currency. The periods of repayments must vary from one month to twelve months or more, according to circumstances. New loans for the planting of orchards, vineyards and land improvements may have to stand unreduced for a fixed term of years, until the investments begin to yield profitable returns, but after that the periodic repayment should commence forthwith. Under the practice of "fixed loans" the tendency of interest is to rise and swallow up the whole of the profits made by a large proportion of borrowers, depriving them of ability to make provision for repayment of principal, or any part of it, as loans mature. This is a tax upon industry to which the adoption of the Credit Foncier system would be a whole-some check. The compulsory character of periodic repayments of loans, both principal and interest, would prevent reckless borrowings and usurious lendings, whilst testing the ability of borrowers to meet their obligations right through the course from beginning to end.

Building societies have adopted the gradual repayment system, but very imperfectly. They apply the principle to the repayment of advances made by themselves to borrowers, but not to the repayment of their own borrowings from the public who supply them with loan funds. It is not easy to see how they could have done otherwise without Government assistance, even if they tried, in a community where the system is so unknown and its economic value so little understood. Where Credit Foncier societies are in vogue, and their operations familiar, their credit—which can never be assailed as ours can be under the cruder methods we employ—is such that their bonds are saleable with but slight variations in value, notwithstanding minor temporary fluctuations in the market rate of interest for no purchaser would give much more than par for stock that was liable to be balloted for at any time at face value, and no seller, for the same reason, would accept much less. The essential part of the system must be that the bonds should carry interest comparing favorably with that

carried by other sound stocks, with a slight increase to compensate for any inconvenience a bond holder might suffer in having to surrender his scrip and accept payment at short notice. All this goes to give a steadiness to the value of Credit Foncier bonds, which makes them favorite stock for temporary investments, and, when made of small denominations, form an addition to the currency, being as easily changed as a ten pound note.

This enables the directors of Credit Foncier societies to effect another important economy, which forms a special feature of the system when carried out in its integrity, and that is, to make their advances in bonds instead of in cash. Borrowers have to accept the responsibility of selling the bonds, the issuing society, probably, acting as broker, charging a small commission. The advantage of this is that the society has no idle money on hand the proceeds of a premature sale of bonds for the purpose of providing loan funds, as would have to be the case if advances were to be made in cash, and as soon as a bond is issued the account becomes at once active. Some of the societies have their bonds guaranteed by the State, for which consideration is given, making them marketable at a rate of interest a little more favorable to the societies and their borrowers.

If our Government, at the commencement of lending money to farmers on the Credit Foncier system, had issued its bonds a rate of interest liberal enough to take them at once attractive to investors, the public would by this time have become familiarised with this description of stock, and interest, if at first a little too would have come to adjust itself to a fair market rate, after which every other economy belonging to the system, other things being equal, could come into practical with natural facility. But under the monetary system which prevails other things might not remain equal, for it has to be constantly kept in view in this discussion that every extended use made of a volume of money not elastic enough to expand "pari passu" with the demand for it is like the distribution of an insufficient quantity of water to supply the wants of a increasing population, "losing in depth what it gains in diffusion," as Dr. Chalmers said of the literature of his day. For want if *new* money to support trade expansion, new demands must either remain unsatisfied, or must be met by an extended use of the volume of money already in existence—amounting to a practical shrinking of the currency, with a proportionate tendency to the lowering of prices. A State bank in touch with a Federal Bank of Issue would meet this case on exactly the same principle as that on which it has been argued that *Bute* banks in touch with a Federal Bank of Issue could be provided with an elastic currency to support commercial expansion at level prices. In granting loans to farmers, for instance, the Government could make its advances in bonds instead of cash, and enter into arrangements with the State and Federal Banks under which the State Bank could at once purchase the bonds from the borrower, and pay for them in Federal notes, issued on the security of the new business and the guaranty of the State, the state Bank immediately placing the bonds on Change to be taken up by private is restores Savings Bank commissioners as they might feel disposed.

This mode of working the Credit Foncier system in association with the State, in making loans to farmers and to societies formed for the better housing of the people, or in any direction in which the State may have to accept responsibility, would be in complete harmony with the proposed banking and currency reform—indeed, a very necessary part of it—and, whilst promoting public interests of the most important character, would have the following economic effects, proving it to be based on true currency principles:—

- *Making advances in bonds, instead of in cash, would relieve the Government from having to pay interest on idle money.*
- *The prompt purchase of the bonds by the j State bank would protect borrowers against loss; of time and money in getting their bonds disposed of.*
- *By paying for the bonds in federal notes, the new money necessary to promote the new trade expansion would be found; and*
- *By offering the bonds at once to the public at a studiously fair rate of interest the question would at once be tested whether the new money for the new business was required or not. If the bonds were neglected, it would be evidence that the new money was necessary, as it would be plain that some of the money in existence could only be obtained by competing for it at a high rate of interest. If, on the contrary, the bonds were taken up, it would show that some of the money already in existence was available at a fair late of interest, and that no new money was required.*

This would be a sound and perfect currency, which is well tested in other lands where many millions of pounds of people's money are invested in societies which adopt it. If the Labor party here understood but a little of its great value as the most economical of all means for providing the workers with better homes, it would not cease to agitate for it until Government gave it being, not as a Government department, like the Brunswick experiment, but by chartering and assisting a Credit Foncier society to give it effect, and to prevent its administration falling into the hands of politicians.

Where the Constitution of the Bank of England

is Defective.

The institution of a Federal Bank of Issue and of a State Bank on the lines suggested, and in touch with each other, would bear analogy to the two departments into which the Bank of England was divided by the Act of 1844. viz.. an issue department and a banking department, but without the limitations and provisions which make the administration of the Bank of England as much a danger as an aid to commercial security. The Bank of England has power to issue notes against Government and other securities to the extent of £15,750,000, but any further issue must be represented by coin or bullion. As a great deal more than the amount represented by securities is always in circulation, it follows that the market supply has to be regulated by notes issued against gold only. Instead of this being instrumental in preserving currency uniformity, it is a constant cause of embarrassment and anxiety, accentuated by the provision which compels the bank to publish reports of the notes in circulation and its reserves from week to week. As this "barometer" falls, apprehensions are created lest discounts may be refused and exchanges thrown into disorder. Of the crisis of 1847 Macleod tells us that "as the whole commercial world knew that the resources of the banking department were being rapidly exhausted, a complete panic seized them. A complete cessation of private discounts followed. No one would part with money or notes in his possession." Deputation after deputation waited upon the Government to obtain relaxation of the Bank Act, and permit an issue of notes beyond the statutory limitation, but not until the situation became utterly desperate was "a letter of licence" to the bank granted by the Government, and as soon as this was made known, "the panic vanished like a dream." "Not only," Macleod continues, "did no infringement of the act take place, but the whole issue of notes was only £400,000, so that, while at one moment the whole credit of Great Britain was in imminent danger of total destruction, within one hour it was saved by the issue of £400,000." The notes were not really required. What was required was confidence that notes could be had if necessary. For want of this a most disastrous financial panic was produced, which could have been entirely avoided had the Bank of England been constituted on the lines advocated by the Sydney conference of bankers. The notes were not refused for want of plenty good securities, but for want of the necessary elasticity in the bank's constitution.

Summary.

The situation may be summarised as follows:—Our currency is formed of a maximum of credit based upon a minimum of legal tender metallic money. The expansion of commerce which follows increase of population is mainly supported by an extension of this credit, manipulated through an ingenious and highly developed system of banking. (See "Lombard-street," by W. Bagehot.) New credits are formed of people's savings, representing the unconsumed portion of the profits of industry, which is periodically added to the public wealth as new capital; and so long as exchanges are effected at level prices and obligations are met with fair regularity, commerce is sound and healthy. Yet a nation's trade is apt to be thrown into disorder at any moment for want of a monetary system which can be successfully used to support credit when something happens to disturb the even course of commercial exchanged and legal tender money is called for. At such times financiers and bankers, who art the first to perceive signs of approaching danger, look to the Bank of England d affording great possibilities, for a comparatively small issue of notes in excess of the legal quantity would save many serious situations if done promptly before creditors had time to become alarmed, But this is never done, and many millions' worth of the people's savings are lost, and incradicable despair seizes hold of many thousands of human hearts before the Government decides to take the only course which can put an end to a financial panic, and sanction the further issue of as many notes as will effect the purpose. Instead of making this action exceptional and dilatory, and under the taint of failure, surely frequent and bitted experiences must have amply proved that it would be much wiser to make this power leading feature of the bank's constitution, to be exercised at the discretion of the directors, not tardily and spasmodically, but continuously and judiciously, as occasion might demand. There would be no danger then to public credit from allowing any business concern to go into prompt liquidation, however large the amount involved, if proved to be hopelessly insolvent, because it would be well understood that all sound businesses would receive ample support, and rotten branches could be cut off without creation serious public alarm.

It therefore seems an absolute necessity that the creation of a Federal Bank of Issue, on the lines wisely laid down by the Sydney Conference of Bankers, with some such modifications as are herein suggested, should, next to the settlement of the till be amongst the very first measures to engage the attention of the Federal Parliament; and that each State should take steps to establish a State Bank in touch with the Federal Bank of

Issue, in order to enable it economically to carry out its land purchase and land settlement operations; to aid municipalities, county councils and Credit Foncier societies for the better housing suburban and rural populations. The rapid and solid progress of the nation and the expansion and permanent safety of our commerce depend upon the elastic and stable currency which such institutions would provide.

Front Cover

Human Betterment.

"Human Betterment" has been delivered, as an address, in various parts of the colony, and is now published by desire of the National Council of the Women of New Zealand. The writer wishes to thank the National Council, and the many true-souled men and women who have helped her in trying to advance the Great Cause. She will be glad to receive correspondence tending to the increase of knowledge relative to the prerogatives of noble parenthood

Wilhelmina Sherriff Bain.

Remuera, Auckland, N.Z.

August, 4, 1901.

Human Betterment.

decorative feature

T approach my theme with reverence, conscious that it is one of the very greatest the human mind can contemplate. The subject is as wide as it is high, and I shall but touch its fringes, in the hope that some additional attention may be directed to the true mode of effecting human betterment.

Possibly it may be objected, here and there, that this true mode cannot fittingly be represented by one who has not herself experienced the supreme glory of womanhood; and yet, perhaps, unusual opportunities of observation, and intense realisation of the fraternity which links every grade of existence to its Supreme Source, may be admitted to atone—in some degree—for the disadvantage.

Again, it may be urged, the subject is one that should be reserved for *exclusive* consideration. But, we meet, in sacred assembly, that we may study, together, the matters of the soul—the soul which, in this stage of being, functions by means of physical organism. We meditate, together, on our past, our present, and our future; we read, together, in the Book of Books, the most direct expressions in all literature regarding the whole constitution of humankind.

Then, it is sometimes thought, the Church and the Bible sanctify any topic; but, otherwise, extreme reserve should be maintained in certain directions. One country surpasses all others in its silence on vital concerns; and this country—the beloved fatherland of some of us—holds a sad distinction in flagrant immorality.

Here we have correlative facts. Do not they suggest that, while the innocence of instruction holds itself calmly and serenely strong throughout the journey of life, the innocence of ignorance is a weakling which may bend, may break, before the first passion it encounters? Do not they also suggest that human existence gains in dignity by every effort which tends toward the solidarity of the race?

The ancient theory of dual souls has of late years been strangely revived. Whatever of fiction or of truth the beautiful idea may contain, it teaches plainly one simple lesson: the profit of either sex is the profit of its complement, and the mutual contemporaneous gain of man and woman forwards irresistibly the general welfare.

Still, a critic may suggest, we colonials know little of the wide world's actualities, and cannot duly estimate the potencies of environment. We have, thank God! no women chain-makers and no women nail-makers in our midst; but, ashamed as we are that there still toil on such victims of the social fabric in great and opulent England—we, too, are devotees of competitiveness—we, too, are busily producing the fruits of that pernicious system. We are manufacturing like conditions, and must expect like consequences. Already our large towns repeat only too faithfully some of the worst features of civilisation. Already, in our New Zealand waters, we have stokers who resignedly anticipate death at forty-five; because, perforce, they slave in Tartarus!

Also, mistaken ideals of domestic management bring monotonous indoor drudgery to the wives and mothers of New Zealand just as to women in older countries. It is pitiful to know that in every hundred little houses a hundred women are banding over a hundred fires, when food for the hundred families could be prepared with more abundance, more variety, and more economy, by an expert—and trained assistants—in one

establishment. This central kitchen could be connected with suites of apartments: a social hall for social dining, and rooms for those who prefer separateness; all sumptuously and elegantly supplied, at less cost to the individual than the meals of to-day. Housekeepers who so desired could telephone orders to the central bureau more expeditiously than they now instruct their butchers, bakers, milkmen, grocers, greengrocers, coal merchants and carriers to bring raw material for the cooking and washing-up which form the routine of weeks and months and years to millions of women; these orders could be suitably delivered; and, later on, the debris cleared away according to arrangement. The bureau would also be a training institution, giving scientific and practical instruction in cooking, cleaning, and laundering, and bestowing certificates which would raise the status of the work and the workers far above their present level. Many other expansions would inevitably follow; all cooperative; all tending to gratify the need that each human being has for other human beings; all ministering to that mutuality of appreciation which is the delight of every noble heart.

William Wallace levelled the first blow at feudalism when he taught the people of Scotland that they were no mere vassals, but men and women with human claims; the last blow is being struck now when the problem of domestic service is everywhere discussed. The so-called "servant girl difficulty" has assumed international proportions. A New Zealand phase of the matter is the suggestion that Japanese men should be imported to do our domestic work; but the complications of this idea are so many and so obvious that they need not be at present discussed. Some such plan as that of central bureaux is much more likely to be evolved out of conditions which make the kitchen the topic of conversation wherever women come together, and which render the vast majority of women old before their years—unfit to be the glad and bright helpmeets of their husbands, unfit to be the mothers of healthy and happy progeny. The ordinary woman finds it impossible to be true to her own higher self when she has so much interminable washing, scrubbing, tidying, making, mending, cooking, and washing-up to attend to. Her noblest duties and privileges are those which appear to be the most easily neglected, and the energies which might have become manifest in glorious children are worn out in work, and worry, and vitiated air. The extraordinary woman of any country rises above the very worst of these disadvantages, and surrounds herself with love and peace.

Environment is a tremendous factor in the possibilities of being, but it tends to modify rather than to originate. The creative faculty is given to parents, and much more especially to mothers. The father has direct vivifying potency, with subsequent indirect influences; the mother contributes the actual germ, and all the interdependencies of her own system during the cryptic period, and then nourishes and is mainly instrumental in developing the new life when it has been ushered upon time.

The gifted and instructed mother can endow her child with characteristics superior to the environment of its birth. Almost every woman is unselfish enough to devote her maternal capacities in this way, if only she were aware of her marvellous powers. Thus it becomes the duty of all true lovers of humanity to spread the beautiful knowledge: those who are in more favorable surroundings to those who are in less favorable; so that, ere long, the modifying—and modifiable—environment will itself become elevated by the improved persons constantly being born.

Heredity, environment, spiritual influx: the mother, and the mother alone, can blend these forces in celestial unison!

* * * * *

Our social life is very difficult. It is built on such a terribly false basis that it must of necessity be full of trouble, disappointment, and hard fruitless toil. It is built on the foundation of selfishness—on the conviction that each individual is a unit apart from all other individuals; that each family is a unit apart from all other families; that each town, each country, each nationality must fight for itself against all the rest of the world.

This conviction is directly opposed to the teachings of Jesus Christ. The opening phrase of the prayer he bequeathed to us gives marvellous suggestion of our one and infinitely protective Source. When the human race has learnt to meditate aright on the words: "Our Father," it will truly recognise the divine brotherhood they imply. The lesson was inculcated by our great Master on every possible occasion. He said: Love thy neighbor; and, yet further, Love thine enemies; then, in simple concise language he codified for us a rule to guide us in every relationship of existence: Do unto others as ye would they should do unto you!

How different from the multitudinous and complex laws enacted by every civilised government! Laws so multitudinous that the people to be governed by them do not know one-hundredth part of them, and so complex that they enforce long years of study upon the huge armies of experts who gain their livelihood by giving opposite interpretations to these same statutes! We cannot doubt that legislation tries to construct itself on the principles of justice. But it gropes very feebly, and it gropes in the dark, because it will not behold the light of heavenly love.

Every earnest mind, every sympathetic heart, saddens over the sorrows of humanity. They press around us on every side, and noble schemes of reform are constantly being tried. But, when these have any measure of success, they are slow and partial in operation, and they frequently generate new difficulties which they have no

power to cope with.

The methods of cure are never so satisfactory as those of prevention, and it was by the methods of prevention that the great Reformer worked and showed us how to work. He said: Except ye be born again ye cannot be saved. Let us try to understand the meaning of these words. It is intensely spiritual; applying not only to this sphere, but to the sphere beyond the grave. Everything we do, every word we utter, every thought we conceive, has consequences in time and in eternity that affect ourselves and others. Of our own strength we cannot fulfil, we cannot even estimate this responsibility. By the light of reason we may try to regulate our actions and our words so as to do good and not evil; but our inmost thought needs higher guidance. And it is the thought that is the individual. We may unconsciously deceive ourselves by generous deeds and pure expressions but thought is selfhood, and persists when nothing remains to cloak it.

If we imagine a state of existence in which we shall be seen as we are, we can scarcely support the idea. We feel that we must have some little shroud to keep our consciousness a thing apart. And yet, even here and now, we are seen as we are; not by the world manifest to our senses, but by that other world in which also we abide. We are surrounded by hosts of witnesses: in the sunshine, in the darkness, in the street, and in our most secluded chambers. We cannot flee from them; because we are spirits incarnate, and they are spirits excarnate.

This knowledge that we mortals live in two worlds has never yet been generally appreciated. The Bible and other inspired books abound in it; but we have explained and interpreted the truth as a truth of past epochs. The great poets, the true seers of every age, have beheld the Unseen, and we have considered them dazzled by the aberrations of their own genius. Here and there the humble mourner has been comforted by dreams or visions, and we have respectfully pitied his fond delusion. But the evidences are fast increasing in every land, and minds of every pitch are symphonising in the discovery of the wondrous glory which material sense veils from our gaze.

When the world-wide revelation does come, it will give ideals very different from those of to-day. We shall learn that moral worth is the only real excellence, and that unselfishness is the key to open the gates of Paradise. We shall learn that human experience is granted us so that we may individualise in moral growth, and that the use we make of earthly opportunity decides our stage of progression beyond the grave. We shall learn that the body must not be the master of the spirit, but must be its minister; for the spirit is so encased that of necessity it acquires knowledge through the body, and this knowledge either helps forward or retards its eternal well-being. We shall learn that motherhood is the sublimest privilege of humanity; that it has potencies unimagined to-day by the great bulk of the race; we shall learn that motherhood decides the character of the unborn.

Then we shall recognise the futility of curative reform; we shall see that the unequal distribution of wealth, and all the miseries which flow from the competitiveness of selfishness, are evils which will perpetuate themselves under one form or another until we, humankind, are "born again" in the likeness of our Elder Brother.

It may be felt that this "re birth" is but an extravagant phrase; that our own habits and the habits of our surroundings constrain us to go on day by day and year by year in grooves out of which we cannot escape; and that, too frequently, the person who tries in every particular to live the Christ life is incompetent to hold his own in the struggle for existence.

The difficulties are indeed great, but they do not amount to impossibility. Most of us have been privileged to know some simple modest soul, striving—not for his own material profit—but for the service he may render to others; fearing neither poverty, nor disease, nor old age, nor death: just quietly unfolding his personality in heavenly trust. Here and there, too, we know of communities of men and women who have come together that they may help each other to follow the Divine Exemplar. But, because the great mass never consider the urgent need to live according to the Sermon on the Mount, or, considering the need, are prevented by the tremendous obstacles, we know that the world is to be saved by women: the mothers of the present and of coming times.

Motherhood can and will regenerate our race. It must, however, as a first condition, recognise its own duties, its own functions, its own almost illimitable capacities. The criminal carelessness of to-day—which regards children as a haphazard result of mere bodily intimacy—to be refused existence it may be—to be anticipated grudgingly or heedlessly—to be relegated to mercenary care, or endured as unavoidable troubles that have to be fed and clothed—or which pampers them in body and mind as the reflex of parental vanity—all this must be replaced by the solemn conviction that the woman who gives birth to a child introduces an immortal being to the earthly stage of its experiences; and that on the aspiration of her own spirit depends the grade of the entity newly brought into this world, and its further development through the physical.

Instead of the headlong tumult of passion which seeks its own expression, only—so often—to end there, love will again and again sanctify itself that it may become the fitting warranty of parenthood. Then the wife who desires to be a mother will try to regulate her every thought so that she may be worthy to receive from the Great Source of all Being a germ of divinity., and may be able to fashion its human character in harmony with the Supreme. Pre-natal influences are mysteriously attractive, and still more mysteriously creative. How often

do we see a child unlike all its progenitors! How often do we remark that genius has no ancestry and little or no posterity! And, alas, how certainly we are assured that a loveless pair must have discordant offspring!

We see and we know these facts and others of like significance, but we do not blend their meaning into conduct. The classic Greeks were more thoughtful and more consistent. They were ardent worshippers of human beauty; and, desiring to have beautiful sons and daughters, they adorned their sleeping chambers with marble, which sculptured their exquisite ideals of manly and womanly strength and grace. They gained what they sought—a national face and figure of physical perfection.

Human effort has been applied to the modification of many different kinds of animals, and has invariably succeeded in improving their form and disposition—or in making them approach any desired result. Plant life has been absolutely transmogrified—in numberless instances—by the intelligence of man. But the question of human betterment has been left to lawmakers and reformers; although lawmakers produce lawbreakers, and reform is experimental and uncertain.

Noble motherhood could, in one generation, lift our race to a higher plane; and could, within one century, raise the average individual to the level of glorious strength, beauty, loving-kindness and purity. Let us think of the men and women of past and present times whom most we admire and revere, and imagine the possibility of our lovely planet being wholly peopled by such as they. We find ourselves contemplating "the kingdom of heaven on earth. Our Elder Brother foreknew this kingdom, and taught us to pray for it. Shall we proceed, in the twentieth century, with vain repetitions? Rather let us consider the words: Except ye be born again ye cannot be saved. They are true, strangely and solemnly true for every one of us. Not a fault, not a mistake is obliterated from the book of remembrance until it has been atoned for to the uttermost fraction. We may think we ourselves have forgotten; we may flatter ourselves that no one else has ever known. Vague ideas of the All-seeing Eye may sometimes trouble us, but we allow them to continue vague, fancying that we shall not be held to account so very strictly after all.

But, so soon as we realise our immortality, we also realise that perfection is our goal. Nothing less than perfection can be the aim and object of never-ending existence. We know not what the immeasurable periods may be, how many, and how strange; but we do know that with enlarging consciousness we shall survey the steps of our ascension, more and more able to recognise our own misdoings, more and more willing to acknowledge the divine justice which links all being in one endless chain, so that the secretest error committed by one hurts all, and the cup of cold water administered to the obscurest sufferer is given to the very Lord of Lords!

Order is Heaven's first law. This first law of Heaven is so different from merely human law that it cannot by any possibility be evaded. A coach and six, it is often remarked, may be driven through any enactment in any civil statute book; but there is no power in the whole cosmos that can infringe—in the slightest degree—the law by which the Absolute makes manifestation: the law of cause and effect. It cannot be broken. It cannot be tampered with. If we ignorantly seek to break the law of cause and effect, we break ourselves, while the law inviolably fulfils its operations. If we think we may tamper, ever so slightly, with this law, cause and effect sweep majestically on—and we are left with a bitter harvest. "As ye sow, ye shall reap" is the decree of infinite, eternal justice: infinite throughout infinitude, eternal throughout the time which had no beginning and will have no end.

We are born again when, humbly and reverently, like little children, we come into the realisation of this law. Then we see that there is no other law, truly so-called, and that there is no possibility of happiness outside its observance.

Now let us revert to the responsibility which rests upon motherhood. *Thoughts are things*. This is no idle phrase. It is the simple expression of an overwhelming fact. Our thoughts project themselves far into infinite space, interblending with emanations from other beings, interweaving our destinies with all the marvels of the Seen and the Unseen. Were we sensitive enough, we should be able to perceive the thought radiations from ourselves and from our surroundings near and remote. Even as we are, we can feel many an influence unexpressed in words; every house has its mental atmosphere, which affects the most casual visitor; every person has his own aura, which envelops him with attractive and repellent forces. The woman who expects to become a mother imprints—consciously or unconsciously—her lightest fancy on the unborn; as she thinks, the hidden germ expands in all its possibilities. Mated in love and nurtured by love her affections brood over the bud enclosed within herself, until love becomes the basic element of the new life being formed. Desiring that her child may be endowed with spirituality, she herself becomes spiritual in every emotion. Eager that it may be specially helpful to humankind in science or in art, she concentrates her own mind upon the thought. Calmly and regularly she performs her duties, conforming to the highest standards and the purest ideals, so that her darling may walk surefootedly through any mists of perplexity and any storms of adversity whatsoever. She freely dispenses the melodies of her own well-ordered existence, and she listens for the music of the spheres, so that her little one may be attuned to the divine harmony. And when the child bursts into the day, she watches

every tendency, that it may be trained aright—not by means of repression and opposition—but by the gracious methods which overcome all evil with good. She watches constantly, for she treasures her motherhood as the means of bringing immortality into this mortality, and helping it to function in higher and still higher modes of expression.

Her true mate supports her with his aid and with his counsel; where she might falter he is strong; his love enhaloes the group with mutually tender and sacred regard. Such help is of inestimable value to all women, and many fail in their high and holy office of maternity because it is not rendered to them.

Therefore the woman should choose the man for the great love-worthiness that impels reciprocity between them, and for no other reason. The marriage of spiritual kinship is the only guarantee of wedded happiness, and the only rightful authenticity of parenthood.

* * * * *

Some contrasting illustrations may be cited here. A most estimable young woman married because she was tired of refusing an importunate lover. She very soon realised her fatal blunder, and in her wretchedness she nearly lost her reason. Her son grew up with marked ability, but peculiar characteristics, which developed into hopeless insanity before he reached manhood. Another girl made the same terrible mistake; finding out, soon after marriage, the despotism and the ugly temper she had bound herself to. She, however, determined that, although fatherhood and all other influences seemed unfavorable, her child should be well born; and nobly she kept her resolve. In diet she avoided all stimulants, using fruit, wholemeal bread, and milk chiefly; in conduct she employed herself actively and wisely, especially exercising her talent in drawing; in every word and as far as possible every thought she remembered that she was modelling a new existence. Her son proved healthy and handsome, a gifted architect, loved and honored wherever he was known.

The infamous Juke family, of New York, descended from five unchaste sisters. They were born, as multitudes are born, with prenatal bias toward evil. At last record they numbered 1200 persons, nearly all of whom were at the time inmates of gaols, poor houses, and houses of evil repute; and nearly 600 of the unhappy creatures were known to be foully diseased.

Guiteau, the miserable assassin of President Garfield, came into existence without one welcome. His mother hated him and tried by every means to slay him before birth. From earliest childhood his body was diseased, his nervous system was depraved, and his mind was the mind of a murderer.

A traveller in a rough district rested for the night with a family who appeared as uncouth as their surroundings were. One exception, however, was a young girl of gentle loveliness. The contrast impressed the traveller very much. He elicited from the poor work-worn mother that, for some months of her life, she possessed a book which in its turn possessed her. All day she read, and all night she dreamt of, Scott's "Lady of the Lake"; and, when at last her little one was born, she felt that she looked upon another Ellen Douglas.

A poor woman, suddenly compelled to support herself and her unborn child by shopkeeping, was hampered by ignorance of arithmetic. But, though she had never learnt "the tables," she had concentrativeness, and she used every spare minute in reiterating to herself her doings over the counter. Her son proved a prodigy: one of those infants that occasionally amaze the world by calculations—invariably correct—which stagger all the professors of numeration.

The mother of Huxley had remarkably keen intuitions, and the great biologist proudly told that from her he inherited the swift and clear insight that distinguished him.

Manoah's wife was informed, "by an angel," what she must not eat and must not drink, before Samson was born. Hannah prayed to Heaven for Samuel; and, before his birth, she dedicated him.

Every careful observer can multiply such instances; and every intelligent mother—when her attention has been drawn to this great subject—can recall some of the causes which differentiate each child she has borne from all other children.

* * * * *

With right conditions preceding nativity, and with that gradual leading-out of all the faculties which alone deserves the name of education: the mode which begins in the very cradle; which brings the growing intellect into closer and closer comprehension of Nature; which vanquishes the ape, the wolf, the tiger, by nourishing the splendid manhood, or womanhood, that is to be—with these just advantages of heredity and environment, humankind will develop in physical strength and grace, in mental power and flexibility, in spiritual fervor and purity, far beyond its possibilities by any other method. The bulwarks which society now erects against the horrors of its own production: prohibitive measures, penal codes, police, gaols, armies, foundling hospitals, homes for the aged poor—all these will melt away in the nothingness of a fevered past. The long, long night will vanish; and, in the effulgence of a new era, the world will begin to appreciate the marvellous perfection of Heaven's first law.

We look to-day toward the abject millions of India, we consider the teeming hordes of China, we glory in born leaders, we notice the characteristics which differentiate the members of every family, we enrich ourselves

with stores of the most significant facts. Let us think of the poor little girl-mothers of the apathetic Hindoos, and of the bestial position accorded to women innumerable throughout the vast territories of China; let us remember the great mothers of great men; let us observe the moods which sway the pre-natal period; and, thus reflecting, let us acknowledge the inevitableness of cause and effect. The dancing mote, the mighty sun, the solar system, the universe, other universes, the whole inconceivable cosmos—all that we term matter and all that we term spirit—alike obey this law.

Shall we seek to contravene it, or blindly ignore it? Then suffering will be ours. If we sow the wind we reap the whirlwind, even though we err in ignorance. Pain is our monitress; austere, inflexible. However hard the lesson, however oft repeated, it must be mastered. Nothing perfunctory will serve us; the cold hard word "duty" has no place in the divine lexicon. Any reform that begins on the outside will only harass and delay our betterment, for all real growth proceeds from within.

The chords of life thrill with gladness when the individual enters into unison with immutable law; they vibrate the happiness of consonance with its majestic harmony. The race awaits this supreme development. All its poverty, famine, disease, warfare, ill-will of every kind, are but the effects of a specific cause, the shrieks of a dissonance that never can become musical. Opposition cannot possibly attune them aright, attempts to ameliorate them will only intensify their jarring influences. Parenthood will subdue them by touching the keynote of universal brotherhood, by endowing the next and successive generations with the invincible courage of fellow-feeling for all that lives. Chiefly the responsibility rests on women, the right divine is almost wholly theirs.

O responsibility superb! O right divine, which out glows the lustre of any kingly crown! Loving purely, women will conceive in purity, loving wisely they will nurture the unborn with spiritual sustenance—fashioning a temple worthy of an immortal spirit. No anger shall disturb those holy months, no malice, no mean intention: peace will be in all their thoughts, and joy, and gratitude. Dwelling in the scene and in the unseen, they will use all material things with temperance and discretion, and they will constantly maintain receptiveness for a spiritual influx that shall, later, evolve in the goodness and greatness of their children.

* * * * *

It may be supposed that there is one fatal flaw in any argument based on the potentialities of enlightened parenthood. "Lasses and lads," it may be exclaimed, "will fall in love and marry in the old haphazard manner to the end of time, regardless of all the dictates of physiology and fitness." But this haphazard manner results from ignorance. Essential knowledge is withheld from young people, or it is allowed to drift to them through the basest channels. Human beings, capable of appreciating their own marvellous complexity, and the onward and upward stages of their own development, are drilled in mere words, drilled—like so many automata—in the names of things, names of places, names of people, until they approach that most impressionable period which awakens a new phase of life within them. They are wholly unprepared for it. They notice the reserve maintained regarding it by those who must know what they are just finding out, and they imitate this reserve in a secrecy which works incalculable harm. Some are swept away by the floodtide of passion, which seems to them ungovernable, because they have not been taught that it can be governed; and they earn a keen futurity of suffering for themselves—and others. Some entwine their youth in an ardent but fleeting fancy, a pretty efflorescence of the spring, only to learn that they must thereafter bear the fetters of mistaken union. Is it right that this haphazard manner should be perpetuated—by heedlessness—or by a spurious modesty which treats the holiest subject under the sun as a thing unclean?

Gently, gradually, and beautifully boys and girls can be shown that:

*"Nothing is stranger than the rest,
From pole to pole;
The world in the ditch, the egg in the nest,
The flesh, and the soul!"*

Very young children can be interested in botany. By kindergarten methods they can be trained to take intelligent delight in the buds and blossoms which symbolise human relationships; and, step by step, they can be led on to decipher the lovely analogies. By slow degrees, one natural process after another may be observed, and its teachings assimilated; all being interpreted by that spirit of wisdom which sways ever more and more to reverence. Almost unconsciously each tender soul will expand in the unassailable strength of instructed purity; regarding itself as for a while enshrined in a tabernacle not made with hands, and rejoicing in the sacredness of other souls and other bodies.

The true instructor must of course be enthusiastic as well as expert, a lover of his kind, and a devout

exponent of Supreme Law. With advancing enlightenment there will be many such; sowing their thrice-winnowed seed in public seminaries; discussing nothing pathological; their commanding theme the very godliness of health, for

"ONLY HEALTH PUTS US RAPPORT WITH THE UNIVERSE.

They will discern character and ability in every expression: in the head, the face, the hands, more especially. When, for instance, they find the posterior section of the brain unduly developed, they will direct energy to the frontal and coronal regions; knowing, as a scientific fact, that the intellectual and spiritual faculties can be, by such effort, wonderfully enlarged; knowing that construction of the noble proves the only real destruction of the ignoble; and knowing that: "Resist not evil, but overcome all evil with good," is a divinely infallible precept. They will never make suggestions of incapacity or wilfully wrong intention; they will hang no battle scenes on the walls; they will commemorate no ferocities of man or beast; ONWARD AND UPWARD will be their watchword as they point to the glorious and joyous conquests that await our race in the evolution of its finer forces.

Not in vain does such inspiration as Walt Whitman's proclaim:

"Produce great persons, the rest follows!"

A great city is that which has the greatest men and women: The place where a great city stands is not the place of stretched wharves, docks, manufactures, 'deposits of produce merely;

Nor the place of the most numerous population.
Where the city of the faithfulest friends stands,
Where the city of the cleanliness of the sexes stands,
Where the city of the healthiest fathers stands,
Where the city of the best-bodied mothers stands,
Where equanimity is illustrated in affairs,
Where children are taught to be laws to themselves, and to depend on themselves,
There the great city stands!"

In the meantime, parents have almost exclusive privileges as educators in the best sense, though the future is not very remote which will train all its children in self-knowledge, and in the immutability of cause and effect; thus making them laws unto themselves, able to depend on themselves, splendidly eager to become the builders of great cities over the wide and happy earth.

But now, and for all time, the crowning prerogatives belong inalienably to Motherhood. With its divinely creative and formative powers, enlightened Motherhood will bring such great persons into existence that human betterment will be achieved—bright beyond our brightest dreams.

The century just begun has already been named "The Women's Century," and it will abundantly justify its proud designation. Women will prove themselves the regenerators of humankind. They will arise in their righteousness and declare: "There shall be no disease, no poverty, no crime; there shall be no debasement of any appetite; there shall be no war between individuals or between peoples. We say these things shall no longer be. We—mothers of the world, students of the law which rules infinity—affirm that our children and the children of all future times shall be loving, true, wise, brave, strong, and beautiful in the Universal Brotherhood of Divine Harmony."

* * * * *

I have named Walt Whitman. Because he is a magnificent apostle of causation, of womanhood, and of universal brotherhood I may be allowed to conclude with some of his virile verse. In his "The Song of Prudence" he chants:

*"The soul is of itself, all verges to it;
All has reference to what ensues:
All that a person does, says, thinks, is of consequence;
Not a move can a man or woman make, which affects him, or her, in a day, month, any part of the direct lifetime, or the hour of death,
But the same affects him or her onward, afterward, through the indirect lifetime;
The indirect is just as much as the direct;*

*The spirit receives from the body just as much as it gives to the body—if not more.
Not one word or deed but has results beyond death as really as before death.
Charity and personal force are the only investments worth anything:
No specification is necessary; all that a man or woman does, that is vigorous, benevolent, clean, is so much
profit to him or her,
In the unshakeable order of the universe, and through the whole scope of it forever."*

Then of the mystery of maternity in his own sonorous way he sings:

*"Unfolded out of the folds of the woman, man comes unfolded, and is always to come unfolded;
Unfolded only out of the superbest woman of the earth is to come the superbest man of the earth;
Unfolded out of the folds of the woman's brain come all the folds of the man's brain, duly obedient;
Unfolded out of the justice of the woman all justice is unfolded;
Unfolded out of the sympathy of the woman is all sympathy;
For a man is a great thing upon the earth, and throughout eternity; but every jot of the greatness of the man is
unfolded out of woman;
First the man is shaped in the woman, he can then be shaped in himself."*

And, in his "Song of the Universal," he bursts into the glorious pæan:

*"All, all for immortality!
Love, like the silent light, enwrapping all;
Nature's amelioration blessing all:
The blossoms, fruits of ages, orchards divine and certain,
Forms, objects, growths, humanities, to spiritual images ripening.
Give me, O God, to sing that thought!
Give me, give him, or her, I love, this quenchless faith in Thee, in Thee!
Whatever else withheld—withhold not from us
Belief in plan of Thee enclosed in time and space:
Health, peace, salvation universal!
Is it a dream?
Nay; but the lack of it the dream;
And, failing it, life's lore and wealth a dream;
And all the world a dream!"*

decorative feature

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Thy Kingdom Come

Front Cover

Federation of Fiji with New Zealand. decorative feature Suva: G. L. Griffiths, Printee 1901

Introductory.

The Fiji Federal League.

Chairman: F. E. Riemenschneider, Esq., Warden of Suva.

Vice Chairman: D. J. Solomon, Esq., Warden of Levuka.

The objects of the Fiji Federal League are to uphold the supremacy of the British Crown in the Pacific, and to promote the social, commercial, and political welfare of all his Majesty's subjects in the islands, by means of the closer union of all the British possessions and settlements in the Western Pacific.

In issuing this pamphlet the League is actuated by a desire to place before the public at an early date

reasons social, commercial, and political in favour of an immediate confederation between Fiji and New Zealand.

Fears have been expressed by some that the Government of India will, as a result of Federation, prohibit the introduction from India of labourers for work on the plantations. These fears are however groundless, and are clearly shown in this pamphlet to be so: for as is pointed out therein, the Government of India permits emigration of its subjects to Natal which has responsible government and to the French and Dutch plantations. Others express fears that the democracy of New Zealand will restrict importation and employment in Fiji of coloured labour. With respect to that it is clearly pointed out that it will be made a fundamental condition of confederation that Fiji shall retain to herself the sole and uncontrolled right to legislate on such subjects, and Mr. Seddon, the Premier, has declared that he will agree to that condition. The pamphlet discloses the inhabitants of the colony, in a condition which calls loudly for amelioration. No one who considers impartially the undeniable statements of the Rev. Mr. Slade contained in his able and exhaustive article on the local government of the native Fijians will deny the necessity for reform in that direction. The pamphlet also discloses the fact that the European inhabitants, the great majority of whom are New Zealanders and Australians and their descendants born in Fiji, are deprived of rights and privileges which are their birthright as free born Britons, and that they are subjected to as despotic a rule as that against which New Zealanders and Australians, and Anglo-Fijians too, are now fighting in the Transvaal.

Though heavily taxed they are refused the exercise of the franchise. Though they are most loyal and law-abiding, as testified by the records of the superior and inferior courts they are deprived of the right of trial by jury. There is no appeal from the decisions of the Supreme Court, which consists of but a single judge, except to a Court, the Privy Council, 16,000 miles away, at a cost prohibitive to all but the wealthy. Owing to the great distance which separates Fiji from England, and owing to their being denied representation in the Legislature, the people of Fiji are entirely without means of obtaining redress for grievances. Complaints against the acts of the Administration pass through the hands of the Governor on their way to the Secretary of State; and in progress are subjected to secret and misleading misrepresentations. To be one who so ventures to address the Secretary of State is to become a man marked out for disfavour by the local Administration and to suffer accordingly. Owing to distance there is great and harrassing delay in receiving a reply to representations made to the Secretary of State. Owing to his inability to obtain independent information gathered on the spot by impartial persons, Secretaries of State have in the past invariably supported the local Administration, and refused redress when prayed by the people. As the result the inhabitants of the colony, while they have confidence in the good intentions of the Secretary of State, have lost confidence in his ability, under the present system, to prevent or punish acts of harshness or maladministration, or his ability to afford them that redress of grievances which, as British subjects they are entitled to demand and receive.

Under the system of government which prevails in Fiji, the Governor is practically irresponsible. "When his acts are questioned, or his policy disapproved, by men who have lived their lives in Fiji, whose fortunes are bound up therewith, his explanations which are kept from the public eye are as a matter of course, accepted without impartial enquiry on the spot, against the allegations, or opinions, or wishes of those persons feeling themselves aggrieved. This inability to obtain redress for grievances, which is a most substantial grievance in itself will disappear with confederation. Wellington, the capital, and seat of the Government of New Zealand, is but four days' steam from Suva, the capital of Fiji. The central authority at Wellington will be able with ease and despatch at all times to make enquiry on the spot into alleged maladministration and without delay grant redress for such grievances as may arise. The only argument put forward so far, against the proposed confederation is that advanced by the Governor of Fiji (Sir George O'Brien) in an extraordinary speech to the natives on October 23rd, 1900, to the effect that New Zealand, with "the kind of Government" she possesses is unfit to be entrusted with the care and control of native races, because under "that kind of Government" white men are allowed to deprive natives of their lands, and leave them with insufficient land for their maintenance and support, as "happened in New Zealand" to the Maoris. That argument is, however, as will be observed, is based upon charges and allegations of political turpitude, on the part of the people and Governments of New Zealand, in respect of some supposed ill treatment of the Maories, which cannot be sustained upon the facts, and which are indignantly repudiated by Mr. Seddon, the distinguished and patriotic Premier of New Zealand; and which evoked such an outburst of feeling on the part of the on tire press of that most loyal colony. Everyone who reads this speech of Sir George O'Brien, by the light of well established facts, must agree with that writer in this pamphlet who declares that "after all the sacrifices in blood and treasure made by the loyal New Zealanders in the hour of the Empire's need, it is nothing less than an outrage that they should be thus unjustly held up to public opprobrium by an imperial official of the high rank of the Governor of Fiji, and High Commissioner of the Western Pacific. It is confidently submitted that this pamphlet discloses a case for enquiry, and for political reform in Fiji.

It is the aim of the Fiji Federal League to secure the needed reform, and as the most effective way of doing

so, to bring about the confederation of Fiji with New Zealand.
decorative feature

Petition.

To the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

The Humble Petition of the Undersigned Respectfully Sheweth:—

- That your petitioners are for the most part settled and resident colonists of Fiji desirous of developing the resources of this portion of His Majesty's Empire.
- That they represent a colony containing a population of about 4000 Europeans who own or occupy more than one-tenth of the area of the cultivatable lands of the colony, with several millions of pounds sterling invested in agriculture and commerce.
- That consequent on the form of Government, namely, a Crown Colony of a severe type under which they live, they have been suffering for many years under severe disabilities and burdens.
- That your petitioners submit that the history of this colony proves that the present form of Government, from its inception, has retarded the development of the splendid resources lying dormant in these islands.
- That while they are heavily taxed to meet the requirements of an expensive Government, they are deprived of all control over revenue and expenditure and of voice in the Council of the Legislature, and further, your petitioners respectfully submit that since the initiation of the Government of this colony in 1874 the civil rights of most of His Majesty's subjects have been liberally enlarged elsewhere, and more especially so in the adjacent colonies of Australia and New Zealand, while your petitioners are subjected to the indignity of being as aforesaid still deprived of any voice in the Councils of the Government.
- That in matters judicial the Department is presided over by one Judge from whose decision there is no appeal except to the Judicial Committee of His Majesty's Privy Council, the cost of which is prohibitive to most of His Majesty's subjects here.
- That your petitioners are to a great extent deprived of the cherished British right of trial by jury.
- That the agricultural and commercial interests, both of Europeans and natives, suffer severely from the peculiar and anomalous Laws and Native Regulations.
- That your petitioners desire to state in the most emphatic manner that His Majesty's native Fijian subjects are cruelly misgoverned under the present extraordinary system causing them to be *de facto* slaves of the Government; that they suffer under a perpetual tyranny and are deprived of personal liberty and individuality, and consequently are demoralised.
- That during the last fifteen years the native population has decreased from 115,000 to 08,000; that it is the strong conviction of your petitioners that this alarming and rapid decrease of 17,000 is due in a large measure to the communistic nature of their Government.
- That the Fijian native is heavily and unfairly taxed in comparison with the Europeans, especially considering his primitive methods of production—for the native adult population numbering about 19,600 is levied upon to pay a direct tax of £19,000 the same being a most expensive, wasteful and injurious method of raising revenue; in addition to which the native pays a large proportion of the revenue of H.M. Customs, which amount is estimated to be not less than £20,000.

Your petitioners therefore now most humbly pray:—

- That the constitution of the Government may be amended so as to allow your petitioners the right to elect representatives to the Legislature.
- That you may be pleased to recommend His Most Gracious Majesty to appoint a Commission to enquire into the working of the Native Administration of this colony.

And your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray, etc.

Fiji,

MARCH 28TH, 1901.

Memorial

The following is a draft of the Memorial recently forwarded from Suva, addressed to the Premier and Ministers of the Government of the Colony of New Zealand:—

The Respectful Memorial of the Under-Signed Sheweth—

1. Your Memorialists are a Committee nominated by the inhabitants of Suva in public meeting assembled for the purpose of bringing about the Incorporation of Fiji with New Zealand.

2. A Petition having that object in view was presented on behalf of this colony to the Speaker and House of Representatives so long ago as the year 1885, but did not then meet with a favorable reply. (A copy of that petition is hereto appended.) A period of fifteen years has elapsed since the presentation of that Petition to the Parliament of New Zealand: but the disabilities and the grievances therein set forth still remain unremoved and unredressed. And your Memorialists once again, in the name of the people of Suva, appeal to New Zealand.

3. Since the date of the Petition above referred to, the numbers of the white population of Fiji have grown by natural increase and otherwise, and at present exceeds 4000 persons according to the latest Government Blue Book, During the same period the general population has been increased by the importation of immigrants from British India as labourers on the great sugar plantations which are established in this colony. The number of such immigrants now approximates 15,000.

4. With deep regret your Memorialists find themselves obliged to state that during the period referred to there has been a grave decrease in the native Fijian population. Numbering, in the year 1885, approximately, 115,000, the Native Fijian Race has now dwindled down to 98,000 or thereabout, a decrease of 17,000 in fifteen years.

5. Various causes are from time to time put forward to explain away responsibility for the condition of the native race. Your Memorialists, however, assert without hesitation, that the Government of Fiji is unable to rid itself of responsibility for the present condition of the Fijians. The decrease in population is directly attributable to the specially oppressive system of Government applied to them, and to the excessive burden of taxation to which under that system they are subjected.

The accompanying memorandum by the Rev. W. Slade, a "Wesleyan Missionary among the Fijians of many years' experience, supports the views expressed in this regard by your Memorialists, and is a very powerful indictment of the grinding communal system under which the native Fijians are, against their will, compelled to live.

Your Memorialists assert that the charges and allegations made by the Rev. W. Slade are in no way exaggerated, and your Memorialists would welcome the appointment of a Royal Commission to enquire into such charges and allegations, and generally into the causes for the present condition of the native race.

6. Not only are the native inhabitants governed under a system of personal Government which retards the moral and injures the physical development of the race, but the white inhabitants of the colony, who are for the most part New Zealanders and Australians, and their descendants, are also subjected to personal government, are entirely deprived of all voice in the making of the laws under which they have to live, and are altogether unrepresented in the Legislature which levies the taxes which they have to pay. In the administration of public affairs the interests of the white inhabitants are disregarded, and their wishes, though respectfully and constitutionally expressed, meet with curt and uncourteous refusal.

Recently the Governor has, in face of the unanimous opposition of the colonists, stopped the small subsidy of £1500, previously to his arrival paid to the Canadian-Australian Royal Mail line of steamers, with the result that the colony has lost the advantage of that means of communication between Australia and Europe, by way of Canada. Again, notwithstanding the earnest protests of the inhabitants of Suva, the Governor persists in retaining within the precincts of the town, and in close proximity to the dwelling houses of certain of the citizens, a Bubonic Plague Station and Leper Settlement. In the absence of representation in the Legislature the people of the colony are unable to place any check upon such arbitrary acts of the Executive, or upon such maladministration of public affairs.

7. The right of trial by jury, which is the birthright of every Englishmen, whether living in England or in a colony, and the only guarantee of freedom and upholding of personal rights, is curtailed in such a manner as to be practically denied to the colonists,

In civil cases the Chief Justice, who is the sole judge in the colony, sits without a jury. In such cases there is no appeal except to the Privy Council, and then only where the sum involved exceeds £500; which renders appeal practically prohibitive.

In criminal cases a jury is allowed only when both the complainant and the accused are whites; in all other cases (and such constitute the vast majority) the Chief Justice sits with Assessors, who are not allowed to find the verdict, but who merely deliver an opinion which the Chief Justice may at his discretion disregard.

8. Your Memorialists, therefore, earnestly pray that you will assist the people of this colony to free themselves from the form of Government under which they are now living, and obtain for them a Government in consonance with their rights as English born people, and one suitable to their wants and aspirations; and with

that end in view that you will obtain the sanction of the Imperial Government for the purpose of securing self-government for Fiji, with a view to the incorporation of Fiji with New Zealand as an integral portion of that colony.

7. The colony of Fiji is even now self-supporting, and practically without debt. Freed from the withering effects of arbitrary and irresponsible personal Government, the potentialities of this colony are such as to place it in the first rank among the tropical possessions of the Crown.

8. Your Memorialists confidently believe that the Federation of New Zealand and Fiji would result to the mutual advantage of both colonies.

And your Memorialists will ever pray.

F. E. RIEMENSCHNEIDER, Warden of Suva.

HUMPHRY BERKELEY.

G. L. GRIFFITHS.

W. T. STURT.

F. A. THOMAS.

H. GARDINER HUNT.

GEORGE FOX.

ALPORT BARKER, Hon. Sec.

SUVA, FIJI.

September 14, 1900.

Petition.

To the Hon. the Speaker and Members of the New Zealand Home of Representatives in Parliament assembled.

The Humble Petition of the Undersigned Respectfully Sheweth:—

- THAT your petitioners are the settlers and colonists of Fiji, and that their interests, as such, are indissolubly bound up in its political, commercial, and industrial advancement.
- THAT the very large proportion of them have been Attracted here from New Zealand and the neighbouring colonies of Australia, where they have enjoyed and exercised the civil and political privileges there secured to the subject.
- THAT the population of Fiji is estimated to consist of 2,500 Europeans, who own, approximately, one-tenth of the area of the islands, and represents upwards of £3,000,000 of invested capital, derived principally from New Zealand and Australia; and 115,000 native born Fijians, exclusive of laborers introduced from Polynesia and India.
- THAT since the 10th October, 1874, Fiji has been a British dependency, and has been administered as a Crown Colony of a severe type.
- THAT this form of administration nominally associates in the work of Government, the Executive Council, and the Legislative Council.
- THAT the Executive Council consists of the Governor and four official members.
- THAT the Legislative Council is composed of six officials (including the Governor as President, and the Executive Councillors) and six unofficials, not elected by the colonists, but nominated by the Governor.
- THAT the Governor, who exercises both a deliberate and a casting vote, also directs how the official vote shall be recorded, and that as he thus holds in his hands the controlling power, he absolutely dominates the deliberations, and the system is reduced to the bare lines of a simple despotism.
- THAT this form of Government is opposed to the commercial, agricultural, and industrial progress of the colony, and that in these respects its continued maintenance in their midst is inimical to the interests, not only of Fiji, but also of New Zealand and the Australian Colonies.
- THAT through the operation of this system your petitioners have been deprived of all constitutional rights

and privileges, and have been reduced to the position of political nonentities.

- THAT they are heavily taxed while they remain unre-presented, and are thus unjustly excluded from all participation in the ordering of public affairs.
- THAT though the revenue amounts to £100,000 per annum, it is almost entirely absorbed in meeting the demands of a ruinously wasteful and cumbrous system of administration unsuited to the wants and conditions of the colony; and that while the contributors are denied any voice in it, expenditure, the advantages they derive from the outlay are comparatively, of but trivial character.
- THAT in proof of the above the estimated expenditure for the current year amounts to £96,738 18s. 11d., of which total the sum voted under the head of public works amounts to but £9,336 10s.
- THAT with the present revenues of the colony, and in view of the increase which would follow were its trade and industries fostered and developed by a wise and suitable form of Government, your petitioners strongly believe a considerable surplus would remain to be employed in public works and in opening up and bringing under the immediate notice of the outside world the natural resources of this group of islands.
- THAT the Judicial Department is presided over by a single Judge, from whose decision in civil matters there is no appeal, except, in certain cases, to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council; while at the same time the right of trial by jury in all such cases is practically prohibited.
- THAT in criminal cases the jury right is only allowed when Europeans alone are principals, but where men of native race are involved, either as accusers or accused, the judge sits with assessors, who may not deliver a verdict, but may merely give an opinion, which opinion the judge may entirely ignore or give effect to at his pleasure.
- THAT while the Europeans are subjected to these disabilities and humiliations, the native Fijians are controlled by a special form of government which has most prejudicially affected the prosperity, progress, and general development of the race.
- THAT the imposition upon the natives of a tax to be paid in produce, of £18,000, annual value, most wastefully absorbs their working power and binds a heavy burden upon their shoulders; while the extent to which they are subjected to chiefly levies for service and contributions, the restrictions placed upon their personal liberty, and the interference with their right freely to hire their labor in the best market to the highest bidder, and to enjoy in security the fruit thereof, is tending to enslave and demoralise them.
- THAT the general effect of the causes above set forth is a state of agricultural stagnation and commercial depression which is now very seriously affecting the prosperity of the colony.
- THAT to improve the position of themselves and native born Fijian fellow subjects, and to obtain full relief from their surrounding difficulties, your petitioners have long cherished a strong and earnest desire for the incorporation of Fiji with the colony of New Zealand, a result that they feel persuaded would be attended with solid and substantial advantages in which both colonies would share.
- THAT the self-supporting position of Fiji is clearly evident from the facts that, while its population and revenue are as above stated, according to last official returns, which show a decrease on those for the former year, its imports still amount to £434,522; exports, £345,343; total foreign trade. £779,866 annually; while its public debt amounts" only to £254,025 7s. 11d., of which £150,000 is bearing interest at four and a half per cent, and the remainder is an Imperial grant in aid without interest.
- THAT advantage to New Zealand would accrue through the extension of her commerce, the opening up of a wider, because a more exclusive market for her products and through the strengthening of her natural position as the colony entitled to exercise the dominant influence in the South Seas.
- THAT according to recent calculation the business done by New Zealand with Fiji does not amount to more than £67,000 annually, whereas from her geographical position and closer contiguity, the very great proportion of it would thus be secured to her.
- THAT in desiring this connection your petitioners are deeply sensible of the benefits it will confer not only upon themselves but also upon the Fijians, whom they are convinced would warmly join in this request if it were possible to consult them. Nevertheless, the appeal is made on the joint behalf, and

YOUR PETITIONERS therefore now most humbly pray:—

- THAT your honorable House will take their case into its thoughtful and favourable consideration.
- THAT it will be pleased to support and endorse the action here taken, and by its powerful representations to the Imperial Government endeavour to bring about the incorporation of Fiji with New-Zealand.
- THAT in the event of the hoped for successful issue it will be graciously pleased to grant Fiji relief from its present disadvantageous position by conferring upon it a form of government more suitable to the wants and conditions of its people.

And your petitioners as in duty bound will ever pray, &c.

Federation with New Zealand.

FROM THE FIJI TIMES, JUNE 16, 1900.

SIR,—I notice in your issue of this date a reference to a telegram contained in the *Sydney Morning Herald* of the 18th May on the subject of Federation with New Zealand. I do not think that there are many in this colony who would not willingly embrace an opportunity of federating with so go-ahead and loyal a colony; and it is in this belief that I venture to place before you, and the general public, certain reasons which appear to me to be sufficient to induce every member of this community to make a strenuous effort to gain Federation.

The reasons I advance are:—

1. GEOGRAPHICAL; PHYSICAL; CLIMATIC.—Fiji, geographically, should form a part of New Zealand, New Zealand is, geographically, the natural head and centre of a Federation embracing all the islands of the South Pacific, between Longitude 165 west and 150 east.

Fiji, from her geographical position, should be the natural head and centre of a local administration of those islands under the Federal Government at Wellington.

The Port of Suva is but 1400 miles from Auckland—about as far as Brisbane is from Melbourne. The nearest points of Fiji and New Zealand are about 900 miles apart, which is very much less than the distances which separate several of the principal cities of the new Confederation—the Australian Commonwealth. Federation with Fiji would be the commencement of the greater confederation of all the Pacific Islands with New Zealand. It is the legitimate aspiration and proper ultimate destiny of New Zealand to dominate the Pacific between Longitude 155 west and 150 east. Let us, therefore, if we can, now enter into Federation with New Zealand, rather than run the risk at some later period of becoming a dependency of that coming nation. The physical and climatic conditions favor such a confederation New Zealand is altogether in the temperate zone; she has at present, with the exception of Raratonga, no tropical possessions; in this respect Fiji would be a valuable adjunct to her. No local agricultural interests in New Zealand would be injuriously affected by the competition of Fiji, for New Zealand cannot produce our staple, which is sugar, nor can she grow tropical fruits, nor cocoa, tea, coffee, cotton, or leaf tobacco, the production of each of which would receive a great impetus from the fostering care of a Federal Government, and enable the settlers in Fiji to purchase largely the products of New Zealand.

2. COMMERCIAL.—Trade between the Federated Colonies would increase by leaps and bounds.

Federation would at once increase the population of New Zealand by about 125,000 persons, and the population of Fiji by about 800,000, for the two countries would be one, with no Customs dues as between each other. The produce of each would pass freely to the other, and being cheapened by the absence of duties would be more largely purchased than is the case at present. Freetrade would be established between Fiji and New Zealand.

As New Zealand produces practically all Fiji requires in the way of food, and Fiji produces all that New Zealand wants in the way of tropical products, great material advantages would at once arise from the establishment of freetrade between the two countries. The profits thus derived will enable each to buy more largely than at present of the other's products. The profits accruing to Fiji will attract to her capital, and extend the settlement of white men and their families throughout the islands of the group.

The influx of settlers will lead to increased production and exports from Fiji. When the increased production becomes more than sufficient to supply the local wants of New Zealand, the Federal Government by means of reciprocity arrangements with other countries will find an outlet for the surplus production. Adequate means of communication between Fiji and the outer world will follow contemporaneously with Federation. The lack of communication is now a serious drawback to the prosperity of this colony, which is advancing, not by anything that is being done to help it, but in spite of much that is being done, unintentionally possibly, to retard it. Improved steam communication is greatly needed, and from what fell from the Premier of New Zealand at the banquet recently tendered to him by the Warden and citizens of Suva, and subsequently repeated at Levuka, some improvement in that much-needed direction may be hoped for prior to Federation, but it would surely follow immediately thereon. We should then be certain of steamers running frequently: and, what is so

important to a fruit trade, regularly between Fiji and the New Zealand ports, and with equal frequency and regularity should we have steamers running between Fiji and Sydney and Melbourne. For it would be the policy of the Federal Government to foster a fruit trade between Fiji and Australia, and for that purpose it would without doubt subsidise steam communication. What a boon that would be to Fiji, everyone here knows. Fiji would regain her mail service to Europe as an immediate result of Federation. There is no doubt that, if we were federated, the American liners between Auckland and San Francisco would be required to call here, and it would not be very long before arrangements would be made by which the Canadian mail steamers would resume the call they used to make on their way from Australia to Vancouver. At present, both these main lines of communication with America are allowed to pass almost within sight of our shores. At present, Fiji, which Nature has placed on the main line of communication round the globe, is, by the inaction, or, I should rather say, by the action of its ruler, placed in respect of facilities of access at the other end of nowhere. Reductions of freights and passage money to reasonable proportions would follow; and a resulting influx of visitors from Australasia and elsewhere, with the usual consequence of investment of capital and increase of population, revenue, and general prosperity.

3. POLITICAL.—Fiji would have representation direct in the Federal Parliament. The blessings of government under free institutions would be gained, and a wide field for distinction opened to her sons. By reason of certain local conditions which are unknown to the people of a temperate climate, and because of wants which are peculiar to Fiji as a tropical country, but which find no place in New Zealand, and can only be dealt with effectively by men of local interests and knowledge, it will be necessary as a condition of Federation to constitute a local legislative body for Fiji; the powers of that body should be restricted, but in so far as they go they must be absolute. In respect of certain matters which pertain solely to Fiji, the Legislative body must be independent of, and free from control by the Federal Parliament. Such independent legislative powers are necessary, in view of the objection which, as a rule, prevails throughout Australasia to the employment of Asiatics and others of the coloured races on an equality with the white man and in competition with him. That objection might at some future time dominate the Federal Parliament, and, if it did, would be disastrous to the tropical agriculture of Fiji.

Indian immigration is essential to our industrial prosperity and at all hazards must be maintained. Federation, however, need in no way jeopardise Indian immigration, and the essential labour which it supplies, if it be made, as it should be a condition that the exclusive right to legislate with respect to the introduction and regulation of coloured immigrants should be reserved to the local legislature of Fiji. Such a condition, too, would prevent any objection on the part of the Government of India to continued immigration on the ground of possible future legislation adverse to natives of India, or less mindful of their interests than that which has hitherto taken place, for then there would be no more room for belief in possible future legislation lessening in any degree the protection now afforded Indians in competition on equal terms with all other persons residing in Fiji.

Until the white population is larger, this Legislative body should be partly elected on a property franchise open to all who possess the requisite qualifications, and partly nominated by the Governor of New Zealand, every such nominee to be a *bona fide* resident in Fiji. Membership of the Local Legislature should be no disqualification for membership of the Federal Parliament. The Local Legislative body should have exclusive jurisdiction to legislate respecting work and labor on plantations, and in mills and factories, and in respect of everything pertaining to, or connected with the interests of Fiji.

The strong card of the opponents of Federation will be the alleged probability of injurious interference of the Federal Parliament in labor laws, and the alleged probability of restrictions as in New South Wales and Queensland in the freedom to employ coloured labor. But that objection fails if it be a condition of entrance into the Federation that laws relating to local labor, to agriculture, and to the manufacture of agricultural produce shall be within the exclusive cognizance of the Local Legislature of Fiji. That Legislature will be composed of men whose interests are bound up in Fiji, who will stand or fall with her, and such men may be safely relied on to preserve such laws as may be necessary to secure the continued agricultural progress and prosperity of this colony.

The public debt of Fiji is extremely small. It was originally £250,000, composed of £150,000, at 4 per cent, (borrowed on debentures) and £100,000, at Imperial advance bearing no interest, and repayable as the colonies may be able. The former has been reduced by payments to £120,000 or thereabouts; the balance remaining is amply provided for by a sinking fund. The Imperial loan has been reduced by payments to something like £90,000, the total indebtedness of the colony standing at present at about £210,000. This debt will, of course, become charged on the Consolidated Fund of the Federation. New Zealand would necessarily become liable to the creditors of Fiji; as for the matter of that, Fiji would become responsible to the bondholders of the New Zealand Government. The assets of Fiji are far in excess of her liabilities, her funded debt has been provided for by a sinking fund, and she would go into partnership with New Zealand as perfectly solvent a colony as any in

the British Empire. The amount of the public debt of Fiji will not, I venture to say, cause the statesmen of New Zealand one moment's uneasiness when considering the question of Federation.

The Native Policy of Fiji will be brought forward by the few who will be found to oppose Federation. The Native Policy to my mind presents no difficulty. I say at once that the Government of the natives of Fiji may safely be entrusted to the Government of the Federation in Wellington, quite as safely as it is now entrusted to the Colonial Office in Downing Street. New Zealand governs, and for years has governed, wisely and justly, many thousands of brave and warlike Maories; she has also for several years had the direction of the government of the natives of the islands of the Cook Group. In Fiji she will find a ready-made system of local self-government which will render the task of native government easier than it is either in New Zealand or Raratonga. Why should there be any doubt of the ability of the Federal statesmen to carry on the government of the natives now administered by the Colonial Office through the medium of a local Governor. The present communal system, if it be continued, or any other good form of local government, can be as easily worked from Wellington as from Downing Street, and the objections of those who contend to the contrary appear to me to be baseless.

Such changes in the system of native government as time may show to be advantageous can be as easily carried out under a Federal as under the present form of government. That a Federal Parliament would pass unjust, oppressive, or foolish laws with respect to the native Fijians it is absurd to suppose. Surely, if 40,000 Maories and the entire population of the Cook Group can be entrusted to the New Zealand Parliament, the natives of Fiji can be entrusted to the Parliament of the Federation.

4. LEGAL.—Federation would supply Fiji with a Court of Appeal, readily and cheaply available. The right of ultimate appeal to the Privy Council should be retained, but an intermediate appeal to the Full Court sitting at Wellington would be a great boon to the people of Fiji, and would, in most cases, be all that was requisite. The cost of an appeal to the Privy Council is at present, in most cases, prohibitive, before the right to appeal accrues, the amount in dispute must be over £500. The costs of the appeal must likewise be provided for. This, in the majority of cases, means that the party desirous of appealing must be in a position to find at least £1000.

GENERAL.—Fiji's proper destiny is to become one of the great sugar-producing provinces of the Empire. Honolulu produces now something like 200,000 tons per annum. Fiji has a larger area and an equally productive capacity. There is no physical reason why she should not equal or exceed the amount now produced by Honolulu if she had the same, or anything like the same advantages with regard to markets for her sugar. Honolulu has for years been the petted child of the United States. Fiji, on the other hand, is the Cinderella of the Empire.

Federation will do for Fiji what the United States of America have done for Honolulu. Fiji already produces, after 20 years, 35,000 tons of sugar. The Colonial Sugar Refining Company are opening up land at Lautoka which will, in three years, raise the sugar output to 45,000 or even 50,000 tons. That output, I do not hesitate to say, can be increased as soon as you please, if a market for the surplus can be found. That market will never be found if Fiji remains a separate Crown Colony, little thought for, and left to struggle unaided. On the other hand, Federation with New Zealand will at once lead to the desired market being found. The market of Canada is waiting, that of the United States remains to be opened. It needs but the making of reciprocity arrangements with either or both to let in, on favourable terms, the sugars of Fiji. The power to make these terms will be possessed by the Federal Government, and the willingness to use that power need not be doubted.

Profitable agriculture in Fiji will mean increase of population, which in turn will mean larger purchasing by the people of Fiji of the manufactured and agricultural products of New Zealand, which would have the advantage of coming into Fiji duty free. With the protection thus afforded her, New Zealand should be able to hold the first place in the Fijian market, and throughout the Federation.

We now grow tea, coffee, cocoa, tobacco, etc., in small quantities. Federation would probably cause an immense boom in tea. Fijian tea is admittedly good, "as good as the best Ceylon," has been remarked of the best Fijian. The cost of production and placing it on the market abroad has hitherto prevented tea growing from being the unqualified success it should be.

Federation would at once open to us the New Zealand market, and thus the table would be turned in our favor, for we should get our tea on that market duty free. One need only look at the value of the tea annually consumed in New Zealand to understand what the command of that market would mean. And that market would necessarily be captured, as Fiji is within four days' steam of Auckland, and far distant Ceylon is our nearest competitor.

With a duty of 6d per pound, and freight in its favour, there would be such an impetus given to tea growing in Fiji that before very long it would stand out as a rival to Ceylon in the volume of its production. Then the Federal Government would (as in the case of sugar) by reciprocity arrangements find markets in other countries for this valuable tropical production of Federation. What is true of tea may be said of cocoa, tobacco, coffee, and many other minor products. The excellence of the flavour of the latter grown at Nadawalu in the mountains

at 2700 or 3000 feet assures its success when once it be known. But unless we have Federation neither tea, cocoa, coffee, or tobacco (the sources of wealth elsewhere) will bring a farthing to Fiji. Rightly or wrongly it has been from the outset the policy of the Crown Colony Government to stand by in apparent indifference while small planters, and larger companies, in attempting unaided to establish these industries, have paid the penalty so often attaching to unassisted efforts in young colonies.

Rightly or wrongly the principle of non-interference by the state, which may be good political economy in the old country, has been applied here. Whether such a policy is right or wrong, the result in practice is that all attempts to establish small industries, which are the sources of wealth elsewhere, have failed in Fiji—failed for want of assistance from the Government of the country in the initiatory stage, as a child might fail to walk for want of a hand to help it on its legs.

Reciprocity arrangements are opposed to the policy which Crown Government enforces; without such arrangements Fiji cannot hope, in this generation at all events, to compete with the older established tropical colonies, where the valuable products I have mentioned have been grown for generations. Federation will give us, by means of reciprocity, the markets we require, therefore let us have Federation.—I am, &c.,

Humphry Berkeley.

CHAMBERS, SUVA,

June 13, 1900.

FROM THE FIJI TIMES, JUNE 16, 1900.

THE recent visit of the Premier of New Zealand has apparently revived the long dormant desires in the hearts of the colonists for some amendment of the constitution of this colony. Unless the existing circumstances and conditions of every British colony are such that the granting of constitutional political rights and representation is impossible, or inconsistent with good government then these rights and representation should be conceded. Unfortunately the possession of absolute and autocratic power has such a fascination for its possessor that he can rarely be persuaded to voluntarily divest himself of any portion of such power, or to assist those he rules to obtain what is undeniably their birthright as citizens of the Empire. One illustrious exception to this principle was the late Sir George Grey, at one time Governor of Cape Colony, and more recently of New Zealand. During his administration of the government of these colonies he exerted his influence and power to procure for them representative institutions, though by doing so he was divesting himself of a large portion of his own powers. In these endeavours he succeeded, and the result of his unselfish and honorable conduct was that no ex-governor of a British colony, whether in his life or at his death, was more highly esteemed whether by his Queen or his fellow-colonists.

Fiji has not experienced an administrator of the type of Sir George Grey; on the contrary the experience of the past governors of this colony have been the reverse, and they have clung most tenaciously to and exercised most arbitrarily their dictatorial powers. During our present Governor's *regime* no appeal has been made through his instrumentality for any concession of political rights to the colonists, so it is impossible to say what his attitude would be were such an application made. All we know is he has not of his own motion moved in the direction of voluntarily aiding the colonists in obtaining their rights or of divesting himself of any of his own powers. On the contrary, his Excellency has wielded his autocratic powers as arbitrarily as, or more so, than any of his predecessors in office. The only course, therefore, open is for the colonists to petition Her Majesty in the orthodox constitutional mode for a redress of their grievances, and an amendment of the constitution in such measure as would be reasonable and just. The amendment of the constitution of the colony that at once suggests itself is that a fair proportion of the unofficial members of the Legislative Council should be elected by such persons as should be constituted electors with the right of exercising the franchise for this specific object. The only question to be considered in replying to such a petition would be whether the conditions and circumstances of the colony present any obstacle to the concession of such a right of election. The old and stereotyped objection of past governors has been that consideration of the interests of the native races preventing the granting of any constitutional privileges or rights to the colonists of Fiji. Such an excuse is a mendacious evasion of the requests of the colonists for a grant of their rights, and there is no justification for the assertion or the suggestion that the welfare of the native races would be in any degree prejudiced or even affected by a concession such as is asked. The native race question is unquestionably one of paramount importance, but it does not follow that the consideration of the interests of the native races will be jeopardised by a just consideration of the interests and rights of the European colonists. Both interests can receive independent

consideration, and without either conflicting with the other.

The present is an opportune juncture for the performance of gracious acts, and we hope his Excellency, unasked, will represent to Her Majesty, through the Secretary of State for the Colonies, the justice of granting to this colony some quota of its political rights, in the form of electing to the Legislative Council a fair proportion of its members.

FROM THE FIJI TIMES, JUNE 20, 1900.

FEDERATION with New Zealand at the present is the current topic, and one which naturally appeals to all classes of a community which for so many years has been under a Crown Colony Government of a severe type. It is not an entirely new idea, for as far back as 1885 a petition was presented to the Government of New Zealand, asking that colony to federate with Fiji. At that time, however, for some reasons which were then advanced, but which do not now exist, the meeting proved abortive. A highly representative meeting has been held in Levuka, and an unanimous resolution was passed to the effect that in the opinion of that meeting it was desirous that steps be taken to secure federation with New Zealand. In our last issue we published a lengthy letter from Mr. Humphrey Berkeley pointing out the various reasons why the two colonies should federate. That letter requires a considerable amount of combatting from those who may be found to advocate a continuance of the present form of government. The benefits to be derived by exporters of local products are so manifest, that it is hardly likely that federation will be attacked on that score; nor is it easy to see what other objections can be raised. It is an accepted principle of political economy that the exports of a country are to be most carefully fostered. If only the exports are sufficiently large, the imports may, with safety, be left to take care of themselves. The great difficulty now experienced in this colony is the inability to make its wants known.

It is useless to appeal to the Governor, for his actions are bound by certain hard and fast rules laid down by the Home authorities; the consequence is that in the majority of cases colonists, recognising the futility of making representations which will receive no consideration, are content to allow matters to be shelved. A very different state of affairs would obtain if we had representative government, and were able to select our representatives, who, without fear, would see that the legitimate wants of the colony were attended to.

The question broadly stated is simply: Are we, when we have a chance of being represented in Federation, which will entitle one and all of us to have some say in the manner in which we are to be governed still to adhere to the despotic system of Crown Colony Government, a government which would find some difficulty in proving the benefits conferred by it on Fiji from its inception. Much will probably be said for and against Mr. Berkeley's letter, but it certainly seems that the best thing to be done is for one and all to strenuously endeavour to obtain Federation.

FROM THE FIJI TIMES, JUNE 23, 1900.

SIR,—I have read with a great amount of interest the letter *re* Federation by Mr. Humphry Berkeley, published in your issue of Saturday last, and would like to ask that gentleman a question or two in connection therewith, as I must confess to being unable to understand all he says. He has written a beautiful description of the results of Federation, and no doubt there is a deal of truth in some of his assertions, but the modern Utopia he has built is not to be gained so easily. Unless he at the commencement has some sure foundation to work upon, he will find that the colossal structure he has erected in imagination will never be a reality. Federation is a beautiful word suggesting a unity; marriage is also suggestive of the same thing; and the late Sir Henry Parkes, the pioneer of Federation in New South Wales, said he could give no better definition of the word "Federation" than by comparing it to a happy married life, where the parties were living each for the interest of the other.

I would like to ask Mr. Berkeley what he considers to be the best way for raising the revenue for the purpose of financing the Confederation, or at least our share of it. This is a most important point—and as he is silent on the matter it must be taken for granted that he can see plainly a way out of the difficulty. But there are many besides myself who would like him to explain in a clear manner where the money is to come from. There are various groups that are not in a position to contribute a great deal. Fiji, by making use of coolie labour has forged ahead and made a name for herself commercially. If I remember rightly we now export to the Chelsea (N.Z.) refinery £200,000 worth of sugar annually. This speaks well for us; but how are we going to galvanise into activity the sleepy Polynesian races and make them contribute their quota to financing the Confederacy. The white man must have a say in the matter. No doubt Federation would be the means of settling much of what now appears to be insurmountable, but before we can have it we must see our way financially. Would Mr. Berkeley please enlighten the public on this point?

Then I would like to know how he is going to constitute an island council? There are a great many difficulties in the road. The *Auckland Star*, in a leading article on the subject, says:—"The initial difficulty of representation in an Island Council is a problem not easy of solution. While all but a fraction of the inhabitants are natives, their educational and mental limitations would forbid their being allowed representation in proportion to their numbers in a constitutional government. The expedient of a Lower Chamber representative of the aboriginal population and upper or revising Chamber of Europeans, either elected or holding office by virtue of appointment by the Governor, carries with it the drawback of almost inevitable frictions. The latter was, however, practically the form of government suggested by the tripartite commission for Samoa, and might, on a larger scale, prove workable." On this matter, perhaps Mr. Berkeley will kindly give us his views. There are many other things to be thrashed out which are omitted in this letter, but I have no doubt you will be inundated with correspondence on the subject, so I conclude by assuring Mr. Berkeley that I am an ardent Federalist, and shall be glad to assist in any way, but I want adult suffrage and not property franchise as he suggests.

—I am, &c.,

Thos. Sowden.

FROM THE FIJI TIMES, JUNE 27, 1900.

SIR.—Now that the question will assuredly arise as to whether or not Fiji shall be federated with New Zealand, it behoves those interested in the colony to look carefully into the whole matter in a business-like manner before saying "aye" or "nay" to the question. Mr. Berkeley, in his very able letter has put so glowing a result to federation that it would seem a pity for any person to argue against same. If federation means a change in the Government policy in any way whatever then Fiji could not possibly be a loser by the transaction, and it might possibly be a great gainer. Since Britain annexed this group of islands, what progress has been made that can be attributed to the good form of Government we have enjoyed? Absolutely none! If any progress has been made it has been entirely owing to the energy of the few settlers and merchants who, in spite of bad times, hung on to their properties and businesses in the hope that better times would come. What has become of the large number of planters that 25 years back were settled on the Rewa? There is not one there now to the ten that were there in the early 70's. The hard despotic labor laws caused the bulk of them to sacrifice their properties, and to clear out of this "Crown Colony of a severe type" poorer and very much sadder than when they first came to the colony. The soil was just as fruitful as ever, and had the policy of the Government been such as to foster industries, instead of having at the present time four sugar mills in the colony owned by one large monopoly, we should have had perhaps forty. There are a dozen other districts besides Rewa that were once occupied by thriving settlers, now practically deserted. Fiji is able to provide all the sugar, rice, coffee, tea, and spices required in New Zealand, and were we federated with that colony, within three years we would actually be providing same. There are thousands of acres of most valuable land in the same virgin state that it was a hundred or perhaps a thousand years back and that will be in the same virgin state a thousand years hence, under our present form of government; but with a government that would open up the country with good roads and that would foster and encourage industries, even to the extent of erecting "central mills" (sugar and rice) as is done in Queensland, this idle land would spring into cultivated farms and plantations, and Fiji would advance in those "leaps and bounds" prognosticated many years back. I must not forget to give the Government credit for having within the last two or three years had a few miles of tracks (called roads) cut from Suva through the Rewa district, and also to having had a few bridges made over the creeks intersecting these tracks—this is work that should have been done a score of years back. We are also going to have a wharf built out to deep water to enable steamers such as those belonging to the Canadian and Australian Steamship Company to load and discharge alongside; but surely this should have been done while those steamers were calling at Fiji and not after they were taken off the line owing to the small subsidy being withdrawn by our far-seeing Government. Of course, Fiji cannot do without cheap labor, or, in other words, "colored labor," and if Federation means that no more coolie labor would be allowed to come, then we will have to do without Federation, in which case perhaps the Government might be persuaded to do away with some of its "severe typo" policy, and thus give the colony a little more chance of going ahead; and I would suggest to the Government the good results that would accrue if encouragement was given to settlement on the land. If the land belongs to the Fijians, compel them to sell or lease at reasonable rental the land they do not and never will require for their own use. If they will not sell or lease, then put a tax on all unoccupied land whether belonging to Fijians or whites. If private enterprise will not erect sugar and rice mills, let the Government erect "central mills" wherever a sufficiency of cane or rice could be planted. In 1902 the C. S. R. Co. contract for cane purchase with the planters will expire,

and rumour says it is the intention of the company to further reduce the price to be paid for cane, If such is a fact then cane growing must cease. If the C. S. R. Co. can pay their dividends yearly with cane at present price a Government mill to pay a dividend of say 7½ per cent, would be able to increase the price, and this is a matter which will have to be taken in hand by the Government whether we are federated or not. I would suggest that every means be adopted to induce steamers to call at Fiji, so that the colony becomes "on view" as much as possible. It may be said that the colony cannot afford to do any or all of these things. It never will be able to afford under the present policy, but give us a chance, as it were, to extend our business. Let us supply five tons of sugar where we now supply one, or 1000 tons of rice where we now sell none. Let us increase our exports ten times over and we will soon be able to afford to pay for all we want, only, as in all other businesses, we must make the outlay first, the returns will come afterwards.

I am not much of a letter writer, so I hope your readers will excuse this rather disjointed effusion, and perhaps some more able pen than mine will assist the matter along.

—I am, etc.,

J. B. Turner.

SUVA,

June 20th, 1900.

FROM THE FIJI TIMES, JUNE 30, 1900.

SIR.—I shall feel obliged if you will allow me to submit some remarks on the letters on the subject of Federation with New Zealand, which appeared in your issues of the 23rd and 27th instant.

Mr. Sowden, in his letter, expresses a doubt as to whether an Island Council can be formed, and wishes to know how the revenue is to be raised for "the purpose," as he expresses it, "of financing the Federation, or our share of it." He also suggests that if we federate and have a local Council we shall have adult suffrage; and not the property franchise. With respect to the franchise, it will be necessary to discriminate between the Federal Parliament and the Local Council. In the former, the franchise will, doubtless, be exactly as it is in New Zealand at the present time; and why not? There, as here, we find a large coloured population. The addition of Fiji need not cause a change in the federal franchise, for it only means adding somewhat to the already existing coloured population of New Zealand who now possess the franchise. As to the Local Council, as at present advised, it seems to me that a franchise similar to that in force in Natal, where there are some 40,000 coolies, besides a huge native population, might be applied. As in Natal, I think the vote might be given to every male inhabitant who is possessed in his individual right of real property to the value of £50; or who is in receipt of rent from real property to the annual value of £10; or of an annual income from any source of £100. Such details as the duration of the Local Council, its composition, and the division of the colony into electoral districts, and the distribution of seats, need present no difficulty, and nothing is to be gained by discussion such details until the proper time comes to reduce them into practice.

For the present it should suffice to contemplate a Local Council of say 14 members, of whom 7 should be elected by say four electoral districts, which might consist of (1) Suva, including Rewa, Navua, and Kadavu—returning three members. (2) Viti Levu, including the Yasawas, but excluding Suva, Rewa, and Navua—returning two members. (3) Levuka, including, Taviuni, Lomai Viti, and Lau—returning one member. Vanua Levu—returning one member. They could not be adult franchise for this council, as Mr. Sowden appears to desire. The reason for this is supplied in the extract from *Auckland Star*, which he himself quotes in his letter. Referring to these Islands, the *Star* says: Their educational and mental limitations would forbid their being allowed representation in proportion to their number in a constitutional government." But while adult franchise for the Local Council is impracticable, there is no reason for refusing the franchise to every man, whatever may be his race, if he possesses the necessary property qualifications—if he possesses the material stake in the country which may fairly be regarded as a guarantee for the proper exercise of the franchise. But it may very well be that in discussing the terms and conditions of Federation it may appear that, inasmuch as Fiji will have members representing her in the Federal Parliament, she does not need a Local Council as well, any more than Auckland or Canterbury, or any other integral portion of New Zealand does. So long as conditions are contained in the Act of Federation safeguarding the right to continue coolie immigration, it may very well be that we shall not require a Local Council.

With respect to financing the Confederation, there will, of course, be a general revenue. There will be but

one purse, from which such appropriations as may be necessary for the various portions of the federated colony will annually be made when the federal estimates are passed. For instance, the federal estimates will annually contain an appropriation of several thousands of pounds for the prosecution of public works in Fiji, such as the construction of roads, the building of bridges and otherwise the opening up of the country to settlement, and this sum so appropriated will be applied by the local administration to the purposes for which it has been voted. There will be no more difficulty in appropriating moneys for the use of the province of Fiji than there is now in appropriating the moneys required for the province of Auckland. Incidentally, it may be remarked that Auckland is no further from Suva than it is from Dunedin. And let it not be forgotten that the amounts appropriated by the Federal Parliament in Fiji will not necessarily be limited by regard to the comparatively slender revenues which will at first be contributed by Fiji. When it becomes necessary for great public works, such as light railways, main trunk roads, bridges, etc., to be carried out for the development of the country, such works will not have to wait until the local revenue can bear the cost. They will, if the Federal Parliament determine on them, be carried out on the security, not of Fiji alone, but by the consolidated fund of the federation.

Mr. Lazarus and "Official" suggest that possibly we may be sufferers by adopting the New Zealand tariff, which, it is alleged, is the highest in Australasia. That, however, is not fairly stating the case, for our specific duties on boots, shoes, some articles of drapery, hats, and such like are very much heavier than the ad valorem duties on similar articles in New Zealand. Indeed, I think that it will be found on comparing the two tariffs, it is very much a case of six of one and half a dozen of the other. Both are far higher than it is to be hoped they will be in the not too distant future. But even if Federation should cause us to pay slightly increased duties, that will surely be more than counterbalanced by the wealth which will be poured into the country by federation. If federation will bring the white settler here, as who doubts it will, there will come in his train the wealth we at present lack, and for every white inhabitant you may add £100 per annum to the value of the imports. Do not let us be scared from Federation by any such bugbear as increased tariff. A low tariff is a good thing to the consumer, but of what avail is it to have a low tariff and a country practically empty of reproductive settlement; and, as a matter of fact, while our country is empty, we yet have a very high tariff. Under federation, our tariff will be no higher and our country will be well settled.

Mr. Lazarus asks: "Does New Zealand want us?" He is surely answered in the words of Mr. Turner, when that gentleman aptly says: "Fiji is able to provide all the sugar, rice, coffee, tea, and spices required in New Zealand, and, were we federated with that colony, within three years we would be actually producing the same." In Mr. Turner's words, Mr. Lazarus will also find the answer to his query whether New Zealand would risk inclusion in the great Australian Commonwealth by federating with us. Notwithstanding any suggestion to the contrary, I venture to think that the incorporation of a large and valuable tropical province would be regarded by New Zealand statesmen as of greater economic value than inclusion in the Australian Commonwealth. From the Commonwealth New Zealand has no material advantages to reap that cannot be obtained by reciprocity treaties, and she can, as she probably will, join the Commonwealth in an offensive and defensive alliance without becoming part thereof. "Official" is naturally anxious to know what is to become of him if we federate. He will, I imagine remain where he is, with the difference that he will be better off, in that he will, through the opening up of the country, and erection of public works, find a larger scope for his energies, and a wider field of action will be created for the various members of the large family of which he is the proud possessor.

Throughout all the letters under notice there seems a vein of anxiety lest Federation should endanger Indian immigration. As I have previously stated, danger to Indian immigration will be the trump card of the opponents of Federation. It is to be relied on to scare the supporters of Federation. "Modesty," for instance, writes: "coolie immigration would almost certainly be withdrawn," and Mr. Lazarus says: "if this be so Federation would be fatal to the best interests of the colony." But this withdrawal of coolie labor is an imaginary bugbear. There is no ground for supposing that anything of the kind would be done by the Indian Government merely because we federated with New Zealand. Nothing of the kind can happen, for, as I took care to point out in my previous letter, it must be made a condition precedent to Federation—a *sine qua non* of federating—that Indian immigration is to continue, and the right to employ colored labor freely is not to be in any way restricted or interfered with. If New Zealand won't have us on those terms, then we won't federate with her. If she accepts us on those terms and conditions, they cannot subsequently be broken, for they will be fundamental and unalterable articles of the constitution, and there will be no danger to fear as suggested. All who continue to contend to the contrary are merely making bald assertions, in supporting which they can advance no grounds. Assertion is no argument. If we argue for precedent there is no occasion for fear. As Mr. Lazarus himself points out Indian immigration continues in Natal, though it has had Representative Government since 1890.

For some years Natal has enjoyed Responsible Government but the Indian Government has not stopped immigration. Moreover, the Representative Government which existed there up to the establishment of

Responsible Government was of the following nature: There was a Legislative body consisting of seven nominated and 24 elected members. Such a constitution differs little but in name from Responsible Government. But during the many years that almost free Government existed in Natal, Indian immigration continued, and indeed as I believe still continues under the present completely free and Responsible Government. It will thus be seen that when the serious allegation that Federation will endanger coolie immigration (put forward by the ill-disposed and by the timid) is examined, it is found that there is nothing in it. The Indian Government permits immigration to the French colonies of Martinique, Guadeloupe, and Guiana, to the Dutch colony of Guiana, and to the Danish colony of St. Croix, all in the West Indies (*vide* the schedule to the Indian Immigration Act 1883, passed by the Governor-General of India in Council.)

The French colonies have local elected Legislature and are represented in the French Parliament. I do not know the nature of the constitution of Dutch Guiana or of St. Croix. But of this I am certain, that if the Indian Government trusts their people to the democratic French Republicans and to Dutchmen, it will after Federation not hesitate to allow them to come to Fiji, merely because they will be controlled by statesmen in New Zealand instead of a statesman at the Colonial Office in England.

With respect to the native Fijians Mr. Lazarus asks: "Will the Imperial Government permit the natives to be governed other than at present?" and "what will the natives say to such a proposition?" The questions imply that Federation necessarily involves an immediate change in the present system of Native Government. But it does not at all follow that because New Zealand and Fiji federate there must, therefore, be a change in the system of native local government. On the contrary it seems to me that for some considerable time to come there would possibly be no need for any change in the system. Sir George O'Brien has introduced changes in the direction of individualizing the natives and easing down in some ways the tyranny of old customs, and no doubt the reforms he has adopted will in time make some modification of the present system advisable; but at first and for some time afterwards, the Federal Government would, I take it, so far as the natives are concerned, simply carry on in Fiji under the system now in vogue,—I am, etc.,

Humphry Berkeley.

CHAMBERS, SUVA,

29th June, 1900.

FROM THE FIJI TIMES, JUNE 20, 1900.

SIR,—I am pleased to notice that Federation is causing such an amount of interest to the general public, and I have given much attention to the several letters that have appeared in your valuable columns.

In reply to "Modesty," who presented himself to the public in your issue of the 23rd inst., I may say that it has never occurred to either Mr. Berkeley or myself, that if our efforts meet with success it would most likely be the means of closing the mills of the Colonial Sugar Refining Company in Fiji, but on the contrary, it has suggested itself to us, that if we are successful, (and I think it highly probable that our movement will meet with success) it may be the means of opening up many smaller mills in our fertile and highly-productive country. My curiosity has been aroused to know who "Modesty" can be, since he asserts so positively that our 14,000 coolie inhabitants will be withdrawn should Federation take place, I am of the opinion that if we do federate with New Zealand, the coolie inhabitants will in a short space of years be just double in numbers of what they are to-day, and if "Modesty" had given that attention to Mr. Berkeley's letter which it merits, when he read it, he would have noticed that it would be impossible for us to lose either the Colonial Sugar Company or the coolie inhabitants, for it is specially laid as a condition precedent to Federation, that the coolie immigration must not in any way be interfered with, this matter must be definitely and satisfactorily settled before any decision is arrived at on the subject, and I feel certain that no sane man ("Modesty" always excepted) could for one moment believe that Mr. Berkeley or myself ever contemplated the bringing about of Federation at the risk of losing our coolie labor. We are all of us alive to the fact that without colored labor our great sugar industry that has been so largely entered upon by the Colonial Sugar Refining Company could not be carried on, and, therefore, I say at once, that unless the consent of the proper authorities can be obtained for the continuance of the importation of coolie labourers after Federation is *an fait accompli*, then we must remain as we are, but I am fully of opinion that, whether our efforts are crowned with success or not, we certainly shall not have made ourselves look stupid in the eyes of the other colonies. The movement is progressive and should commend itself to every right-thinking person for favorable consideration. We have been retrograding long enough, and it is high time we took action to reach a higher standard than that to which we have hitherto obtained. It will

certainly be argued that the colony to-day is financially better situated than it has ever been previously, which is undoubtedly correct, but what is the reason for it? Surely no one will be bold enough to assert that it is owing to any action on the part of the present form of Government to foster our agricultural pursuits, or in any way assist the small planter, of which there are so few nowadays compared to the number we had settled throughout the group say a score of years ago. No, the position of the country to-day is due to the exceptionally fine seasons that we have been fortunate enough to experience during the past five or six years, the absence of hurricanes, and the prolific nature of the soil; and if under these circumstances the country is in such a good position, what would be its position under a Democratic Government? Why, with the resources we have at hand, and the millions of acres of virgin soil, with a Government to assist by a liberal and free policy, the opening up of new industries, Fiji would in a few years be one of the finest and richest tropical countries of the world. It has been proved on a small scale that it is capable of raising mostly all tropical products; and its mineral resources are absolutely undoubted. Gold has been found in several places in the group; also iron, tin and silver. But private enterprise has not been able to trace the minerals to their source; but that they do exist has been proved beyond a doubt. As we are at present situated there is no possible hope of the wealth of the country being developed. But let us have federation, and then we shall have capital, population, and interest introduced in the colony to open up the country; and we shall all more or less reap the benefits and advantages of the great agricultural and mining qualities with which Nature has so richly endowed it.

I will not trespass any further on your space in this issue, but later on will go into the matter of Customs tariff; but it might not, probably, be out of place to remark here that if the tariffs of the two colonies are taken and very carefully compared you will find that there is very little difference, and I think of the two, the New Zealand tariff applied to Fiji under Federation, would be not so high a one as the tariff in force here to-day; so "Official" need have no dread of not being able to meet the requirements of his very large family should we be fortunate enough to get Federation.

—I am, etc.

F. E. Riemenschneider.

SUVA,

June 29th, 1900.

FROM THE FIJI TIMES, JULY 18, 1900.

ALL INTERESTED in the real progress of Fiji must wish well to the campaign for its Federation with New Zealand. Whether that campaign will end successfully will depend upon the view taken by New Zealand of the advantages to be gained by that colony through an alliance with us. The decisive battles for Federation must be fought in and by New Zealand and not in and by Fiji; but we in Fiji can produce a contingent as it were to the forces fighting in our cause in New Zealand by advocacy of the cause here. The hopes of the supporters of Federation in this country will rest upon Mr. Seddon, the Premier of New Zealand. Everything depends upon the attitude he is prepared to assume. If he will lead the federal forces, the victory is assured. That he will do so if we ask him there is some indication from remarks he has made and the action which he is reported to have taken since his return to New Zealand. The Premier is reported in the New Zealand papers to have said that "everywhere in the islands he found a desire for federation," to have declared that "the island trade was sound," and that "he intended to see what could be done to increase that trade with New Zealand." The Premier is also reported to have addressed a memorandum to the Secretary of State advocating federation. The sure and immediate way of increasing the island trade with New Zealand is federation. The remarks and the reported action of the Premier have an important bearing on a question recently asked by one of our correspondents, viz., "does New Zealand want us?" The greatest statesman that New Zealand has yet produced is evidently inclined to think that she does. Federation, however, will only be brought about if it can be shown that both New Zealand and Fiji will benefit therefrom. No one who has impartially considered the letters on the subject which have appeared in our columns from our several correspondents can have any real doubt on that point. Advantages other than, but equally as great as those detailed by our correspondents would follow in our federation with New Zealand. Improvement in the administration of public affairs would, for instance, most surely result from proximity of the local administration to the central authority at Wellington. Had such proximity existed at the present time such a scandal as the establishment of a bubonic plague station and the perpetuation of a leper community in the immediate vicinity of Suva could hardly have occurred. In such a case

the protest of the people could not have been disregarded, for within a week representations would be before the central authority at Wellington, the outrage abated, and the author placed beyond the power of further mischief. The local administration would, under federation, be alive to the fact that the eye of the central government was always upon it and the ear of the central government always open. How easily the central government could satisfy itself from personal enquiry on the spot has been made clear by the flying visit which the Premier of New Zealand recently made to Fiji. What a New Zealand Premier has done in that respect at a time when Fiji is an independent colony would, we may be quite sure, be frequently repeated by responsible members when once we are federated. By no means the least of the advantages to be gained from federation will be our emancipation from the blight of irresponsible autocratic rule, exercised at such a distance from the central controlling power as separates Fiji from England.

FROM THE FIJT TIMES, JULY 21, 1900.

A public meeting was held in the Oddfellows' Hall, Levuka, on the evening of June 14th, to discuss the question of the Federation of Fiji with New Zealand.

It should be mentioned that previous to the public meeting, a caucus was held in the office of Mr. W. I. Thomas, called by the Warden, to meet Messrs. Riemenschneider and Humphry Berkeley, who, in response to the Warden's invitation, had come to Levuka for the purpose of attending the meeting.

The chair was taken by the Warden (D. J. Solomon, Esq.) On rising, he said: Gentlemen—At the request of the ratepayers of Levuka, I have called this meeting to discuss the question of Federation, but before proceeding further, it will be advisable to appoint a secretary, for which post I would suggest Mr. Carr.

On the motion of Mr. W. I. Thomas, seconded by Captain Robbie, Mr. Carr was duly appointed.

The Chairman, continuing: Gentlemen—I may state I am proud to preside at a meeting to initiate the Federation movement, which I trust will be productive of definite results. We had Mr. Seddon here a short time back and he made a few remarks on the subject of Federation with New Zealand. Among which he stated that he believed that if the residents wanted it there was a reasonable hope of their getting Federation. For my part I believe in Federation, I don't say with New Zealand particularly, as long as it is Federation with a British, and not a foreign power. Now the question is whether we federate with Australia or New Zealand? In discussing this, we must remember that with this country the great questions will be the native population and the Indians. Now, Australian Governments have not shown that they can look after blacks and aborigines I remember King Billy hanging about Sydney hotels for drinks, and not too sober at that. On the other hand the New Zealand Government have shown themselves capable of looking after native races. Mr. Seddon informs me that the Maori race is on the increase; and he says there no reason why there should be no increase among the Fijians. There is no doubt that the object of this meeting is Federation with New Zealand. Such Federation means markets for our products, and will allow their products into this country. At the present, this is a Crown Colony under a "one-man Government," and we must all recognise that Federation with any colony possessing representative Government is better than we are now. Of course, we should have delegates to the Federal Parliament, while internal affairs would be managed by a council of local nominees and representatives. We should, at least, have some voice in our own Government. At present the Legislative Council consists of official and non-official members appointed by the Governor and arranged in such a way that the supposed people's representatives, the non official members, are always outvoted. Gentlemen, Federation is the only thing that can bring this country along. Where are the many planters that it once possessed? There are, comparatively speaking, none now. With Federation, an increase of capital would pour into the colony, the country taken up, with the establishment and growth of industries. There is no reason why cocoa, tobacco, tea, and spices should not form staple products of this country. Therefore, I say, gentlemen, everyone in Fiji is, or should be interested in the subject. It is no question of rivalry between town and town, but a question of Fiji as a whole, in which the interests of all are involved, and to which end local differences must cease to exist. I should now like to hear any gentleman's opinion on Federation to New Zealand or Australia, or even opinions against Federation at all. I will now call on Mr. Thomas to move the first resolution. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. W. I. Thomas, on rising, said: Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen—During thirty years I have been in this colony, I have never been present at so important a meeting. This is not a question of Levuka versus Suva. I appeal to your commonsense to sink differences of opinion, and pull together for the good of the colony as a whole. I may tell you that I have not gone into this subject, but it is one that appeals to every intelligent mind. It is a matter which deals with the progress of this country. Gentlemen, I say I cannot bring before you all the advantages consequent on this country joining itself to New Zealand, but rest assured the gentlemen who will follow me will conclusively prove that we can't live better than as a part of New Zealand. The points that are evident are (1) Federation means, comparatively, freetrade, a question I can't go into. (2) It means a cable, a connection that in itself is of inestimable value to business men, and all alike. We have been here ten days with

absolutely no connection with Suva. All such irregularities and inconveniences under Federation would be swept away; a new era will come fraught with benefit to all concerned, Some gentlemen might think and may tell you that Federation with the Australian Commonwealth is better than that with New Zealand. Now, Mr. Chairman, in my recollection and in the memory of many gentlemen here, this colony was offered to Victoria and refused, although it would have been of immense importance to them. We have tried New South Wales with a like result. Now we have been approached by Mr. Seddon—that is, New Zealand. In a cursory sort of a way, he told us that he thought that it was very likely that his Government would entertain Federation, but he could not guarantee it. But we must remember that an expression of opinion from the man who had so long successfully and still holds the reins of government of that important colony, meant a great deal. Therefore, we have this in our favour, that, if we move us one man, we can rely on a favourable reception being given to our petition. There are between sixty and seventy gentlemen here present to-night, who, I hope, will speak out their minds on this subject. Do not let the opportunity slip for want of taking it up. Little as I have said, this is a matter that requires a great amount of careful consideration, and so to establish the principle that Federation with New Zealand is a desirable object, I beg to move the following resolution:—Resolved, that in the opinion of the citizens of Levaka, it is desirable that the colony of Fiji be federated with the colony of New Zealand." I will now call upon Mr. M. Hedstrom to second the motion.

Mr. Hedstrom: Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I am very proud to have the opportunity of seconding this resolution, which will initiate a most important movement. At the same time I would point out there is a peculiar fitness in the choice of mover and seconder. The mover is one of Fiji's pioneers, and the seconder a son of the soil. We have here two generations represented, separated by a period of forty years—and we, the younger men here, those whose duty it is to take up the work before us. Gentlemen, Napoleon has called us a "Nation of Shopkeepers," but we feel something like the defenders of Mafekiug—we are widening the outposts of the Queen. Why are our armies fighting in South Africa? Why are half a million men shoulder to shoulder in arms against the Boers? I was going to tell you at what cost—but the object is of more importance, it is for the franchise. We, the supporters of freedom are pouring out blood and money to vindicate our proud boast in South Africa, and yet, gentlemen, we, of the colony of Fiji are after all only Uitlanders. (Loud cheers.) Taxation and representation from the fundamental principles of British rule. Now we have just as much to fight for as the oppressed Uitlanders of the Transvaal. The chairman has told you of the constitution of our Legislative Council—of the unofficial members being always outnumbered by the official members. The official members are directed to vote so-and-so, the result being we have less voice in the management of this country than the Uitlanders have in that of the Transvaal. (Cheers.) The next point is, is there any chance of improving our condition? It is a principle of the British constitution that the people should have a voice in the government of their country, and as a rule that the country should be governed by the people and for the people. We reckon that instead of having a government as at present, caring no more for us than if we were Uitlanders, we should federate with a colony having democratic ideas and institutions—to our mutual benefit. By federating with New Zealand we obtain a direct market for our products, for New Zealand is entirely situated in the temperate zone. She grows no tea, sugar, coffee, or other tropical products, therefore, New Zealand is the most suitable colony to turn to. In Queensland they grow tea, sugar, coffee, the same as our own colony, hence then our interests clash. New Zealand is willing to take us, and she is undoubtedly the most suitable colony to federate with. There are many other reasons, among which comes first that the government of New Zealand is a democratic body not in any way likely to deprive us of our rights as citizens, but to give us a voice in the governing of our own colony. We must work for a Federal Government sitting in, say, Wellington, to which certain members are elected from Fiji. In Fiji would be a local Government consisting of local men, and an equal number of elective members and others. It is no use trying for the moon, we must work for something we can get. We must work tentatively, there is no use in going too hard. Another point is that New Zealand has a large native population that is on the increase. They have had a large experience and have conclusively demonstrated that in their dealings with native races they have used justice and temperance. It is to be sincerely desired that New Zealand will be persuaded to accede to our request. Another important factor is that the Premier of New Zealand as head of the Government is at this moment a *persona gratia* with the Colonial authorities at Home, in consequence of assistance of colonial troops sent to the front. His request and petition would receive attention at the hands of the English Government. This is the most propitious time for bringing this matter forward. Mr. Seddon is a man of strength and will, and we know that if he takes it in hand all will be well. We may go twenty or fifty years before such a chance occurs again. Remember, "There is a tide in the affairs of men which leads on to fortune." We are working for a country we believe in, we live in—the cannibal islands. We are here to-night the makers of an Empire. (Cheers.) I believe in enthusiasm, it is the salt of life. The man who has sunk so low as to worry his soul over a shilling increase on a dozen meats, or on the cost of a new frock I do now appeal to, he had better not join in this object, but on the other hand to those who put their shoulder to the wheel, I say let us do the best we can to forward this important movement. (Loud Cheers.)

The chairman called upon Mr. Garner-Jones to speak to the resolution. He said. Mr. Chairman, gentleman, Federation to us of Fiji means—in a nutshell—Progression. We, like our forefathers, are naturally conservative in our feelings, but when we are convinced that changes are necessary, we can also exhibit that dogged obstinacy and determination that is the heritage of our race, and which in the defence of Mafeking we have had the latest instance. (Cheers.) To attain our object we must sink all petty local jealousies, we must have no Levuka, no Suva. "We must be united Fiji. This is undoubtedly one of the finest countries in the world, and one ruined by over-government. I do not hesitate in saying that a large business firm, or a company in any of the adjacent colonies could run Fiji successfully as a department of their business. Now, we are not going to obtain Federation in a rush—there are difficulties which, to be overcome must be recognised. I place the principal of them under these heads, and in their order of importance, ignorance, officialism, and the labour question. With the first we collectively and individually must grapple. It will be our duty to put the matter before the public in its proper light, and to propagate all information bearing on the subject. The second obstacle is one to be naturally expected. A certain class have vested interests, as it were, in the Fiji of to-day, and to a superficial observer it would appear that any such change as Federation means would be to them fatal. It may be so; but they would have at least the consolation of knowing they suffered in a good cause. The good of the country must be weighed, and no consideration of or for one sector section must deter us. The third point—the labor question—is, I take it, a matter of detail, not difficult of arrangement by the powers that be, but one, I am afraid that will be largely used by opponents of Federation. Forewarned is forearmed. On the other hand, what advantages do we obtain? In one word, all that is meant by the word, civilisation, railways, roads, regular steam service. We shall be a part of a concrete whole, but none the less a part of that Empire we so much love. Taxation reduced by increased population, and decreased officialism, we shall be to New Zealand the province that makes her complete in herself; we shall offer her the advantages of the tropics, and she will reciprocate with the fruits and produce of the temperate zone. Fiji is New Zealand's geographical and commercial complement, and as such we shall be a respected ally. Our agriculture will be fostered; capitalists will have confidence, and the long-extinct biped, the small planter, will appear as of old. There will be no bitter competition, as would be if we federated with the Australian Commonwealth. Our position will be unique. Do not think that New Zealand has nothing to gain. The New Zealand Government is by no means sleepy. It recognises full well our value. As to the details of future Government that is not for us to consider. We are here to-night to simply affirm a principle, namely, that it is desirable to federate with New Zealand, and I do, therefore, commend the resolution to your earnest consideration. (Cheers.)

The Chairman called on Mr. Riemenschneider, Warden of Suva, to address the meeting. He was seconded with cheers.

Mr. Riemenschneider: Mr. Chairman, Gentlemen—I must say that we feel very honoured by the invitation extended to us by Mr. Solomon to come to Levuka and express our views on Federation. Now, Federation is a pet scheme of mine, and has been for a considerable time past. When Mr. Berkeley and I entered the Suva Town Board, we drew up a list of ideas we had in view. Among them, in fact, at the head of the list, stood Federation. At that time my idea was to federate with New South Wales, but since then the Commonwealth Bill has been introduced. And, further, the question of black labour would prove fatal to Australian Federation. Under no consideration would the employment of black labour be permitted. A few weeks ago we received a visit from Mr. Seddon, and I thought it was a very fit opportunity to introduce the idea of Federation with New Zealand. He told us in Suva that stress of weather was the cause which he had to thank for his visit to Fiji. But I happened to see a paragraph in a newspaper, a copy of which I hold, that clearly stated the intention of the Premier of New Zealand to visit our colony during his trip. (Mr. Riemenschneider read the extract.) So, apparently, it would appear that the very scheme I had in view has entered the mind of Mr. Seddon. Now, New Zealand is undoubtedly a great power in the South Pacific. We are not represented in our own Government. It is idle to assert the contrary. Mr. Thomas has told you that we have in the past tried to federate with Melbourne and New South Wales, and the result. I came to Fiji with the intention of living here; this is my adopted home and my lot and future is cast in its destiny. If we have failed in the past, there is no reason why we should not try again. There is no time like the present when all the colonies have done so well in the Transvaal crisis. Their claims cannot be shelved. The Imperial Government must recognise their strength and power. Any request made at the present time by Federated Australia or New Zealand must be received with great consideration by the Imperial Government, From the extract I have just read it appears that the Federation of Fiji with New Zealand is not a strange idea to the Imperial Government; that such a proposition would at least be well received. There was a great amount of consideration shown us when we remember that Mr. Seddon came down to see the place for himself. I think that if Federation came about it would be the best thing that could happen for the benefit of Fiji. The exports of Fiji are at present very few. But we can manufacture staple articles of food such as sugar, tea coffee, cocoa. We can I look for no encouragement or help from our present form of government towards developing our resources. We cannot expect capitalists to simply experiment and risk their

money in developing a country in which the Government offers no assistance or advantages by way of inducement as in other colonics. Practically speaking, at the present time there are no inducements of any kind to attract capital. All our sugar goes out of the colony in a raw state. It is, practically speaking, our only export, thanks to the present system of government. Now, we have received excellent returns as to what we can do in coffee. One consignment from Fiji was pronounced the best in the New Zealand market. It brought the highest price as the first coffee of the season. And this is an article consumed in every household. Under Federation, as suggested, the country would be opened up. Governor Thurston for years tried to get the mail service, and he eventually brought it here. Now, what has Governor O'Brien done? Not only did he take the service away, but, as Mr. Berkeley will show you, he seemingly increased the revenue of the colony. And how? By increased taxation. He raised the duties! I do not hesitate to say for a moment that Federation means to us, in the first place, a regular mail service. To forward this I will do everything in my power—there must be a sinking of local differences. We called a meeting in Suva; it was not heartily responded to, and we decided, after going into the matter at length, to communicate with New Zealand and await a reply, but previous to this we decided to obtain the views of the people at Levuka. The matter must be publicly discussed. It is essential that we make no mistakes and take no backward movement. The matter referred to by a previous speaker as an obstacle is open to explanation. I refer to the labour question, and particularly Indian labour. I, with Mr. Berkeley, have looked up the Ordinance and Schedule *re* Indian labour, and we find in the eighth section provision is made by which the Government of India possess and retain the power of granting permission to send labour to certain countries. Natal is mentioned as one. But Natal is no longer a Crown Colony, yet by special arrangement Indian labour is still sent there. This, I take it, removes any difficulties as to the labour question; for if laws could be so modified as to meet the requirements of Natal, it seems only feasible they could be so treated with New Zealand.

Mr. Humphry Berkeley said: Mr. Warden and gentlemen. I can assure you I most thoroughly appreciate the honor you have done me in asking me to attend your meeting. You have had laid before you in a most able way by the various gentlemen who have addressed you the reason that has induced us to assemble here to-night. The subject of Federation with New Zealand is one of paramount importance to us all. It is a subject which commands our most earnest consideration, affecting as it will our future welfare. It is a matter which I feel sure will obtain the general approbation of the colonists of Fiji. Mr. Jones, in addressing you, said there were serious difficulties in our way, and he places those difficulties in the following order:—First, ignorance; second, officialism. I think those terms may be very well combined. In a great number of instances they are synonymous. We, most of us, unfortunately, know the way in which affairs are conducted here. Gentlemen, I do not wish in any way to be personal, but I ask you how many of you know his Excellency Sir George Michael O'Brien by sight. He has been our Governor for four years now. To the citizens of Suva he is practically unknown. I venture to say, without fear of contradiction, that he might walk down Victoria Parade any day in the week without been recognised by 5 per cent, of the people he encountered. If that is true of the capital of the colony, may I ask how many of you, the citizens of Levuka, the mother city of the colony, know your chief administrative officer by sight? Perhaps none. (Loud cheers. A voice: That is so.) Well, gentlemen, you seem pretty well agreed on that point, I only hope you will be as unanimous in recording your votes for federation. I submit that the rule of Crown Colony officialism is not the kind of government we require nor is it the class of government that the needs of the colony demand. Gentlemen, let us admit, for the purposes of argument, that his Excellency Sir George O'Brien is the ablest official that has ever set foot on these shores; but, even in that case, what can he possibly know of the wants of the colony if he never, except on the rarest of occasions, stirs outside of the precincts of Government grounds. The assertion I am making is no idle one, it can, without difficulty, be vouched for. (Hear, hear.) If it be then an admitted fact that his Excellency practically confines himself to the Government grounds, what means can he possibly have of knowing the wants of the colony? Gentlemen, he can only obtain his knowledge of those wants through his subordinates. Now, if it is absolutely necessary for a Governor of a Crown Colony to rely on information which is filtered through his subordinates, what necessity can there be for such an official? Let us take one instance, a few months ago at a public meeting held at Suva, in connection with the withdrawal of the Canadian mail subsidy, certain leading men of that town were deputed to interview his Excellency, Hid to request him to allow the subsidy to be renewed. It was pointed out to him that our late Governor, Sir John Thurston, had, after very considerable difficulty, managed to induce the mail service to make Suva a port of call. That deputation was fortified with a petition signed by all the most influential citizens. What was the response? Well, you have seen the account in the paper yourself, and will remember that he replied to this effect:—"It would be useless to apply to the Home Government for a renewal of the subsidy, because the certain answer would be, 'If you are so well off, pay some portion of the Imperial loan back.'" The amount of the subsidy, as you know was £1500 a year, and you will remember that the petition showed that a considerably larger revenue than £1500 per annum was derived by the steamers of the Canadian line calling here. Now, this was a peculiar statement to make when his subsequent actions are considered. The

Crown Colony of Fiji would not, according to him, be allowed to subsidise a mail line which would put it in immediate touch with the outer world, although the revenue would be increased by the advent of that line, because the Imperial authorities would not sanction it so long as the Imperial loan remained unpaid. But what about that thousand pounds which his Excellency donated to the Patriotic Fund? Whose money was it? Did it belong to his Excellency? Did it belong to the Imperial authorities? No, gentlemen, it was £1000 which came out of our pockets through the medium of taxation—taxation in which we had no say; our money, as to the disposal of which we were not consulted. Can his Excellency or any of his subordinates explain to us why, if the Imperial authorities set their face against allowing us to pay a subsidy to a mail line which was so materially contributing to our welfare because of the Imperial loan, they should allow £1000 to be taken from our assets for the Patriotic Fund. Gentlemen, Her Majesty owns no more loyal dependency than the colony of Fiji. We are proud of the deeds of her soldiers and our soldiers, for they are the soldiers of the Empire, and we have shown our sympathy with and devotion to the Mother country by contributing according to our means sums of money which had been forwarded to the Lord Mayor of London before his Excellency ever passed his vote in the Legislative Council—a council composed of members selected by the Governor of Fiji himself. Gentlemen, charity commences at home. We had contributed the various amounts that we considered we could afford. If his Excellency was so desirous of associating his name with a contribution of £1000 to the Fund, it is perhaps somewhat to be regretted that he did not first make himself acquainted with the fact that there was already a Patriotic Fund in existence in the colony. Now, this is only one illustration of the arbitrary manner in which the affairs of a colony which has no representation are conducted. Gentlemen, Federation will cure all this. By Federation we will at once have representation, and there is no doubt in my mind that those who are chosen to represent you will take good care that your wishes are attended to. Now, we must remember that, although we are in the main unanimous, there are always the ill-disposed and timid ones who will suggest difficulties, and you will find that one of the strongest cards that those people will play will be the question of black labour. You will find it stated that the Indian Government will not allow their natives to come to Fiji if we federate. It was only the other day that one man who, up to that time, I regarded as a practical man, remarked to me, "If you have Federation, the Colonial Sugar Refining Company will have to close; they will not be able to continue without Indian labour," and, in continuing, he said, "look at the labour laws in Queensland and New South Wales, the Indians can't go there." Gentlemen, the reason the Indians are not admitted into Queensland and New South Wales is not because the Indian Government will not let them go to those colonies, but because the colonies will not have native labour at any price. I admit at once that it must be a condition precedent to Federation that our Indian immigration be safeguarded. Without that labour we shall suffer far more than we can possibly hope to gain by Federation. Let us, therefore, understand from the commencement that it shall be a *sine qua non* in our dealings with New Zealand, that we shall have the same laws approximately as at present with regard to native labour. But, it may be suggested, how is this to be obtained? Once federated, the Parliament may pass laws prohibiting the introduction and continuance of coolie labour. That argument is easily met. Federation is merely a partnership; it is a term used where large communities join together for their common benefit; but for the purpose of illustrating my argument we will resort to the better known term, partnership. We all here understand what a partnership means. It is "the result of a contract whereby two or more persons agree to combine property or labour, or both, for the purpose of a common undertaking and the acquisition of a common profit." Now you know that in every partnership deed there are such clauses inserted as each party deems to be advantageous to him—and both partners are bound by the deed—now, in the larger partnership of communities or Federation, the rights of each community are equally safeguarded. With regard to Indian immigrants, the matter will simply resolve itself into this: Fiji will insist that a clause be inserted in the Federal Bill to the effect that no legislation shall be made by the Federal Parliament inimical to the retaining of the coolie. Every legislative body must have certain fundamental rules to govern its action in the same way that every court of law must rely on the powers which are conferred on it by the act constituting its jurisdiction. Another great point in favor of Federation, to my mind, is the facility that it will afford us in the hearing of appeals. This is a legal ground and, as a lawyer, I assure you that difficulties at present attaching to an appeal from the Supreme Court are in most cases insuperable. To commence with, before the right of appeal accrues the subject matter in dispute must be of the value of £500. Now, the majority of cases heard in the Supreme Court are under this amount. Again the costs of appeal are exceedingly heavy, and they have to be provided for by the party desirous of appealing. Anyone who wishes to appeal against the decision of the Supreme Court must be in a position at the very least to find £1000. This really renders an appeal unpracticable to most. Now, if we were to federate with New Zealand, it will be no more difficult for a dissatisfied suitor to obtain redress than if he were resident in New Zealand, for the distance between Suva and Auckland is no greater than the distance between Auckland and Dunedin. Federation would, therefore, cheapen litigation, and I feel certain that the people of Fiji would, in the main, be as content with the Federal Court of Appeal as they are at present with the decisions of the Privy Council. Besides the ultimate right of appeal from the Federal Council to the Privy

Council would always be open to still dissatisfied suitors. Now, gentlemen, let us look at Federation from another point of view; that of the benefits the colony will reap from having markets opened up for the disposal of our products. Tea, coffee, cocoa, arrowroot, tobacco—these all thrive, as we know, in this colony. Now we only grow them in small quantities. Why is this? you ask, The answer is that there is no means to dispose of these articles if we produce them. Tea cannot compete in New Zealand with the cheaply-grown article produced in Ceylon; but once let the duty of sixpence a pound, which is at present imposed on that product, be taken off, and we will certainly be able to compete on a favoured ground with far distant Ceylon. The same remarks apply to all the minor articles I have enumerated. Once let us be federated with New Zealand, however, and we will have ready-made markets at our doors. Why is Honolulu in such a prosperous condition to-day? It is because she has been for years the petted child of the United States, and has always had a market ready to receive her staple product—sugar. Now sugar is our staple also. Federated with New Zealand, the statesmen of the federated colony would quickly, by means of reciprocal arrangements with Canada, find a market which we at present lack. There are many other reasons which I could give you were the time at my disposal, but I feel I have been already trespassing somewhat on your consideration. I can only say, in conclusion, that I think Federation with New Zealand would be the saving and making of Fiji.

Mr. Boue (Messrs. Hedemann, Evers & Co.) asked for information *re* comparison of tariffs of New Zealand and Fiji,

The Warden: You must understand that at present New Zealand tariff is higher than New South Wales, but the Federated Commonwealth's tariff will be undoubtedly a protection one, on a higher scale, on account of other colonies being protectionists, and being in the majority.

A voice: What about the imports and exports to come from New Zealand?

The Warden: I have no idea.

A voice: The New Zealand tariff is 25 per cent, higher.

The Warden: You must bear in mind many goods that we are paying duty on now, would, under Federation with New Zealand, come in duty free, such as biscuits, meats, soap, being New Zealand products. Anyway, whichever way we look at it we cannot be worse off than we are now.

Mr. J. Harman: Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I have listened attentively to all the speakers this evening. I know nothing about Federation. I have been in this country a matter of forty years and know Fiji and the Fijians well. The Fijians represent a few thousands. Now, I say, take away the present restrictions on the native's liberty. When the famous deed of annexation was read to the native chiefs at Nasova (I was not there then) they were told they were British subjects. Then, if so, why were and why are separate regulations and laws made for them? Why are they not treated as British subjects, amendable to the same laws as their brothers, the white men. Take a case: For adultery they get three months, while fornication costs them four shillings to one pound. Is that liberty? Is that British freedom? Now we are told they are British subjects (I don't know if this is reasonable), but I assert these distinct regulations and distinctions proclaim loudly that they are not British subjects. No! the flag that waves over you and me does not make them freemen. If a native stays away from his home he gets one month; if he still stays away he gets three months. Is that British rule? I cannot recall the Ordinance referred to by a previous speaker *re* Indian labor—section 8, or something—but this I say, we don't want the Indians here. Give the Fijian his freedom and the Indian is not required. Now turn to another point—bribery. It is no secret; any man present to-night has had experience of it. Suppose you want to employ native labor, you must first bribe the buli. He must be bribed before a single man can be got. The men may want to go, but cannot stir without the consent of their chief; and to get that consent you must bribe him. Deny it if you can? Not the men but the buli arranges the whole matter. The native system is rotten—I speak from an experience of forty years. I remember in 1873 we had a meeting here in Levuka as now, at which I saw a double number of gentlemen present. The cry was let's have annexation at any price! And you have got it, and you know it. (Cheers.) Now, a new cry is raised—Let us have Federation! Yes, I say, let us have it; let us have New Zealand or anything for a change. Melbourne would not have us; quite right. Sydney followed suit. Now Dick Seddon looks on us with favour. What is he going to do with the sugar industry? I say, take the sugar away; it has done nothing for the country. When that great company—the C.S.R. Co.—came to Fiji, we had quantities of small planters, men who held an industry, the backbone of Fiji. Where are they now? Wiped out! Wiped out by the C.S.R. Co. Take away the Company; refuse them Indian labour, and the colony as a whole will be the gainer. Now, as to that important question—products for export. Tapioca, tea, bananas: several have been referred to as being capable of export to New Zealand. Gentlemen, we have exported, and with what result? We tried and we glutted the market. A few shipments supply New Zealand. She would not be able to take what we produce. But my experience since annexation, leads me to say that we cannot be worse off. Let us federate with any constitutional colony that will have us.

Dr. Hallan: Mr. Chairman, the officials have been referred to by Mr. Berkeley as being opposed to advance. But I will ask you all to remember that medical men are the representatives of advance, and on that account

alone I protest. I would ask for a little information. My mind is hazy on several points just discussed. I confess that I am still uncertain what is meant by Federation. We want a better definition of the word. Suggestions have been made relative to the establishment of a Federal Council. This seems to me like the tail of the dog (laughter). Again, a question stands out that is not fully dealt with, not the labor question here, which is a minor matter, but the native question in New Zealand. We have had Natal referred to. Now, I have followed the native question in that colony closely, and I think, gentlemen, you can hardly quote Natal with enthusiasm. As to the public debt, why not keep our own debt? I cannot see any obstacle to that course. It seems to me that if we are to agree we must first start with a clear idea of what Federation means or else schisms will creep in.

Mi. Cauley: Mr. Chairman, are natives to have the franchise? (Cries of no! no!)

The Warden: We can't settle that at present. Mr. Berkeley might give us his idea on this point.

Mr. Berkeley: I should say that the qualification for the franchise would be on the property basis, and if the native possesses such property, why not let him vote? It is best, however, at this, stage not to interfere with the question.

Mr. Mackenzie: In New Zealand there are a few Maori electorates.

Mr. R. Headdey (Bentley & Co.): This is a serious question. Fiji is as low as possible. Let us federate by all means. I, myself, am not a great believer in New Zealand, but a change would do us no harm. This is a Crown Colony of a severe type. Are we to pay New Zealand's debt? (cries of no! no!) Well, it is a question that wants thinking out. But let us have anything—Federation or annexation.

The Warden: The Doctor asks, "What is Federation." I take it that if New Zealand accept Fiji as a Federal colony we will have to a great extent a voice in our own government—a Parliament of residents of Fiji conducting local affairs, also a Parliament in New Zealand to discuss larger questions. At present we are annexed and have no voice in our own affairs. There will be no trouble about the labor question. We have men in Fiji amongst us quite competent to manage our local affairs. The natives of New Zealand elect so many members—there is no reason why the same course should not be adopted in Fiji. Understand that in managing our own affairs we should be represented by men interested in the country, not merely drawing their salaries. A speaker referred to annexation and Federation. It is well to remember that we are annexed and are tired of it. Shall we federate with New Zealand or not? That is the question. This must be settled. If they will have us, we can't possibly be worse off no matter what happens. What we want to do is to strengthen the hands of the New Zealand Government in their petition to the Imperial Powers, and, as Mr. Seddon told you, the Imperial Government is inclined to be more liberal with her Crown Colonies. I now put the motion to the meeting. (Read it.)

Carried unanimously, amidst loud cheering.

Captain D. Robbie: Mr. Chairman, gentlemen, the honor has been deputed to me to move the second resolution. There is little doubt that the object of this meeting is the most important that could have brought us together. There are many points in favor of Federation, many of which have been advanced this evening. New Zealand is a colony of untold wealth. Her mineral wealth is unequalled, and her pastoral area is second to none of the Australasian colonies. She is a colony progressing politically and socially with great strides. (The speaker here read some statistics bearing out his statement.) He then proposed "That a committee be formed for the furtherance of Federation with New Zealand; such committee to cooperate with any other that may be formed in Suva, and to consist of the Warden (Mr. J. Solomon), and Messrs. W. I. Thomas, A. Eastgate, D. Uarner-Jones, J. M. Hedstrom, and the mover, with power to add to their number."

Mr. A. Eastgate: I have great pleasure in seconding this resolution. I should like to add, however, one gentleman to the number, viz., Mr. R. Headdy. He has large interests in the country, and it is a good thing to have a man with several opinions on a committee, as it enables the matter to be threshed out properly.

The names of Messrs. R. Headdy and T. L. Wood were unanimously added to the committee.

The resolution was then put by his Worship the Warden and carried unanimously.

Mr. Riemenschneider then thanked the meeting, on behalf of himself and Mr. Berkeley, for the patient hearing that had been granted them, and, speaking of meetings to be held in Suva in the future expressed a hope to see some representatives of Levuka.

The Warden briefly responded, and trusted that the Suva meetings would be as successful as the one that night.

Mr. W. I. Thomas moved and Captain Robbie seconded a vote of thanks to Messrs. Riemenschneider and Berkeley which, being carried by applause, brought the meeting to a close.

FROM THE FIJI TIMES, JULY 25, 1900.

ONE of the certain consequences of confederation with New Zealand would be the restoration to us of the fine mail steamers of the Canadian-Australian line, which for so many years placed Fiji on the main road of

communication round the world. It is to the fact that the steamers of that line called here that we owe the advantage of having had our shores visited by such a man as Lord Brassey. Had the line not then existed, had Fiji then not been a station on the route between London and Melbourne, that distinguished statesman, then Governor of Victoria, would, in all probability, have never come to Fiji. What is true in this respect of Lord Brassey is also true of many others, to be known to whom cannot but be of advantage to the colony. Travelling by the steamers of the Canadian line was always made with rapidity and comfort. Had the colony never known what it is to be able to travel under such conditions, the relapse to the present comparative discomfort and delay inseparable from cargo steamers, upon which we have been thrown, might have been easier to bear. The withdrawal of the small subsidy of £1500 a year for carrying our mails between Fiji and Canada and Fiji and Australia was a mistake on the part of the Government of this colony. It was, we believe, due to a misapprehension on the part of the present Governor—who at the time had but recently assumed the governorship—of the facts attending the establishment of the line and of the advantages that could not but flow from the steamers continuing to call here. We are willing to palliate the action of the Governor before he was fully charged with the requirements of his Government, especially when, as now, he is undertaking a Government for the first time. Mistakes must in such a case be looked for. In this instance it is not the committing of the mistake but the refusal to admit or repair the mistake, and the power to persist in that refusal against the expressed wish of the colony, which is so very serious. It is so serious because under our present form of Government our people are helpless. It is a feeling that we are so, bred of the proved uselessness of appealing from the local administration to the controlling power at home, which impels us to look elsewhere for that redress we cannot obtain here and which we feel we are likely to look in vain for from England. The Secretary of State desires nothing but good of the colony; he would never permit, knowingly, anything to be done to retard its advancement. That may be taken for granted as the normal attitude of the Secretary of State. The present secretary has, in addition to words, by acts in regard to other colonies, shown himself ready in practice to extend his personal help in their advancement. As only one of several instances, Mr. Chamberlain's action in obtaining a large subsidy—£40,000 a year we believe—from the Imperial Parliament to firmly establish the fruit trade in Jamaica, may be quoted. It is, however, a very far cry from Fiji to London. Necessarily, the Secretary of State must depend greatly for information and guidance upon the local administration, and when the opinion of the local administrator and the people clash, the former will generally be upheld if he adheres with sufficient tenacity to his opinion. Action to the contrary might be construed to mean want of confidence in the officer administering. So long as the official is retained in office, he will, in almost every case be supported where it is merely a question of difference of opinion between himself and the people he governs as to what is best for them. It is, we repeat, a far cry from Fiji to London. We mean by that expression that our voice can only reach the Secretary of State feebly through the medium of the official opposed to our wishes. As a gentleman, he would not knowingly misrepresent us or our case, but as the official whose policy is challenged, he may be unwittingly biased, and so may, and in many instances does, unconsciously, perhaps, misrepresent those who approach the Secretary of State through him. There can seldom or never be any independent or impartial inquiry by the Secretary of State on the spot. In the nature of things that must be so. Fiji is too far off to allow of independent inquiry from England to be anything but barely possible. The Secretary of State must therefore, perforce, practically, always uphold the official view when it is persistently opposed to the popular wish. The fact is we are too far distant from Downing-street to be effectively governed therefrom. That feeling prompts us to turn to the neighbouring colonies and seek for admission within their administration. At present we desire Federation with New Zealand because New Zealand apparently wishes to federate with us; and from contiguity and otherwise, Federation with her is most desirable. We want to be able to appeal for redress to some authority which will settle by early enquiry on the spot disputes between the local administrator and the people, and not act as of course on the *ex parte* statements of the local administration. It is in this as much as in any other respect that Federation with New Zealand would be so useful to Fiji. Wellington is but five days' steam from Suva. Had it been possible to appeal to Wellington in the matter of the Canadian line, those steamers would still be calling here.

FROM THE FIJI TIMES, AUGUST 18, 1900.

SIR,—I send you for publication the letter which I received from the Premier of New Zealand. Mr. Seddon's letter is very encouraging to all who have supported the movement for Federation with New Zealand. It removes the fears of those who doubted whether the New Zealand Government was willing to federate with us, and it is in line with those who think that the first step should be to obtain freedom from the depressing influence of autocratic rule. Mr. Seddon advises us to obtain self-government and promises us the aid of the Government of New Zealand in any movement for that purpose. I will not stop to discuss the nature of the measure of self-government for which we should ask. That is a detail to be settled in the course of the

discussion which must follow on our request for self-government. It is the principle of local self-government upon which we must now insist. The form is a detail to be settled hereafter. We may rest assured that, guided by the advice of the statesmen of the neighbouring colonies, we shall ultimately arrive at that form of government most suited to us. Any measure of self-government would be a great advance on the irresponsible and unsympathetic one-man government under which we drag out our political existence. The raising of taxation, the spending of the people's money, the making of the laws under which, for good or ill, we have to live, would at all events, whatever may be the form of self-government adopted, be more or less under the control of the representatives of the people. The administration of public affairs would no longer be in the uncontrolled hands of a Governor disdainful of the wishes of the people of the colony and careless of local opinion, secure in the belief that he is too far away from the Colonial office for anyone to call him to account. No longer should we be subjected to the humiliation of being obliged tamely to submit to curtly-expressed arbitrary refusals to meet the wishes of the people even in such a purely domestic matter as that which recently formed the subject of correspondence between the Government and myself, as Warden of Suva. The power of the representatives of the people to control official salaries would, at least, have the effect of protecting them from language such as that in which the Governor directed the Assistant-Colonial Secretary to couch his letter to the Town Board. The tone therein adopted towards that representative body, because, forsooth, it dared, in the interests of the townspeople, to repeatedly urge the Governor to remove from the town such menaces to health as the leper and bubonic plague huts, savors of Russian autocracy, or Eastern despotism, and is unbecoming in the extreme when addressed to men who, though living in a Crown Colony, are yet free Englishmen, and cannot but make us detest a system of government under which it is possible so to treat popular representations for the redress of grievances.

It is time that this colony should be relieved from the incubus of arbitrary irresponsible rule. It is time that the colonists should be accorded a voice in their own government. It is time that we should be able at least to command courteous replies to our wishes when expressed in respect of matters which, rightly or wrongly, we deem of vital moment to ourselves.

Mr. Seddon advises that hasty action should be avoided, in that all will concur.

Let us form a committee to consider what steps should be taken to bring about the desired reform in the Constitution of the colony. The Premier of New Zealand promises his hearty support. Possessing his sympathy, and with the promise of his assistance we may go on without fear of the result.

—I am, etc.

F. E. Riemenschneider.

17/8/00.

decorative feature

Federation and The Natives.

By the Rev. W. Stade.

THE question has often been asked me of late what attitude does the Wesleyan Mission assume towards Federation? My answer has been: As a Mission, no attitude at all. The Wesleyan Mission, as a Mission, is neutral in politics. But, while the Mission wisely, as I think, maintains an attitude of neutrality, and is not likely, in its corporate capacity, to express any opinion on Federation, this does not prevent individual members of the Mission staff from holding and expressing an opinion either for or against it. In setting forth, therefore, my own views on Federation, as it may affect the native population of Fiji, I wish it to be understood that I write only on my own behalf, and am not committing the Mission to which I belong to any particular set of opinions, much less to any course of action.

The stand-point from which I wish to discuss the question is that of a person whose only reason for being in Fiji at all is the welfare of the natives, and who views Federation, not as it may affect the commercial interests of the European population, but, as it bears on the condition and prospects of the Fijians themselves.

What would be the effect of Federation on them? To answer this question it is necessary to ask another. Has the present Crown Colony Government proved so successful in its relation to the natives that it ought to be perpetuated? Let us review the situation.

For several reasons Fiji is an interesting country to the student of political economy. Nowhere else is afforded the opportunity of watching an experiment in governing such as we witness here, and there is nothing so valuable as practical experiments in estimating the worth of theories. For that reason I have watched

carefully the progress of government in this country. I have never been one of those whose chief recreation lies in the abuse of the Government, and who are by long habit unable to distinguish between good and bad. It has been my aim to judge calmly and dispassionately, and to view affairs from the point of those who are responsible for the administration of the Government. The following are the result of my observations:—

1. The Fiji Government has committed itself to the maintenance of the communal system. When the cession of the group took place a sort of communal system was found in existence. It would, perhaps, be more correct to say that it was a despotism in which the chiefs were the tyrants. They held sole possession of the lives and property of the population, while the mass of the people were communal in complete subservience to the chiefs. It seemed easy for the new Government to extend and crystallize this system. It was much easier than to face the problem of emancipating the people from its thralldom, and so grew up a code of Ordinances whose effect has been to give the chance communism of the old Fiji all the force of law in the new. I assume, for the sake of brevity, that my readers are sufficiently informed concerning the present communal system to obviate the necessity of my entering into greater detail. To this system the Fiji Government is committed, and to all appearances irrevocably committed. I venture to say that the perpetuation of the communal system has been a great mistake.

Those who know natives well, know that what they most lack, and what, if they are ever to be true men, they must somehow acquire, are the qualities of mind and soul that are expressed in the word "character." But character is just what the natives have not. We, who work for and among them, know, too painfully, how deficient in all manly qualities they are. Courage, honour, firmness, pure ambition, truthfulness, unselfishness—these and kindred qualities are all too rare. Let me say here that the natives are not generally hypocrites, as many thoughtlessly, say; they mean well, but being deficient in character they are weak and the victims of circumstances. They do mentally and morally what many others, not only natives, do—temporarily live from hand to mouth, and so are mere opportunists, whose conduct, under the ordinary circumstances of life may never be foretold.

But environment has everything to do with growth of character. Place any number of men in situations requiring certain qualities of mind and the axiom will be verified that occasions produce the men to deal with them. The vital objection to Socialism is that it obliterates individuality, and Communism is only another name for Socialism. Herd men together like sheep, take away from them all incentive and ambition, impose on them a legal code that stops all outlet for individual effort, stifle all expressions of individual opinion, and the result, most assuredly, will be the annihilation of all character and the production of a placid race of mental and moral invertebrates.

This has been the result of the communal system developed and perpetuated by the Fiji Government. The policy of the Wesleyan Mission in its synods and church courts has been to promote individualism among the natives. Freedom of discussion, room for the exercise of judgment and a share in the legislation and administration of ecclesiastical affairs, these have always been conceded. The policy of the Government has been, and is now, more than ever the direct opposite of this. The Councils are a mere matter of form and are dominated by officials, and the will of the people always gives place to the personal will of the Governor. Freedom of discussion and the expression of private opinion are effectively checked by such laws as that of Vakatubuca, an Ordinance wide enough to catch even the most wary. In such environment a nation of men cannot be formed. It is not being formed in Fiji.

2. The communal system is bound up with the maintenance of the poll tax. I do the Government no wrong when I say the natives are governed principally in the interests of that tax. When I read the report of the Commission on the decrease of the native population, I was struck with the use of the argument that it was desirable to preserve the native race because its extinction meant a serious loss of revenue to the Government. We are witnessing just now a new departure in the operations of the Provincial Inspectors. I have good reason for saying that the work of those Inspectors is regulated to suit the exigencies of the poll tax. If an Inspector, whose mind rises a bit above filling up ditches and erecting bamboo fences, suggests any radical measure for the improvement of the natives he is met by the objection that his proposal might interfere with the poll tax. And what do we see, therefore? That the people are being brought in off the land and huddled together in villages of area so limited that conversation in one house may be overheard in the next, and the inhabitants are not able to keep a domestic animal, not even a militant rooster and his attendant hens. Villages are removed from the fertile valleys and placed on the road sides; a village at all roomy is contracted, and all to make the people more easily get-at-able, in the interests chiefly of the poll tax. For the same reason the natives are bound to their villages most of the year, and it has come to pass that, though we have in Fiji upwards of 35,000 able-bodied men, planters and traders needing a few weeks or days of casual labor frequently cannot obtain a man. In travelling through the interior of Viti Levu, I have been painfully impressed by the lovely fertile lands all desolate of people, while the owners are compelled to congregate in small villages, and it has been more than once forced on my mind that the true policy would be to replace the present officials—estimable

gentlemen they are, too, mostly—by men who can use both head and hands to scatter the people in small holdings over their country and teach them to become crofters. It could be done, and the country would be then enriched by a native race possessing property, and the race itself, tasting the joy of possession, would strive further to acquire, and have an incentive to live that is now denied them.

About the poll tax I observe—

- It is unjust. Polynesians and free Indians pay no special tax, why, then the Fijians? Because, answers an official, the poll tax is merely a fee paid to the British power for its protection, and the security it gives to the Fijians in possession of the country. The Fijians in the interests of the communal system and the allied poll tax are being gathered off their lands, and the areas vacated are let on easy terms to untaxed alien settlers of all and whatever kinds.
- The Fijians now pay a very large amount through the Custom-house, why tax them specially? The Government not long ago announced that last year the total spendable income of the native race was over £70,000. We will add to that the amount of the poll tax, say £19,000, making the total income in round numbers £90,000. Out of that total income Government takes first the £19,000 in direct taxation, and as nearly all the remaining £70,000 is spent in articles paying duty varying from 12½ to 40 per cent., does it not appear that the Government dips its hand too deeply into the Fijians' purse?
- The poll tax hangs heavily on the people. In provinces where it is easily raised it is hateful to the natives; in some provinces, such as Ra and parts of Vanua Levu, it is positively oppressive, imagine inland districts preparing soil, planting maize, hoeing and weeding it, pulling the cobs, drying and shelling the corn, carrying it to the coast on their backs, bagging and shipping it there free of freight to the buyer for 2s. a bushel! It is mere waste of time and of human energy and a prostitution of industry. I have discussed the poll tax with many officers of the Government. I remember none who could defend it on higher ground than the necessity of obtaining a revenue. Viewed in the cold, clear light of justice, it cannot be defended at all that the original owners of the soil shall be taxed to the extent of nearly 40 per cent, of their gross income, while others, better able to pay, are exempt from special taxation. But the Fiji Government finds itself in control of a race ignorant of economics, helpless to protect itself from extortion and having no means of making its voice heard, and so this Government, arming itself with the necessary enactments, goes forth to spoil the people annually of £19,000 more than its just dues. The people are like some patient beast of burden who, dimly conscious that its load is too heavy, staggers along because it fears the crack of the driver's whip; the Lawani Talaidredre and Lavani Vakatubu ca, &c. If the Fijians were more courageous, had their own newspapers, understood and could use the right of public meeting and could bring to bear on the Government the influences available to ourselves, poll tax would not survive a year. But the Government needs the revenue, and so overtaxes the race that proves the easiest victim. How true is the trite observation that men do in a corporate capacity acts from which as individuals they would shrink with loathing. But the experience of mankind shows that there is something about the work of governing that proves strangely destructive of the sense of justice in those who take part in it. A statesman must not have too sensitive a conscience. The Fiji Government makes no mistakes in that direction.

3. The natives' have been and are still compelled to do large amounts of free labor on roads and other public works from which they personally derive very small benefit. The whole of the road from Nadroga to Viti Levu Bay was made by forced, unpaid native labor. The road from Tavua to Suva, through the precipitous mountains of the interior; the road from Ba which junctions the Tavua road at Nadarivatu, the road from Ba to Fort Carnarvon and through Navosa to Nadarivatu; the road from Viti Levu Bay that junctions the main road at Nubumakita, and many others too numerous to mention, were all, with few exceptions, made under compulsion by the natives, who got not a penny of remuneration and fed themselves into the bargain. And all this in addition to the poll tax and Customs duties. The hand of the Government has been heavy indeed on the native population. Roads are desirable, but they should be paid for, not done for nothing, under compulsion, by one class of people already too heavily taxed.

4. For the maintenance of the communal system and the poll tax, the Fiji Government has woven about the natives a web of legislation that has been the grave of all liberty. Take Lawa ni Talaidredre and Lawa ni Vakatubu ca. In these two Ordinances alone the Government has forged for itself and its officials, English and native, most effective instruments shall I say—of oppression. The Government did not mean to oppress, but it has oppressed, nevertheless. Both the above Ordinances were very dangerous weapons to place in the hands of native officials. During my residence in these islands I have been the indignant witness of many arbitrary and oppressive acts done by their means.

During a recent journey through the interior of Viti Levu I met an old man under police escort, on his way to Suva gaol. Happening to know him and also his family, I enquired the reason of his imprisonment. It was Vakatubu ca on two grounds. First, as town chief he opposed the appropriation of a piece of ground for tax

purposes (poll tax again) for the reason that it was required for planting food. Secondly, he opposed the removal of his village and the union of its people with another village. In this case one Provincial Inspector ordered the breadfruit trees to be cut down, and when that was done another Inspector decided to remove the village altogether. The old man opposed this, was charged with *Vakatubu ca*, and is now putting in six months for his courage. I met him on the way. He suffers from a complaint that makes walking a real torture, and this old man was sent staggering over the mountains from Rakiraki to Suva although he could have been sent round by steamer for 10s. To my thinking he has done nothing at all worthy of punishment. But that is where I think the Fiji Government has involved itself in a course that makes tyranny a necessity. To perpetuate Communism and maintain the poll tax *Lawa ni Talaidredre* and *Lawa ni Vakatumu ca* are essential, and it follows that conduct, for which we applaud our Pymms, our Hampdens, our Cobdens, and our Wilberforces, becomes an indictable offence in Fiji. If Gladstone had been a Fijian, instead of his country sending him back to Parliament with an overwhelming following for denouncing the Government's cynical apathy over Bulgarian atrocities we should have seen him in a prisoner's procession in the streets of Suva, with hair cropped close and wearing a sulu plentifully besprinkled with broad arrows.

The Fiji Government has deprived the natives of all liberty. They pay about 40 per cent, of their gross income to the Treasury in addition to unpaid labor, yet they have no franchise and no representation. Their Councils are under Government tutelage, one man, and one only, holds them in his hand, and when it happens that the hand is metallic and unsympathetic the natives are to be pitied. In Fiji, a young man who feels the village boundaries to be too strait for him, and his aspirations and ambitions to attain to something above the rank of a mere hewer of wood and drawer of water, is met at the outset by an inflexible communal system that holds him in a relentless grip. He would be a carpenter or a blacksmith; he would possess his own cottage and live on the fruits of his own labour, or he would seek for education and become in time the teacher of his fellows. But the commune says: "No, I need you to help meet my obligation; if you go who will work for the poll tax; who will make the roads? The employment you desire and the freedom they imply are not for you but for Europeans, Indians, Polynesians, &c., you must banish all thought of them; this little village is your world, stray beyond it at your peril, do not call yourself a mail. Helot is your name, because men are free and you are bound. You may fret against the barriers, but my system must go on." And so Fijian young men may not choose their path in life, nor avail themselves of opportunities that occur to them of learning trades. They may be broken in the process, but the communal system must be maintained.

5. The Fiji Government has made itself an object of hatred and dread to the natives—it rules by fear. Its foolish anxiety to regulate every detail of native life has led to the multiplication of Ordinances that hedge the native round like the spikes in a regulus barrel. The most law-abiding and well-meaning native can scarcely hope to pass through life without making frequent appearances before magistrates, to answer charges that in other countries would not be thought offences. It would be interesting to see a table for one year of punishments inflicted for offences against the Ordinances that uphold the communal and tax system. The present Governor wrote in a well-remembered message of the sheaves of Ordinances he found in Fiji. It cannot be said, however, that the burden of these sheaves has been made any lighter by the appointment of inspectors, whose mere word, backed by *Lawa ni Talaidredre* becomes a law; who, knowing of, or caring less for, the customs and feelings of the people, ride rough-shod over them, and who, being foolishly elated by the absolute power bestowed upon them, make occasions to use it.

The government of the natives has become a mere tyranny (I use this word in its original sense), and the greatest discontent is felt in a large part of the country. But this discontent is mostly voiceless; *Lawa ni Yakatumu ca* compels it to be dumb. If the test of successful government is found in the wealth and happiness it places within reach of its subjects the Fiji Government has miserably failed.

My conclusion, therefore, is that the natives of this country have found the present form of Government anything but a blessing, and that the Government itself has been a huge and ghastly failure. The Government has not gone the right way to raise characterful people; it has rather succeeded in reducing all to one helpless level, and, though the new inspectorship will give us clean villages, I am of the opinion that they have got hold of the "wrong end of the stick," and that the true redemptive policy would be to break up the tribal and communal system, place the people under efficient directorship back on the land, help them to acquire useful animals and property, and instead of bringing in Indians to fill our vacant areas, teach our own natives to become settlers. That would be a policy worthy of an enlightened Government, and in the end it would make the Fijians worth more to the Treasury than they are now.

Now let us look at the attitude of the New Zealand Government to the Maoris.

In the past New Zealand made its own mistakes in dealing with its aboriginal population, and for these it has paid the price. It has also learned wisdom from its mistakes, and no one can now charge that colony with unfairness towards the Maoris.

- The Maoris have Parliamentary representation.

- They have the franchise.
- They pay no poll tax but their equitable share of other imports.
- An Act preventing private dealings (in land) gives them secure possession of their lands and ensures a just price. Government alone buys Maori land.
- The Maoris are free.
- The Maori enjoys the benefit of free education.
- The Maoris do no unpaid forced labor on the roads and public works.
- The Maoris are not enmeshed in fussy irritating legislation.
- The Maoris do not suffer from a plague of English and native officials.

I conclude, therefore, that the Fijian natives have nothing to lose, but a great deal to gain, from a Federation that would free them from a Government whose hand is as ubiquitously heavy as that of the present Crown Colony, and whose expensiveness leads to the reversal of the principles on which equitable taxation is based, and causes the heaviest burden to fall on the poor.

It would be worthwhile to work for Federation, if only as a way of obtaining opportunities for the discussion of the native affairs, and of escape from the truculent discourtesy that seems always to have been, as it is now the predominant feature of Crown Colony Governments.

Communication from the Premier of New Zealand.

FROM THE FIJI TIMES, AUGUST 18, 1900.

To F. E. RIEMENSCHNEIDER, ESQ., Warden, Suva, Fiji.

DEAR SIR,—In reply to your letter of the 18th ultimo, I have the honor to inform you that the Government of this colony would be favourably inclined to consider any proposal regarding Federation of New Zealand with Fiji. It is a matter of great moment to you, and it also concerns the Australian Commonwealth. I notice that the Secretary of State said that in any proposal of the kind the Commonwealth would be consulted. Hasty action of any kind should be avoided, and the first step to be taken should be to obtain self-government. After that, a decision should be come to with regard to Federation. In the Speech from the Throne, delivered to the New Zealand Parliament, which, in all probability, you have seen ere this, the following appears:—

"My advisers consider it to be of the first importance to the Empire and this colony that British interests in the islands of the Pacific should be definitely conserved, and in respect to several of the islands, that, with the concurrence of the inhabitants, annexation should, where possible, take place. With a view of removing difficulties and providing satisfactory administration, the extension of the boundaries of this colony may be found necessary, and if so, the people of New Zealand may be required to assume the increased responsibility."

This, I may say, fairly represents the situation. In the meantime, it would only be a neighbourly act on our part and that of Australia, if we assisted in obtaining self-government, which, in my opinion, would be the first step towards the removal of that isolation from which you are undoubtedly suffering.

—I am, etc.,

R. J. Seddon.

PREMIER'S OFFICE, WELLINGTON, N.Z.,

July 29.

FROM THE FIJI TIMES, SEPTEMBER 1, 1900.

SIR.—Since the appearance of Mr. Seddon's letters, a suggestion, emanating from a quarter not difficult to fix, has been here and there made that Fiji should endeavour to obtain Federation with the Commonwealth of Australia, and reject the proposal of Mr. Seddon to federate with New Zealand.

The authors of this suggestion, while they openly profess to be ardent supporters of the principle of self-government—which, be it not forgotten, can only be obtained by means of Federation—are in reality the secret emissaries of those who would prevent the Federation of Fiji with either New Zealand or Australia, and

keep her in the trammels of Crown Colony Government. While professing a desire to be quit of Crown Colony Government they advise us to disregard the helping hand held out to us by the Premier of New Zealand—the most powerful colonial statesman of to-day—and to make unsupported advances to statesmen in Australia, who have shown no desire to form an alliance with us, and who, for many a day to come, will be fully occupied in bringing their newly-formed Commonwealth into working order. This suggestion is, in-deed, an admirable one for keeping Fiji under the present blighting system of Government, but it has no other merit. The suggestion is rather a clever device to split the federal vote in the colony in order to wreck the movement for self-government, and so retain the present one-man government for several more years. It emanates from those at present in power, who, though they at first treated lightly the movement for Federation with New Zealand, are now in fear and trembling, as they believe they see the handwriting appearing upon the wall. The device does not lack astuteness. Should the suggestion be adopted, the Colonial Office would probably have no alternative but to retain Fiji under its own rule. For, see what the adoption of this suggestion would be. Assume that some of us disregard New Zealand's offer to federate with her, and assume Australia willing to respond favorably to advances which may be made to her, and, as a consequence, be led to oppose our Federation with New Zealand. What would be the result? Well, the result would be that in turn New Zealand would oppose our federating with Australia, and we should obtain federation with neither New Zealand or Australia, but, falling between the two, should remain as we are, politically tied and bound for, probably, another generation. Mr. Seddon has proposed to Mr. Chamberlain a federation between New Zealand and Fiji. Mr. Chamberlain has not declined the proposal, but he has replied that it must be discussed with the Commonwealth. The hope of the supporters of Crown Government for Fiji is that the Commonwealth may be led to oppose the Federation of Fiji with New Zealand. It will probably tend to induce such an opposition if some of us make the suggested advance to Australia, therefore, the Crown Colonists hope to lead us to do so. They argue that if Australia can only be induced to oppose the Federation of Fiji with New Zealand, then New Zealand will, in her turn, be sure to oppose our Federation with Australia, and that, as a result Fiji, will remain a Crown Colony.

It is easy to see the difficult position in which the Secretary of State may thus be placed. If, in deference to the opposition of Australia, he should refuse Mr. Seddon's request to allow us to federate with New Zealand, how could he sanction our Federation with Australia, in face of the opposition he would certainly and naturally experience from New Zealand? "The Crown Colonists" hope and expect that, in such case, the Secretary of State would refuse to allow Fiji to federate with either New Zealand or Australia, and that, thereby, Crown Colony Government in Fiji would be perpetuated. I have pointed out the net which is being spread for us. Let us all, who wish for representative government, support the Federation of Fiji with New Zealand, for such a union will be a long step towards the greater confederation, which will one day include all the English speaking people in the Pacific. We all, whose homes are under the Southern Cross, look forward to the day when the English in Australasia shall be united in one grand Confederation.

The colonies of the Australian mainland, and Tasmania, are now federated; it but remains for New Zealand and Fiji to federate, and subsequently, and in due time, join the great Commonwealth.

He must be blind, indeed, who does not see that nothing is so likely to retard the consummation of that great event as the opposition of Australia to the legitimate aspirations of New Zealand in the direction of Federation with Fiji, and those other portions of the Pacific which, geographically, form part of her. If we desire, ultimately, to form part of a freely governed Australasian Commonwealth, let us eagerly, and at once, accept the invitation of the Premier of New Zealand to federate in the first instance with that colony.

—I am, etc,

Humphry Berkeley.

Federation Meeting At Suva.

FROM THE FIJI TIMES, SEPTEMBER 22, 1900.

ACCORDING to advertisement, a public meeting was held in the Mechanics' Institute, on Thursday evening, 13th instant, to consider what steps should be taken to bring about the Federation of Fiji with New Zealand.

At 8 o'clock precisely the Warden of Suva, Mr. F. E. Riemenschneider, took the chair, there being present some 170 to 200 people in the hall; all classes of the community being thoroughly represented.

On rising, the chairman said:—Gentlemen, the object for which this meeting has been called has been prominently before you for some months past, through the columns of the local press, and, also, by public meeting held at Levuka some short time back, at which a resolution favoring the movement was passed without

one dissentient voice. Before going fully into the business of the evening, I would like to make a few remarks in explanation of why this meeting has been called. Some little time back, and shortly after the Right Hon. Mr. Seddon's visit to Suva, I, in my capacity as Warden of Suva, and your representative, called a meeting in my office of a few of the leading townspeople, to discuss what steps should be taken to endeavour to bring about the Federation of our colony with New Zealand, and at that meeting, of which I was appointed chairman, it was proposed by Mr. J. H. Garrick, and seconded by Mr. G. A. Woods, that the chairman be directed to write to the Premier of New Zealand asking whether his Government would be inclined to favorably consider the question of the Federation of his colony with Fiji. In accordance with the resolution I wrote the following letter (letter read), to which I received the following letters in reply (letters read), and in order to give general publicity to what was being done I had this correspondence published in the FIJI TIMES. Shortly after receipt of Mr. Seddon's replies I again invited the gentlemen who attended the first meeting, together with a few others, to meet at my office to further discuss the subject. All attended with the exception of Mr. Garrick and Mr. Woods, who for reasons best known to themselves declined to attend the second meeting. At this latter meeting, at which there were present Messrs. Humphry Berkeley, G. L. Griffiths, W. T. Sturt, H. G. Hunt, J. Rennie, F. A. Thomas, Dr. Fox and myself in the chair, it was decided after very lengthy discussion to call this public meeting, in order that the matter might be fully thrashed out, and the opinion of the general public taken as to whether or not it was desirable to proceed with the movement; and that, gentlemen, is why we are gathered together this evening. I wish it to be distinctly understood that we gentlemen, who have taken the initiative steps in this matter, do not consider ourselves as the elect of the people; we simply formed ourselves into a committee in order that the movement might take some definite form, and it will rest with you this evening to form a permanent committee from your number to carry on the work. And now, having carried out the wishes of the self-appointed committee by fully explaining to you why this meeting has been called, it only remains for me to vacate the chair, and you will appoint from amongst your number a chairman to conduct the business of this meeting.

The Warden was unanimously voted to the chair amidst loud and prolonged cheering, and after returning thanks, said: I will now ask that the business before the meeting be fully discussed by both those for and against (if any) the movement, and request that a fair and impartial hearing be given to all speakers. I now call upon Mr. Humphry Berkeley to move the first resolution.

Mr. Humphry Berkeley, on rising, said: Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen. The resolution, the proposal of which has been entrusted to me, is as follows:—"That, in the opinion of this meeting, it is desirable that the Premier and Government of New Zealand be approached with the view of obtaining their assistance for the purpose of securing self-government for Fiji; or of taking such further or other steps as they may deem necessary for the Federation of this colony with New Zealand."

You will understand from what I have read you that it is proposed, in the first instance, to endeavour with the aid of New Zealand to obtain self-government for Fiji, with the ultimate view, possibly of federating the two colonies. But, before I can ask you to record your votes in favor of this scheme, which necessitates a change, it becomes necessary for us to consider the form of Government under which we are living at present, and the benefits to be derived from the discontinuance of the present and the adoption of the proposed new form of Government. The laws of the colony of Fiji are enacted by a Legislative Council comprising six official and six unofficial members. The head of that Council is his Excellency the Governor, and all of the members are appointed by him. The six official members are bound to support the Government in every measure that is brought forward by it, while the six unofficial members are popularly supposed by the outside world to be the representatives of the colony, and as such to have the right of voting as they please. The Governor, in the event of there being an even number of votes for and against any measure, has the casting vote, and thus may at any time pass any laws he pleases, regardless of the wishes of the so-called unofficial element. From the unofficial members, however, he has little to fear, for it is inconceivable that the Governor, who after all is only human, would appoint anyone to the Council from whom he might experience opposition. The consequence is that laws are passed by which we are governed, taxes are levied which we have to pay, while we, who are the parties who are most concerned, have absolutely nothing to say in the enactment of the one or the levying of the others. Now, it seems to me that, at the close of the nineteenth century, this is hardly a state of things which should be permitted to continue. At a time when the franchise is being extended in all of the neighbouring colonies, and all restrictions on the liberty of the subject are being rapidly removed, it is indeed a sad thing to see the colony of Fiji struggling on under the superabundant weight of Crown Colony Government, a government which, while adhering to the customs of past generations, is at the same time absolutely regardless of the wishes of the present. As an instance of this disregard, let me remind you of the conduct of his Excellency Sir George O'Brien in connection with the Canadian Mail Service. You will all remember the joy with which we hailed the advent of this line of steamers. Our late Governor, Sir John Thurston, after considerable trouble managed to induce the directors of the company to which they belonged to make Suva a port of call. For four years these

steamers had regularly visited us. On the arrival of our present Governor, however, and before it was possible (one would think) that he could have formed any definite idea, from his personal knowledge, of the advantages the colony was gaining from this line of steamers, he abruptly stopped the paltry subsidy of £1500 per annum, paid by the colony to induce them to call here. That his Excellency was laboring under the impression that he would be able to get another line of steamers to call in place of the Canadian line is clear from the correspondence which took place between the Premier of New Zealand and the Colonial Secretary relating to the San Francisco boats calling at this port. But, be that as it may, at a public meeting held in this room certain gentlemen were chosen to interview the Governor, and to lay before him the very real advantages that the colony gained by these steamers calling at Fiji, and the very real disadvantages which the colony suffered by the withdrawal of the subsidy, and the consequent withdrawal of the mail line. That deputation was fortified with a petition numerously signed, setting forth facts which it was hoped would convince his Excellency, and so induce him to alter his decision. It was clearly pointed out to him that the colony derived a very much larger amount of money from the advent of the steamers than the £1500 per annum spent on subsidy. Gentlemen, you will remember the answer his Excellency vouchsafed to this deputation. It was to the effect that it would be useless to apply to the Home authorities for a renewal of the subsidy, because he would certainly be met with the reply that the colony of Fiji was indebted to the Imperial Treasury, and that, if the colony could afford to subsidise steam communication, it could also afford to pay off a further portion of the Imperial loan. A few days after, however, a notice appeared in the local newspaper to the effect that the colony of Fiji had contributed £1000 to the Patriotic Fund, the vote being passed by his Excellency in Council. Now, it is indeed hard for one to see how these two actions on the part of the Governor can be reconciled, On the one hand he is unable to ask the Home authorities to sanction the renewal of a subsidy to a mail service which contributes to the general welfare of the colony more than the amount of the subsidy. On the other hand, by a vote passed through a Council which cannot oppose him, he absolutely takes £1000 of the people's money—your money—without consulting your wishes, and hands it over to the war fund. You are doubtless aware that there was at this very time a Patriotic Fund in Fiji, and one which was most generously contributed to by great and small. Gentlemen, in referring to this donation of £1000 I am in no way desirous of leading you to suppose that the colony was unable to afford it, nor that, loyal colony as it is, the people would not willingly have granted it. I am only bringing it forward as an instance of the insincerity of the assertion that the Imperial Treasury would not sanction the renewal of the subsidy on account of the indebtedness of this colony. And, now I come to other grave instances of absolute disregard of the wishes of the public by his Excellency. They occurred so lately that I need not go into them at length. I venture to say that there is hardly a man here to-night who has not taken the greatest interest in the controversy between the public of Suva and the Governor, relative to the Bubonic Plague and Leper scandals. We all know that, at the present moment, his Excellency persists in keeping a Leper Settlement and Bubonic Plague Station within the precincts of the town of Suva. That, notwithstanding the strenuous efforts that have been made to induce him to alter his hastily formed determination, he persists in his refusal to remove these grave menaces to the public safety. Gentlemen, you have doubtless read the correspondence in the newspaper on the subject, and you will not have failed to notice the undignified and discourteous language in which his Excellency couched his replies to the remonstrances respectfully addressed to him on behalf of the townspeople. As no redress could be obtained, the matter, as you are aware, has now been referred to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. But Downing Street is a long way off from Fiji—some 16,000 miles—and any matters put forward on behalf of the people are sure to be liberally discounted by his Excellency the Governor, through whose hands all communications have to pass. It is always an unfortunate thing when those in a Crown Colony are compelled to appeal to the Colonial Office against the arbitrary acts of their Governor; for the Colonial Office must necessarily back up its representatives, even at the expense of the colonists. And, now that I have given you these few instances, amongst many, of disregard of the wishes of the people, let me ask you, would it be possible for such things to occur in a colony which was self-governed, or Federated with New Zealand. Gentlemen, no responsible government would have dared to treat the wishes of the community in this way. If it did it certainly would very speedily cease to exist. And, now I would like to refer you to the question of taxation. I take it to be admitted that the person who has to pay the tax has some right in saying how the money derived from that tax is to be expended. In countries where the people are represented, their wishes are made known through their representatives, but in a Crown Colony the only part that those who pay the taxes have to play is to pay those taxes and endeavour to look cheerful. How many of you, may I ask, agree with the Government on the question of the Rewa Water Scheme. Thousands of pounds have been expended for the purpose of supplying the natives on the Rewa with water. Those natives are living on the banks of the largest river in Fiji. They, and their fathers before them, have been drinking the waters of that river for generations. But our present Governor thinks it necessary to supply each little village with water conveyed through pipes from a different river altogether. Admitting, for the sake of argument, that this water is better. You know the Fijian as well as I do. In the early morning he is turned out to his labor on the roads or in

the fields, there is no water laid on there, and the water he drinks is out of the same river as he has been accustomed to drink from for years. He gets back to his house about six, and you may depend upon it he does little water drinking then. He is too tired out with his day's labor. With regard to the women, they too are absent from their village all day, either engaged in finding food for the men, fishing, etc., or looking after their gardens. Now, I have no hesitation in saying that if we had representation, and if your representative allowed you to be burdened with taxation for so absurd a scheme, you would probably find someone else to represent you in the future. In further support of what I have just said, I may add that recently, when visiting the Province of Nadroga, it was brought to my notice that the Government had given orders that every native house should be supplied with wooden doors. Gentlemen, this involved an expenditure of hundreds of pounds. Anything more ridiculous to the mind of a man who knows anything about Fijians, or to a Fijian himself, it is impossible to conceive. The Fijian for centuries has been accustomed to his own kind of door—the sogo—he only regards the substitution of the wooden doors as an easy means of obtaining a supply of excellent firewood. Nevertheless the doors have to be paid for, and in order to obtain the money to pay for them taxes have to be imposed, and gentlemen, please remember that we all have to bear our share of the consequent taxation. Shortly, the case may be summarised as follows: The Governor may tax us as he pleases. We have no right to object for we are only members of a Crown Colony. There is a point I wish to touch on now. It is the Native Policy. The Government regards the native question as their strongest card when any idea of a change of administration is suggested. It is said that the native would suffer much were we to obtain responsible government, or were we to federate with New Zealand. What would become of the poor native is the cry. Who would look after him? Well, gentlemen, if the poor native had a little less looking after by the present paternal Government I think he would be much better pleased than he is. The native, at the present moment, is no better off than a slave. He is a slave to all intents and purposes, except that instead of being the slave of a private individual he is the slave of the Government. We, living in Fiji, are accustomed to the way in which the native is treated, it is useless to object, for we are in a Crown Colony, and our wishes, as we know to our cost, are absolutely disregarded. Their treatment does not perhaps strike us with the same force as if we were living elsewhere. Let us for a moment consider their position and the restrictions which are placed on their liberty, the labour they are compelled to perform. No native may leave the colony of Fiji without leave; anyone taking him away is liable to fine and imprisonment. No native may leave his district without leave from a government official. If he does he is liable to be arrested, taken before the nearest magistrate to be dealt with, and returned in custody to his town. You can, all of you, satisfy yourself that this is so by paying a visit to the Police Court. There is hardly a day in the week that some unfortunate native is not brought up and dealt with in the manner I have described. The native is taxed £1 4s. a head—to get this money he is compelled to plant maize, cotton, or something else. It takes him weeks of work to raise this wretched poll tax. When the maize or cotton is ready it is sent into the Government and sold, and in this primitive way his tax is paid. The amount raised by this poll tax is £18,000. It costs £7556 out of this to collect in the tax and to look after these natives. Anyone can satisfy himself that these figures are correct by referring to the Blue Book for 1899. But this is not the only tax the native is subject to. He has to pay duty on every sulu he weaves, on every mosquito net he sleeps under, on his biscuits, his meats, his kerosene. So, as a matter of fact, the natives not only pay the same taxes that the white man does, but he is also compelled to pay a poll tax. Nor is this all, he is bound to give his labour free whenever called on by the Government. Who has made the hundreds of miles of roads in this colony? The natives. Why have they done it? Because they were compelled by the Government to do it, and they would have been imprisoned if they had not obeyed. Perhaps some of you would like to know if they were paid for their work. Gentlemen, the Government does not pay natives for making roads nor in the majority of cases does it even feed them. Not long ago, when the road was being made to Nadurulolo, I happened to pass by and I saw some hundreds of natives cutting down the cliff. Now, I will give you some idea of what these men had to do—a herculean task you must confess. They had no less than three taskmasters. 1st. There was Mr. Swayne, the magistrate, insisting on having the road made. 2nd. There was Dr. Finucane, the provincial inspector, insisting on having the houses for the district built. 3rd. There was Mr. Reay, insisting on having the native tax cane cut. And there were these wretched natives, who were supposed to do all these three things at once, slaving out their existence. Here's another instance of the way in which they are treated by this paternal government which fears for their safety if entrusted to other hands. Have any of you heard of a place called Nabumakita? Well, it is a town in Colo East, right in the heart of this island. The Government decided to build a hospital there, in which the various ills to which the Fijian is heir might be cured. It is true that in the majority of cases the Fijian who was desirous of being attended to would have to walk or be carried from 30 to 40 miles, but that is a mere detail when his Excellency has made up his mind to carry forward one of his pet schemes. But, to build a hospital, timber is required. The question was, how was the timber to be got to Nabumakita? Well, that problem was very soon solved. An order was given that the natives of certain districts should carry the timber to Nabumakita. And carry it they did like beasts of burden. And, more than that, they had to first cut the road to

carry the timber. Were they paid, you ask? Gentlemen, I have already told you the Government never pay natives—it would create a bad precedent. Now, passing from the extraordinary manner in which these natives are dealt with by the Government, I come to the unfair way in which they are treated from a legal point of view. As illustrating this, let me refer you to what occurred some three years ago. You all remember the Nakelo case. The facts were these: There was a disturbance between the people of Nakelo and those of Togadravu, occasioned by a dispute over some land. Several of the parties on both sides were severely injured. Some sixty of the Nakelo men were arrested and taken before the magistrate at Nadurulolo. They were charged with offences cognisable by the Supreme Court. I appeared for the defence; the police then applied to have the men remanded for a week, and the remand was granted. On the day appointed for the hearing, I again appeared to defend, and was informed that the police intended to withdraw the charge, The men were thereupon discharged. As they walked out of the Courthouse, however, they were again immediately arrested and marched off to Bau. They were there then placed on their trial the next morning before the Native Court. As their legal adviser, I asked to be heard on their behalf. I was refused the right of audience on the ground that a barrister has no right of audience in a Native Court. A written statement of their defence was then handed in by these men, but the magistrate refused to receive any such defence. Evidence was tendered on their behalf but the Court refused to allow the witnesses to be called. Sentences were then passed on these men varying from two years and a flogging to six months, without the right of appeal. What I tell you is within my own personal knowledge and can without difficulty be vouched for by fellow colonists. Gentlemen, could this have occurred in a self-governing colony or in a colony federated with New Zealand? You have seen the large gang of prisoners working on the roads and probably are aware a very considerable number of them are in that gang for fornication. Fornication, according to the native law, is punished by imprisonment. I refer to this to show you that there is one law for the Fijian and another for the white man, and I feel certain that, if your opinion were asked, you would unanimously and unhesitatingly declare that it would be undesirable to extend the operation of this law to the white man. If this be so, then why punish the native for an offence which in the white man is regarded as venial? In concluding my remarks on this point, I feel I cannot do better than commend to your earnest attention the very able letter written by the Rev. Mr. Slade, which appeared in the FIJI TIMES of September 1. It is a letter deserving of the greatest consideration, coming as it does from one who, as a missionary, has been so intimately connected with the Fijian race for a great number of years, and who is consequently conversant with the grave hardships and unnecessary burdens that these poor people are compelled to endure. (Mr. Berkeley here quoted at length from Mr. Slade's letter.) Now, I have told you the strongest argument that the adherents of Crown Colony rule can bring forward against Self-Government or Federation is "that no self-governing colony will treat the natives properly." Gentlemen, you have heard what I have just told you. You have heard the way in which the natives are treated under the present Crown Colony system, I have not, however, related to you a tithe of the oppression to which they are subjected, but I have told you enough, I am convinced, to strengthen the opinions which you have all probably formed long ago, that so far from the natives having anything to fear from Self-Government, on the contrary they will have every reason to rejoice in gaining this emancipation from the bondage under which they have so long groaned. The decrease of the native population has caused successive Governors no little anxiety. Various theories have been put forward to account for the steady decrease during the last 25 years, which represents the period which has elapsed since annexation. During this time the native race has dwindled from 120,000 to 95,000. A Commission has been appointed, and has sent in its report, but the problem is as unsolved to-day as it was ten years ago. I submit to you that the present Crown Colony Government has been unable to give any satisfactory explanation of this decrease, and I suggest that it is attributable solely to the mismanagement of the natives. Whatever the cause may be, the Government is confronted with this solid fact, that, according to their own showing, the native race had decreased by some 25,000 since it assumed control. The prosperous condition of the colony is frequently put forward by those interested in the continuance of the present form of government, but, gentlemen, the present prosperity is not to be attributed to anything that the Government has done for us, but, as you all know, to the favourable seasons which we have been fortunate enough to experience during the past five years. Supposing a hurricane had come down on us last year, or even the year before, where would the boasted prosperity be then? No, gentlemen, if any advance has been made in this colony it is not from the support that has been accorded it by the Government, but is an advance which it has made in spite of the many difficulties it has had to overcome, and which, thanks to the bountiful seasons, it has been able to surmount. I have put to you the very serious disadvantages from which we are suffering under a Crown Colony system of Government, and I shall leave it to those who follow me to explain to you the very real advantages which will accrue to this colony if we obtain Self-Government, and if we are federated with New Zealand. At the same time, I would like to give you my views on a point with which, as a lawyer, I have some acquaintance. It is the right of appeal from the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court, as at present constituted, consists of one Judge—the Chief Justice. To appeal from his decision necessitates an appeal to the Privy Council. The

essentials constituting a right of appeal are (1) The matter at issue must be above the value of £500. (2) Leave to appeal must be obtained. (3) Security not exceeding £500 must be given for the due prosecution of the appeal. (4) Security shall be given for the amount awarded by the Court. This practically means that, unless an unsuccessful litigant is possessed of £1000 he is debarred from appealing. Well, there are few of us in this colony who can afford this amount. If, however, we were federated with New Zealand, there would be no more difficulty in appealing to Wellington from a decision in Suva, than there would be in appealing from Dunedin to Wellington. The remarks I am making are naturally of the briefest nature as time will not allow me to continue at length. The question of black labor, which is continually being raised by those who are opposed to Federation with New Zealand, has been so thoroughly threshed out that I should only be wearying you by addressing you on this subject. It has been distinctly stated, from the very outset, by those who have interested themselves in the federal campaign, that it must be a condition precedent to our federating with New Zealand that our labour laws shall be safeguarded. Therefore, it is useless to argue on a matter upon which we are all agreed. There are some, I believe, who desire Self-Government without reference to new Zealand. To them I can only say that to seek for Self-Government through our own unaided efforts is an endeavour to attain the impossible, New Zealand has offered to champion our cause. You have heard the letters which have been written by her Premier, Mr. Seddon—the most powerful colonial statesman of the day. Now is our opportunity; do not let us reject the proffered hand of New Zealand. Gentlemen, I ask you with every confidence to support the resolution.

Dr. Fox seconded the resolution.

Mr. G. L. Griffiths said he rose to support the motion. It had not been his intention to address the meeting, but since the seconder of the proposition had been so very brief of speech he felt impelled to say something in support. Fifteen years ago it had been his privilege to second a similar motion to the one they were discussing that evening, and that, too, was addressed to the Premier and Government of New Zealand. The reply of the Home folk on that occasion was that it could not consent at *present*. For years past the country has been on the down-grade. The Fijian Blue Book of to-day gave the European population as 4000. He (the speaker) doubted very much if it exceeded 3000. He thought it was more like 2500. Why had colonists' sons to leave the country in search of employment? Years ago the attention of the Home Government had been drawn, by petition, to the unsatisfactory condition of the country, but the prayer of their petition had not been vouchsafed. As an old colonist he recognised that there was no help for it, but to follow the course now proposed. The Government of New Zealand, through its Premier, held out their hand to us, and he thought it a duty we owed to ourselves, and our children, that the colony embrace the opportunity. It gave him pleasure to support the resolution. (Cheers.)

Mr. J. B. Turner addressed the meeting in opposition to the resolution. He said Mr. Berkeley had shown no reasons at all why Fiji should federate with New Zealand. He had, indeed, shown reasons for self-government in Fiji, and this has also been shown us by Mr. Seddon, who has advised us to secure self-government, and in doing so he has promised to assist us. Mr. Berkeley, himself, has said that self-government is better than Federation with New Zealand. He (the speaker) had declined to join the Provisional Committee simply because it was aiming at Federation. Had it been for self-government only he would have joined it. Now, people say it is impossible for us to secure this self-rule, that Australia will object to it, and the British Government will not consent to our being federated with any colony. This, he thought, may be so; but then the British Government would allow us to assume self-government as soon as we showed capacity to do so, and this self-government is all that we require. We want elbow-room and power to set things right-side up. We have a fine colony; it will grow almost anything, and from various resources we can supply other colonies with all the tropical produce that they need. Croakers have attempted to run the country down. At one time they said: Oh! this country will not grow sugar; but look at our sugar mills of to-day. We can grow abundance of good sugar. Again, the croakers said we could not grow rice. Go and look at the rice-fields to-day in proof of the contrary. This little colony, if possessed by N.Z. would be worth millions of money to her, for its produce is supplementary to her own. And now, what does she offer to give us in return? Nothing! literally nothing! By all means let us have the friendship and assistance of all the Australian colonies, and thus secure the free market of the whole of Australia for our produce. It was for these reasons that he had determined to oppose the resolution. It was also a fact that, if we tried to secure self-government, nine-tenths of the officials would be with us, and those who are not with us will be found classed with the useless and incompetent. (Hear, hear.) One of these gentlemen, writing in the paper the other day, said: "If we federate what is to become of me?" "Why," said the speaker, "let him go and work on the roads." (Laughter.) Now the Fijians must have a say in this question, and, if they are called upon to vote, and vote openly, they will vote as required by the Government. Some of these Fijian people said to him the other day: "Why don't you get a change of Government? We don't want this one. You people bought our lands for guns, and then the Government took them all away from us again. Then why don't the Government give us back our lands or pay us for the value of our guns?" The other day some natives told him they were going to plant yams for their Roko. "And who is your Roko?" he enquired. "Mr. Swayne," said they.

"And is he going to pay for so doing?" "Sa sega, no, no," was the reply. He (Mr. Turner) had been told by the officials that the natives will be paid for their labor in making roads, etc., but he feared it is not so; every native that he has spoken to has denied it, and say they are to receive nothing for it. The speaker criticised the "native garden scheme," and said that while he was at one time in favour of it, now he had seen its evils. The economic waste of life and labour was enormous. We have had enough of this, said he. We have a fine colony, and under good rule it cannot help going ahead, but the present meeting did not represent Fiji, and the resolution, when it is known abroad, will not meet with approval. But if self-government alone should be our aim we shall receive a full success. He thought that Federation should be taken out of the proposed resolution.

Mr. G. A. Woods said: That his name had been used in connection with the committee, and he had reason to speak. He would tell them a little history. They had met to decide upon a question, the effect of which might bear upon the lives and fortunes of their children's children. What was the meaning of the meeting? What did they want to do? Many years ago some few gentlemen formed a nucleus of a Government, and the Government was called the Cakobau Government, the object being to put an end to the strife existing between "whites" and "blacks." A delegation was called, and out of this rose a "Constitution, a House of Representatives," and a "Ministry." He, Mr. Woods, was chosen Premier, and, in due time, money was wanted to carry on the Government. Fiji at this time was a very Cave of Abdullam. We found that our great difficulty was want of money, and he, the speaker, was sent up to the colonies to try and obtain money; he went and did his very best. But did he receive encouragement from New Zealand? No. From the people of Melbourne? Not a bit. It was the people of New South Wales who came to their assistance, and to the extent of one hundred thousand pounds. And what security had these people for this money. The chiefs gave a security for it. The chiefs alone did this, and now we are entering upon a discussion of this great change of policies without consulting even the chiefs. They, the meeting, desired to be free from the control of the Crown, which desire was, in his opinion, an utter impossibility to attain. Ho would like to know why, during the last 26 years, groaning under British Rule, we have never raised an issue before, and for what reason are we going to work in this hole-and-corner way. Now, why have we not approached the Government in a constitutional way? It is the only way to proceed, and Mr. Seddon, would desire that, whatever we do, it should be done in this constitutional manner. The Government of New Zealand, we are told, will assist. Yes, they will only assist, but it is the people of Fiji who must move in the matter. But, who are the people of Fiji. Sir A. Gordon said that they were only "barnacles on a ship's bottom." (Laughter.) Are we strong enough—remember we are only a few. (A voice: The men will act; the men are here now to act.) Mr. Woods continued, what business have we to set ourselves up in this way? We are here on suffrage only. (No, no.) He repeated that under present circumstances we were in that position, and to better it we must have a constitutional change. And it is necessary that we have personal representatives at the Council Board. And it is no good going to New Zealand for the change. He considered that the natives must be taken into partnership in this business. This country had never been "annexed" by Britain, it was constitutionally "ceded," and was originally to have been governed by a Governor of the country, representing the Queen. The native must be consulted, anyway, and must agree. (Voice: They will agree, every one of them). Having thrown in his lot, and having sacrificed almost everything he had in the world, he was now standing by the natives. He was an Imperialist to the backbone, but, now, he had thrown up his position in order to stand by the natives. He would tell them, the meeting, that he was the only Fiji white man in the country. A white Fijian, having been inducted into the order of chiefs at Bau, in the early days, and as such he had come forward now, in order to support the native race. Now, continued the speaker, don't sit down here passing resolutions which have no force. I tell you the Fijians are the owners of this country, and their interest must be consulted, and when the matter goes forward, the first question raised at the Colonial Office will be: "Who are these people? Oh! they are only a few people out there who are trying to make money out of the natives." (Groans, and cries of No, no.) Well, these people must be consulted in the matter; they must be taken in hand, and go forward with us. He would oppose the resolution.

Mr. G. L. Griffiths referred to the incident related by Mr. G. A. Woods, who had stated that over 25 years ago he had borrowed £100,000 in Sydney, on the security of 160,000 acres of land, placed at his disposal for that purpose by the native chiefs of Fiji. He would suggest to the meeting if it were possible to-day to secure a loan on the same security. He thought not. Waste lands were comparatively valueless as a security, and this, too, after twenty-five years of British administration. If any present doubted what he (the speaker) alleged, let them go to the bank and test the allegation. He had lately referred to the petition presented to New Zealand fifteen years since—and he would take care that it was reprinted, and that it met the eyes of those present. Some of the figures contained in it would exhibit that the colony, since that period, had not made any substantial progress. The imports, to-day, were less than they were at that date. As regards the suggestion thrown out that the colony should ask the Home Government to grant it responsible government, a recommendation of the kind was beside the mark. How was it possible that a handful of people, as it were, could ask the Home Government, with any hope of success, to grant any such concession. Any one at all acquainted with the system of

Government would at once recognise the folly of such a request. It would be within their province to petition the Home Government for an Elective Council, but he feared such a course would be abortive, were it not backed up by the powerful influence of the New Zealand Government.

The Chairman said: If no one else wishes to address the meeting, I would like, before putting the resolution, to make a few remarks in support of it. A good deal has been said this evening by the previous speakers about the native and labour questions, and the present form of Government; but none seemed to touch upon the advantages that must necessarily accrue to the colony, should Federation with New Zealand be realized. As a natural consequence there would be an influx of population, and with population would come capital, and with population and capital would follow settlement on the land. And, gentlemen, you all know, just as well as I can tell you, what the result of settlement on the land will be, more especially in such a country as this, where the land is so fertile, and where there are millions of acres of uncultivated lands, but no settlers to till the same. The policy suggested by Mr. Turner is a dog-in-the-manger one. He says the lands should not be settled on by the New Zealanders, but should be kept for our children. Well, if we are to wait for advancement until our children come on, we may as well throw up the sponge at once and sink into oblivion. But I think I can state with confidence there are none of you here to-night who agree with Mr. Turner on that point, and further, I venture to state, that within five years after we have federated with New Zealand (and mark me we are going to federate, for the gentlemen who have taken so active a part in this movement do not know the meaning of defeat, and will not rest until they have carried it to a successful issue) the European population will be at least treble what it is to day, and with increased population, and a liberal form of Government, we could have central sugar mills introduced, whereby the smaller farming classes, with only a limited capital, could farm their small blocks and reap the benefit of their labor. For, be it understood, these mills are established by the Government, not for its own profit, but for the benefit of the agriculturist, and all the Government expects and takes is sufficient per centage to cover a low rate of interest on outlay, and provide a sinking fund so that the planter receives the highest attainable price for his cane. Gentlemen, this is a very important item, but it is only one of the many benefits that will follow in the wake of Federation. So, therefore, let every one of us, no matter what his station in life, do everything in his power to assist in bringing the object to a successful issue. (Cheers.) It has been stated here this evening that the colony is at present in a most prosperous condition, and that the Revenue is better than ever it has been. Gentlemen, I grant that is so, but let us look at the reason why such is the case. With regard to the prosperous condition of the colony, would anyone dare be bold enough to assert that that is due to the paternal care of either our present or past form of Government. (Laughter.) No, certainly not—the present prosperity of the colony is due to the wonderfully prolific nature of the soil, the splendid seasons we have experienced the past five years by the absence of hurricanes, and the determined pluck of the few settlers we have here, which characterises the British nation generally. (Hear, hear.) Those, gentlemen, and those alone, are the reasons for our prosperous position to-day. The copra export for this year will be a record one, namely, from twelve to fifteen thousand tons, and next year, if we are fortunate enough to escape a hurricane (and God grant we may be), this total will be exceeded by some thousands of tons. Now, as regards the Revenue, we are all aware that somewhere about two years ago the tariff was raised on many articles, but more particularly so on flour, sharps, biscuits, tinned meats, and cotton goods, chiefly prints and calicoes. The first four articles mentioned were, previous to the increase, duty free; they are now taxed respectively at £1 per ton, £1 per ton, ½d. per lb., and 1d. per lb., while cotton goods, which were originally per cent, ad valorem duty, now are 1d. per yard duty for goods up to 36in. in width, 2d. per yard over 36in. and up to 72in. in width, and an additional 1d. for every 3Gin. in width, or equal to an average of say 45 per cent, duty all round on cotton goods. Well, gentlemen, it does not seem a very heavy increase, possibly to those of you who have not taken the trouble to work it out, but to put it in round figures it means about £10,000 to £12,000 extra duty, and this, together with the extra duty levied on boots and shoes, hats, etc., increases the Custom's Revenue per annum by about £15,000, and there, gentlemen, you have your increased Revenue. Now, let us see who this increased taxation affects most. The first four articles mentioned are the staple articles of food consumed by all, more or less. The next item, prints, is, we are all aware, in fact we might almost say, the only article of clothing the native wears, and as the European population is say 3000, while the native population is say 98,000, it will be seen at a glance who has to pay the bulk of the increased taxation of £15,000 per annum. The native contributes to the Revenue through the Custom's tariff on every article he consumes or uses just as much as the European does. They have to pay licenses for their boats, guns, dogs, and all other matters, and at the same rate as the Europeans, and in addition to this they are compelled to turn out and make roads, build houses, etc., for which they receive no pay, and have to find their own food, and on top of all this they are further compelled to pay a tax of 24s. per head to the Government, principally, I understand for governing them. This latter tax does not apply to every man, woman, and child, but only to the able-bodied men of the various districts, and from this source the native is mulcted in the further sum of £18,000 per annum, or thereabouts. Gentlemen, I ask you, are these poor natives what you would call free British subjects, or are they abject slaves? Why we know that a

man is liable to a fine if he leaves his district without the permission of his chief. Gentlemen, it appears to me that the present policy of native government is the worst class of slavery existent. Would you stand it? Suppose the Government, in addition to the present mode of taxation, were to pass an Ordinance compelling the Europeans to pay a poll, tax of say £5 or £10 per head per annum. Do you think we would not be up in arms against it? But the poor, ignorant, and uneducated Fijian has to labor along under his heavy burden, while the present system of Government remains utterly insensible to his sufferings. Therefore, out of common humanity, and apart from the want of redress for our own grievances, let us, in the interests of the natives, endeavour to get some fresh form of Government. Now is the time to act, gentlemen; appoint your own committee and push the good work ahead. Let there be no backward movement, but forge yourselves steadily and surely along until we have gained that which this meeting desires, namely self-government with the view of Federation with New Zealand at a later date. Gentlemen, I have great pleasure in supporting the resolution, and unless there is any amendment I will put the proposition to the meeting.

Mr. J. B. Turner proposed the following amendment, and Mr. G. A. Woods seconded:—"That in the opinion of this meeting it is desirable that steps be taken with the object of obtaining self-government for this colony."

Capt. A. H. Ogilvie, in reply to Mr. Turner; said:—"I consider that it is impossible for us to command any influence in the Legislative Council against the desire and will of the Government upon questions that are opposed to the wishes of the people, and, therefore, I will support the resolution.

The Chairman then put the amendment, but only 22 voting for it it was lost. The resolution was then put and earned unanimously.

Capt. A. H. Ogilvie then proposed, and Mr. John Cleary seconded:—"That a committee consisting of Messrs. F. E. Riemenschneider, Humphry Berkeley, Dr. G. Fox, H. G. Hunt, G. L. Griffiths, J. Rennie, W. T. Sturt, and F. A. Thomas, with power to add to their number, be appointed for the purpose of carrying out the resolution of this meeting." This was carried unanimously.

decorative feature

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Appendix.

The Opening of the Wainibokasi Hospital.

FROM THE FIJI TIMES, OCTOBER 31, 1900.

ON Tuesday, the 23rd, his Excellency the Governor, accompanied by the Hon. Mr. and Mrs. Allardyce, the Hon. Mr. and Mrs. Sutherland, and Dr. and Mrs. Prior, proceeded by launch to Rewa for the purpose of opening the first of the new Provincial Hospitals which the Government is establishing in several of the outlying districts for the reception and treatment of native patients.

The Governor and party reached the hospital wharf at Wainibokasi a little after noon, where they were met by Dr. Withington and several other officials and escorted to a large native-built marquee, which had been erected in the hospital grounds, and where a number of Europeans, and all the leading chiefs and people of the three provinces of Tailevu, Rewa, and Naitaisiri, including the Roko Tui Tailevu, Roko Tui Rewa, with their Bulis numbering close on a thousand people, had assembled to witness the opening ceremony. Noticeable amongst the spectators were the Rev. Dr. Brown, the Rev. Lane, and all the members of the Wesleyan Mission, and several of the priests from the Roman Catholic Mission Station at Rewa.

The weather was exceptionally fine, and everything bore quite a gala appearance, the hospital buildings being decorated for the occasion with flags and festoons of flowers, and the ponds, which only very recently had been a wilderness of grass, had been cleared and laid out in food and flower gardens. The opening proceedings, viz., the making of the "yaqona," and the presentation of the bowl of which his Excellency partook, with the usual accompaniment of native song having been got through, the Governor addressed the assemblage in the following terms:—

Roko Tui Tailevu, Roko Tui Rewa, and you other chiefs and men of the Rewa and neighbouring provinces, I am very glad to see you all assembled here to-day to witness the opening of the Wainibokasi Hospital.

2. The building of the hospital and doctor's quarters has cost some £1,400. and the Government has spared no expense in fitting it up and equipping it with everything necessary, so that the sick in these provinces may here receive gratis the best possible medical treatment.

3. It is only lately that the Government has had sufficient money at its disposal to try and improve the material condition of the Fijian people. Since it has had the money it has lost no time in spending it for the

benefit of the Fijians. Other hospitals are being erected in other provinces; creeks are being bridged: and where the water supply is bad a good supply is being laid on at the expense of the Government. You, in Rewa, have benefitted by the Rewa water supply; and in Tailevu also, and in other provinces works are being undertaken to supply the people with wholesome water for drinking and cooking.

4. Talking of the Rewa water supply I may tell you what happened the other night in Suva, at a meeting which was held in favor of Federation with New Zealand, that is to say, in favor of giving over to New Zealand this country of Fiji, which the Fijians gave to Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria. Well, at this Federation meeting, mention was made of the Rewa water supply. And what do you think was said of it? Why, it was said that it was absurd to supply you with water, and it was wrong to have spent the money that has been spent in doing so. It was said that all the villages that had been supplied lie on the banks of the Rewa, and that the Rewa water, which was good enough for your forefathers, was good enough for you. The Rewa water, by the way, as is usual in tidal waters, is uncommonly brackish—but never mind about that. And the speaker also said that he was sure that everyone at the meeting agreed with him that what he called the absurd Rewa water scheme, was one on which it was very wrong to have spent money, and which never would have been carried out by any kind of Government except the Government which you now have. The people at the meeting did not contradict him, and I suppose that they all thought that he was quite right, for they were of the party that wish to give your country to New Zealand. Now, why do I mention this to you? It is in order that you may see how little those people know or care about the Fijians. As, of course, you all know, the villages that have been supplied with water do not lie on the banks of the Rewa, but are, many of them, many miles distant from the Rewa. But what should people who wish to give your country away care about that, or care about you? In those distant villages Fijian men, or women, or children might be lying sick, or might be even dying, and what about them? Well, the New Zealand party has said that the Rewa water is good enough for them—so I suppose that if they are parched with thirst they ought to get up, if they can, and walk miles to the Rewa to find brackish water to quench it.

5. That, I think, will show you pretty clearly how much the New Zealand party care about you and your welfare. They pretend to be your friends, I know, and they have their own purpose to serve by doing so. But I will tell you one thing, and that is this: When persons, who have never during all their lives done a single thing to benefit you, all of a sudden appear to become very fond of you, and say to you that they will do you all manner of good if you will only listen to their advice, you will do very well to ask yourself the question: "What is it that we have got that these persons want to get from us?"

6. If the chiefs and the more intelligent amongst you ask yourselves the question, what has this New Zealand party to gain from us, you will not have to wait very long before you see the answer. You have the land, my friends, and that is what they want to get, and hope that they will get if you are foolish enough to listen to them. It has always been the same in every country under the kind of Government that there is in New Zealand; the white men have always taken the land from the colored owners. Who owns that land now? The white people have got nearly the whole of it; the colored people are cooped up in a fragment of land that has tan left to them, and many of them have no land at all.

7. What has happened in New Zealand to the colored peoples' land will happen here, too, if New Zealand gets this country. But you have been told that if New Zealand gets this country the native will not have to pay native taxes. Of course the persons who have told you this have done so to tempt you to listen to them in order that, if you are foolish enough, you may think it a good thing that New Zealand should get this country. Therefore, they tell you that if you were under the New Zealand Government you would not have to pay native taxes. But they do not tell you that if you paid no native taxes you would, like the colored people of New Zealand, lose nearly all your land.

8. For what, after all, are those so-called native taxes that you have to pay? I will tell you. They amount to less than a pound a head a year for each adult male, and they are the rents which the Fijian people pay for the lands that they are not actually cultivating. Under the Act of Cession, by which the father of Roko Tui Tailevu, and the other great chiefs of Fiji on behalf of themselves, and their several tribes, made over the country to Her Most Gracious Majesty-Queen Victoria, it was agreed that the Fijians should keep the lands they were cultivating, and that all the rest should belong to Government. But when it was found that this did not please the chiefs and people, the Government allowed them to have all the unoccupied lands, and in return got from them the small rent which is known by the name of native taxes. So you can see if you were to cease to pay that rent you would also cease to own those lands, and they would be taken from you, as the lands have been taken from the owners in New Zealand and other countries that are under the same kind of Government. And what you have to think of is this: Would you rather go on paying your rent to this Government under the Queen, or have your rent remitted by the New-Zealand Government, and lose your lands?

9. I know what your answer is—you would rather pay your rent and keep your lands. But when I tell you this, I tell you also, at the same time, that you are to keep very quiet and to give no sort of trouble. If any of you

were to give trouble that would only make it easy for New Zealand to get your country, and for you to lose your lands. What there is to be said on your behalf I have already said to the Queen, and shall, if necessary, say it again. But, in the meantime, I repeat to you, and I charge you all to remain quiet and peaceable, and to give no trouble either to white men or to any others, but to go about your own business and attend to your own affairs, just as if you had never heard any question of New Zealand wanting to get this country. That is what you have got to do; and I, as your principal and head chief, order you to do it.

10. And now my friends a word or two more about this hospital. Hospitals have, I know not why, been sometimes called "the houses of death." This is very wrong. People may die in any kind of house, and they may sometimes die even in a hospital. But in a hospital such as this, many, who would die in their own houses, will be saved from death, and many who are sick will be made well. So this hospital, and the other hospitals which are being built for the Fijians, will in future be known as "the houses of life." And I hope that all who may be sick in these provinces will freely come to this hospital. They will find here a very clever and very kind gentlemen, Dr. Withington, who will do all he can to cure them, and they will always meet here with every possible kindness and good treatment. I have now great pleasure in declaring this hospital open, and in expressing my assured conviction that it will be the means under Almighty God of much blessing to the people for whom it has been built.

The address, which was delivered in English and interpreted by the Hon. W. L. Allardyce, losing none of its force or effect in the translation, was received with much applause, and a short epistle was presented and read, thanking the Governor for water supply, hospital, etc.

A vote of thanks, in the usual native form, was passed, and his Excellency rose and invited those present to adjourn to the hospital and partake of light refreshments, where, in a few words, the health of Dr. Withington, in whose charge the hospital had been placed, was proposed by the Governor and drunk by those present. The hospital buildings, which comprise three wards, dispensary, operating room, and quarters for resident doctor and native attendants, were then inspected and the general opinion was that the site was well and centrally situated, and the buildings admirably suited for the treatment of the native sick, being large, well lighted and ventilated, and bear more the appearance of a cheerful home than that of a hospital, the three wards opening out on to a broad verandah, which runs round half the main building.

Before leaving again for Suva three ringing cheers were given for his Excellency.

Three ringing cheers for his Excellency terminated the proceedings, and the launch with the Governor and party on board pushed off from the wharf at Wainibokasi about 3 o'clock, arriving in Suva two hours later.

The band from the Roman Catholic Mission Station, at Nailili was in attendance and played several selections during the afternoon.

FROM THE FIJI TIMES, NOVEMBER 7, 1900.

SIR.—The unjustifiable attack upon the New Zealand Government made by his Excellency the Governor of Fiji in his speech at the opening of the Wainibokasi Hospital will, I have no doubt, be dealt with officially, but as of necessity many days must elapse before the utterly untrue statements can be contradicted from Wellington, I trust you will allow me to state a few facts in order to place the position fairly before the people of Suva. There are at present in the North Island of New Zealand (the Maoris are practically confined to the North Island) according to the census of 1897 some 40,000 Maoris. In the Hawke's Bay district the Maoris draw over £50,000 per annum in rents alone, besides holding and working several large tracts of land for themselves. In the King Country there are over two million of acres of land held entirely by the natives. In the Tauranga district they hold thousands of acres of land and draw besides large suras in rent. In my own district of Wellington the Maoris, who are very few in number, say some 1000 souls, and this is an out side estimate, hold several thousands of acres of land and besides draw over £20,000 per annum in rents. In the, Wairarapa district the Maoris, who are again few in number hold thousands of acres and draw thousands in rent. As a matter of fact, the 40,000 Maoris in the North Island are, as a tribal community, the biggest landowners in the world, and draw enormous rents for tracts of country that they themselves never saw. It would encroach too much on your space were! to give you the whole history of the Maoris and the way they have been treated by the white people. His Excellency, however, must have official handbooks and other sources of information that prove without a shadow of a doubt that the boast of England that its treatment of the natives in New Zealand is an object lesson to the world is a justifiable one. In my own immediate district—the Hutt—there are some 150 Maoris all told, and I know from observation that they are all well off, have plenty of food, good homes and luxuries that very many of the white settlers cannot attain to. The treaty of Waitangi is responsible for all the misery and suffering in the early days, but, mark you, this misery and suffering was not on the part of the natives but was endured by the white people.

The natives have been far too well cared for under the above treaty; thousands of acres of land having been handed over to them by secure titles that they never set foot in. If any injustice was ever done the native race it

was done when New Zealand was a Crown Colony. This is an absolute fact, and must be known to his Excellency, and it seems to me it places him in rather an unenviable position. The Governments, from Sir Harry Atkinson's down to the present administration under the Right Hon. Mr. Seddon, have rectified many abuses that crept in under the old Crown Colony days, and at present the large tracts of land held by the Maoris are not allowed under any consideration to be sold to white settlers. To sum up 40,000 Maoris (all told, men, women, and children) hold some five millions of acres of land, and over and above draw rents to an extent of at least £400,000. Let your readers compare the above statements with paragraph 6 in his Excellency's speech, and then they will wonder as I do what his motive was in insulting the colony of New Zealand. I am, etc.,

James R. Purdy, M.B., C.M.

M.O.H. Hutt County, and Native Government Medical Officer, Hutt and Porirua natives.

SUVA,

November 3, 1900.

FROM THE FIJI TIMES, NOVEMBER 23, 1900.

SIR,—The Governor took advantage of the large gathering of natives and others recently collected by him, ostensibly to celebrate the opening of the Wainibokasi Hospital, to address to the assembled chiefs and people a speech of a highly inflammatory character; in which his Excellency accused the Government of New Zealand of intending, should it obtain control of Fiji, to deprive the Fijians of their land and give it to white men.

That, the Governor of Fiji told the Fijian chiefs, was how the Government of New Zealand had treated the Maoris—the aboriginal inhabitants of that country—and that is how it would treat the Fijians, if Fiji should federate with New Zealand, or in any way come under her control. One must unhesitatingly condemn this speech as being mischievous in intention, and as deplorable in the results likely to flow from it.

A protest must be entered against such statements from the lips of the Governor of this colony because they are unsustainable in point of fact; are an unjust accusation against the Government of a neighbouring British colony: and are calculated to cause embarrassment to that Government in its dealings with the natives of those islands which, with the sanction of the imperial Government, are on the point of being placed under the administration of New Zealand. The Government of New Zealand has—so says the Governor of Fiji—deprived the Maoris of their lands so that they are now cooped up within a small area, and, so that many of them now have no land at all. That statement has been demonstrated by Dr. Purdy of New Zealand to be "utterly untrue," and an "insult" to that colony.

The words of the Governor of Fiji, spoken as a warning to the natives of Fiji, lest they should consent to come under the dominion of New Zealand, will sink into the ears of the natives of the Cook Islands, and fill them with dread and fear, and distrust of the Government of New Zealand; for has not the Governor of Fiji told the chiefs of that country that the Government of New Zealand wants to federate with Fiji, in order that it may get the opportunity to deprive the Fijians of their lands and give them to white men. That is "what happened in New Zealand" says the Governor of Fiji. "and that is what will happen here also if New Zealand gets Fiji."

Anything more calculated to inflame the native mind against the white people of this colony, and of New Zealand, and to lead to a disturbance of those relations which have hitherto so happily existed between whites and natives of Fiji, cannot be conceived. The Fijian has an extraordinary attachment to his land. To impress upon him that the white people who support Federation, do so in the hope that thereby they may be able to deprive him of that land, is to create a feeling in his mind which constitutes a distinct and grave danger to the white community, and throws a most serious responsibility upon the Governor, whose first duty is to keep the peace and foster good feeling between all Her Majesty's subjects in Fiji. His Excellency apparently realized the dangerous nature of the demon he was summoning to oppose the closer union of two British colonies in the Pacific, for, at the conclusion of his speech, he, having addressed them in a manner calculated to arouse their passions, advised the chiefs, indeed ordered them, to remain quiet, and leave their protection from the nefarious white men in Fiji and their aider and abettor, the New Zealand Government, in his hands.

Now, all this alleged unjust treatment of the Maoris by the Government of New Zealand, and all this alleged desire of the white people in Fiji to deprive the Fijians of their land, is, of course, great nonsense. But, it is nonsense of a most dangerous sort when addressed by a person in the high position of Governor to persons like the Fijians, who naturally accept as real all that is told them by the Governor.

No doubt the Government of New Zealand will take a very serious view of the libellous accusations brought against it by the Governor of Fiji, and, for the sake of the honor and good fame of that Government, it is necessary that it should do so, and that it should take effectual steps to refute these accusations. The Government of New Zealand has been publicly and officially accused of exploiting the Maoris for the benefit

of the white man. Before New Zealand can hope to successfully govern in the islands of the South Seas she must eradicate from the native mind the damaging prejudice created against her by the speech of the Governor of Fiji to the chiefs assembled at Wainibokasi. "What has happened to the Maoris is what happens to all colored people under such a Government as New Zealand possesses"—so says the Governor of the Crown Colony of Fiji!

That is to say that the Government of a country, which has free and enlightened institutions, and responsible ministers, always treat the natives unjustly, and exploits them for the benefit of the 'wicked white man'; and it is only under the iron rule of irresponsible autocracy, that justice is found, and the 'wicked white man' kept from the fulfilment of his nefarious designs upon the native. Such is the gospel according to the Crown Colony Governor of Fiji. But New Zealand is not singular in her form of Government. The Governor of Fiji, therefore, includes the Commonwealth among the Governments unfit, from inherent injustice, to be entrusted with the care and control of native races.

But, it is absolutely certain that New Guinea will shortly be handed over to the Government of the Commonwealth. In view of that certainty, and of the fact that New Zealand is on the point of annexing the Cook Islands, it would seem that Mr. Chamberlain does not altogether agree with the Governor of Fiji in his estimate of the character of the Government of New Zealand, and others of like nature.

The Governor should apologise for his accusations against the honor of the white people of Fiji, and for his accusations against the honour of the Government of New Zealand. The accusations having been publicly, and officially made, should, in like manner be publicly and officially retraced, and this his Excellency should in fairness do in the next issue of *Na Mata*. That the speech was a blunder is clear; the publication, far and wide among the natives, of unfounded aspersions on the honor of the Government of New Zealand is of course something of a more serious nature, but if amends in the shape of a retraction and apology be at once made, it is to be hoped that the regrettable incident may be passed over without further notice, and be relegated to oblivion.

—I am, etc.,

Humphry Berkeley.

Suva,

November 16, 1900.

FROM THE FIJI TIMES, NOVEMBER 28, 1900.

SIR,—The Governor's speech to the Fijians at Wainibokasi was certainly a lamentable piece of ineptitude. It reads like a speech made for party purposes by an irresponsible politician, careless of the accuracy of his facts, satisfied so long as he can make a point for the time being against his opponents. No doubt the Governor succeeded at Wainibokasi in sending his Fijian hearers away filled, for the time being, with detestation of the New Zealand Government and of the white men in Fiji who support federation with that colony, and no doubt the colony of New Zealand will, for some time to come, be regarded by the natives of Fiji and elsewhere in the Pacific, in a light very unfair and very injurious to its Government. But, after all, what has been gained by this speech?

The charges contained in it are unfounded in fact, and are easily disproved, and it is only a matter of a short time when they must be withdrawn as publicly as they have been made; for it is impossible for New Zealand, with her mission in the South Seas, to allow herself to lie under the stigma which has been placed upon her by the Governor of Fiji, who, be it remembered, is also the High Commissioner for the Western Pacific. The holder of these high offices is expected to possess the qualities which distinguish a statesman and a diplomatist from the ordinary official.

The great French Foreign Minister, Tallyrand, is credited with having declared that in a diplomatist a blunder was worse than a crime. Certainly Her Majesty's High Commissioner for the Western Pacific has committed an egregious blunder in making accusations which will be bitterly resented by New Zealand, and which are without warrant or excuse. Happily, the Government will have no difficulty in refuting the charges made against it, for it has spent in purchasing lands from the Maoris over two millions of money, as any one interested in the subject may learn from Blue Books and other official publications, and the Maoris in addition draw from rented lands more than four hundred thousand pounds sterling a year. To impute, therefore to the New Zealand Government unjust dealings in the lands of the Maoris would be laughable where it not so cruel and unjust to the people of New Zealand, who, with every right to do so, pride themselves on the benevolent

and enlightened manner in which they have always treated the Maoris. To the Maoris themselves it will come as strange news that they are a down-trodden people, unjustly deprived of their hereditary lands. But the Fijians will, of course, believe the allegation until it is contradicted in the same authoritative manner as that in which it has been made.

Until that is done, Tongatabu and the Cook Islands, and all the natives in the Pacific will believe the fable, and look askance at what they have been told to regard as the land grabbing policy of the New Zealand Government. How that Government, must love Sir George O'Brien for having opened the eyes of the natives in the Pacific to the danger they will incur if they permit New Zealand to have any hold in the management of their affairs. New Zealand used to aspire to be the predominant power, under the Crown, in this part of the Pacific, but perhaps she will abandon those aspirations now that Sir George O'Brien has stated it to be his opinion that she is not fit to be entrusted with the care of natives. Of course, on the other hand, Mr. Seddon, the Premier of New Zealand, may disregard this very remarkable expression of opinion on the part of Her Majesty's High Commissioner as to the character of the Government of which he is the distinguished leader, and may still pursue the traditional policy of New Zealand of gradually including all the Western Pacific Islands in a political union with her. In the latter case, the Premier must hasten to remove from the native mind the damaging impression which has been created against New Zealand by the speech to the natives at Wainibokasi.

That speech has been published by his Excellency in the Na Mata, the native official newspaper, and has, by his Excellency's order, been read by the chief of each village in Fiji to the villagers assembled for the purpose. "On receipt of this Na Mata, you will appoint a day for a public meeting at which you or your nominee will read the Governor's speech in order to make its contents known to all." Such is the direction which has been issued to the chief of each village in Fiji, and it is signed "By order of the Governor. Wm. Sutherland, Native Commissioner."

There is no mistake about the official character of the accusations against the Government of New Zealand, and the supporters of Federation. What was his Excellency's Executive Council about when it allowed such pernicious stuff to be officially spread broadcast among excitable natives? Can it be that they were not consulted on the subject? What was Mr. Allardyce, the Assistant Colonial Secretary, about when he took part in the propagation of unfounded slanders against the Government of New Zealand and the people of this colony? Is it the case that he knew little or nothing of the matter until called upon to interpret the speech? What was the Native Commissioner about? He must have known the (lunger of inflaming the mind of the native against the white, or is it that he, too, was not consulted beforehand but simply treated as a conduit pipe for the conveyance of the Governor's directions to the chiefs of the villages?

The rumour is (and probably in this case rumour is correct) that his Excellency consulted no one on the subject. If so, what a crushing commentary is afforded on the mischief attendant on "one-man Government," and what a strong argument it provides for the abolition of that discredited system, and the bestowal on the colony of Representative Government. After all the sacrifices in blood and treasure by the loyal New Zealanders in the hour of the Empire's need, it is nothing short of an outrage that they should be officially held up to public opprobrium by a high and responsible Imperial official.

—I am, etc.,

Scrutator.

SUVA,

1½/2/1900.

The Premier of New Zealand on the Governor's Wainibokasi Speech.

FROM THE FIJI TIMES, DECEMBER 5, 1900.

PREMIER'S OFFICE, WELLINGTON,

November 19, 1900.

To F. E. RIEMENSCHNEIDER, ESQ., SUVA.

DEAR SIR,—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 3rd November, containing an extract from the *FIJI TIMES* of the 31st October, being a report of the speech delivered by his Excellency the Governor, and High Commissioner of the Pacific, Sir George O'Brien, on the occasion of the opening of the Wainibokasi Hospital.

I presume the report must be taken as correct, seeing that this speech was re-printed in the current number of the *Na Mata*, a Government publication printed in Fiji, and a copy of which notification, signed, by order of the Governor, William Sutherland, Native Commissioner, has reached me.

I read the speech with surprise and amazement, and had not the after effects been so serious, I should have been more amused than annoyed. I do not think there is a precedent in the annals of our history for such a situation, or that it was possible to have conceived, or that it was reasonable to expect, that such an occurrence was within the bounds of possibility. Just imagine the Queen's representative in one colony taking to task the representative or past representatives of another colony and charging them with maladministrations, where responsible Government obtains, in respect to their dealings with the aboriginal race of that colony, or questioning the action of Parliament of a free colony in its desire to see responsible Government given to a people, who, in a proper and constitutional way, have asked for the same. The imputation and inference to be deducted, that underlying the movement to give Fiji Self-Government, or Confederation, or annexation, is to take the lands from the Fijians, is ludicrous in the extreme. More particularly is this so when a short review of what has taken place and brought about the present situation is given.

So far back as 1883 a movement took place in Fiji for Confederation with one of the Australasian colonies. The same year the Parliament of New Zealand passed a Confederation and Annexation Act which would have enabled this to be done, but which Act was disallowed by Her Majesty the Queen. Subsequently a conference was held in Sydney, the result being that in the following year Fiji petitioned the New Zealand Government for annexation to that colony. Seeing that the Act which would have enabled this to be done had been disallowed by the Queen, on the advice of the Imperial Government, the New Zealand Parliament did not see its way to grant the petition. Between that time and the Federation movement in Australia little appears to have been done, but when the Federal movement took place in Australia, and owing to isolation and other unfavourable conditions obtaining in Fiji, the movement for a constitutional change sprang into existence. New Zealand Parliament was petitioned and they passed resolutions on the subject, and these were sent on to the Secretary of State, the first being in favor of giving Responsible Government to Fiji, leaving other questions to wait development thereafter. That this should be construed, or that an attempt should be made to create an inference that New Zealand wished to deprive the natives of their lands is childish in the extreme. To show how unfounded such an allegation really is I will just give you the conditions upon which the New Zealand Government intimated to the Imperial authorities in August last that it was prepared to embrace within its boundaries the Cook Group and other islands in the Pacific.

- That the native ownership of land in the Cook Island Group should be admitted.
- That a Court on the same lines as the Native Land Court established in New Zealand, or a Commission, should define the ownership of the particular areas, and decide as to its subdivision and partition.
- That on this being ascertained, the land should be Crown-granted, and alienated through the Crown as agreed upon by the Maori chiefs under the Treaty of Waitangi, and thus safeguard the interests of the natives, and prevent them from becoming landless, or being taken advantage of.

So much for the action of the New Zealand Parliament being construed as a desire to interfere with native ownership, or the natives in respect to their lands in Fiji.

As regards the allegation made to the effect that the Maori natives of New Zealand have been wronged in respect to their lands, and were without lands, anyone who has read what has been going on—and it is the duty of those holding high positions to make themselves acquainted with what is going on—knows that such is not the case, but that, on the contrary, it is found in the North Island of New Zealand there are some 30,000 natives who own, at the present time, some 5,000,000 acres of land. The law affecting native lands has for some years been that no alienation can take place except through the Government, nor until a court has certified that the natives desirous of alienating by lease or otherwise have sufficient land in excess of that to be sold or leased to maintain them. Only last session we passed the Maori Lands Administration Act, a copy of which I herewith forward you, and under which the native land-owners elected their own councils to administrate the lands for them; and the Government of the colony assisted by advancing moneys for the purpose of surveying roads and developing the lands. Many years ago, and before Responsible Government was given to our colony, the natives of the South Island, after reserving what they deemed sufficient for the revenues, ceded the rest to the New Zealand Company and to the Government. Of late years it was found that sufficient reserves had not been retained, and some three years ago the Government, with the consent of Parliament, set apart for the landless natives in the South Island no less than 65,000 acres.

I do not think it is necessary for me to say anything further on this subject, for it is generally conceded

throughout the civilized world that the treatment by the Parliaments and Governments of the aboriginal natives in New Zealand has been most humane, far reaching and satisfactory. We give them representation in Parliament, local self-government, administration of their own lands, special representation of Maori race in the Cabinet and Executive Council, and I don't hesitate to say that they are given greater freedom, and are better off in every respect than our own flesh and blood—the Britishers who are now located in the Fiji Islands.

However, the matter cannot rest where it is. As far as this colony is concerned, there is no reason given for the course that his Excellency, your Governor, has taken. I deeply regret the occurrence, for I fear it will have a detrimental effect upon the British policy in the Pacific Islands, There is no question upon which the Polynesian or Papuan race are so sensitive as that of their lands, and I scarcely think that this view of the question could have been taken into consideration when the High Commissioner of the Pacific decided to bring the matter before the natives on the occasion of the opening of the hospital at Wainibokasi.

—Yours faithfully,

R. J. Seddon.

(By Electric Telegraph.) WELLINGTON,

November 20, 1900.

To F. E. RIEMEN SCHNEIDER, ESQ., SUVA.

SIR,—For your information, and, as showing that the natives of this colony have been well treated and appreciate the freedom they enjoy, the following communications speak for themselves:—

- King Mahuta, on his arrival at Wellington, at an interview with the Premier. Meeting between the Premier and King Mahuta, Monday 17th September, 1900. "Salutations to you, the Premier: salutations to your wife and to your family—my best wishes to you all. To-day is a new birth, a new light. It is faint, but will grow brighter. Salutations to the Governor and to the Ministers; my best wishes to all. I am here at your invitation. I have left the Waikato, my home, and my people, to be present with you to discuss matters for the good of both races. My father's words to me were 'Good are the Governments.' The Governments were good in his day, and they had his good wishes. As his sou, the Government of to-day has my best wishes. You, the Premier, have power through our mother, the Queen; that power should be used for good. It has come to me that you are prepared to offer me a scat in the Legislative Council, and, also a seat in the Ministry. This has caused anxiety, and have given it every consideration. I am glad to be able to state that I will accept both positions after we have talked over matters. It will be after this conversation between you and I, on matters of moment to both races, that the final decision as to the future will be arrived at. Sufficient. We both wish to promote the welfare of both races. Salutations to you. Long life to you; and may God give you every blessing and keep you from harm. Sufficient.
- Letter from King Mahuta, who has just been on a visit to Wellington to promote legislation in the interests of the Maoris on the west coast of the North Island. King Mahuta has sent a letter to the Premier, in which he says:—"Great is the joy and thankfulness of the heart at your forcefulness in carrying on and completing those measures that would bring rest to the breast of the Maori people who live in this island of ours. The heart and mind have had proof of your masterful forcefulness. For somewhere near unto forty years have the Maori people appealed for some measure of mana to be granted to them to administer the residue of their lands remaining to them. There have been many Governments and many Premiers prior to you, but it was not till your day, and the Government, that such a great measure as this has been seen. This great measure arranged between us will never be forgotten. It will remain as a great monument of your day and ours, so then, O! Premier, in token of our great admiration for the masterful way in which you have carried out matters to the present conclusion, and having had proof as we have of the rightful way in which you have arranged matters, we hereto sign our names.—KING MAHUTA, TAWHIAO, and 78 others."
- A letter from about 100 chiefs and natives of the East Coast. "Gisborne, 14th September, 1900. The Premier Honorable Sir,—In Tuesday's issue of the Poverty Bay Herald we find that a Bill was introduced by the native Minister conducive to the higher civilization and contentment of us—the Maoris. We, the undersigned, cannot find words to convey to your far-seeing and truly wise Government our deepest gratitude for such a step—the salvation morally, physically, and spiritually of these dusky but loyal subjects unquestionably lies in bunging the provisions of the Bill into operation as early as possible. In conclusion, we wish to assure you that we shall heartily welcome the day when such Bill will come into force. Hoping you will convey our sincere thanks to your Government.—We remain," etc.

- Letters from chiefs and natives of the Northern Maori District, Kaipara, October 30, 1900. "The Hon. Mr. Seddon, Premier. Friend—Greetings to you and the members of your Government. We, the Maori people of this district, desire to express our great thanks to you and your Government for the great efforts that you have made to devise ways whereby Acts affecting Maori administration have been passed; a valued possession that our ancestors, who have all passed away, have endeavored to obtain. Well, then, all the tribes have a great admiration for you and your hon. members, and are full of thankfulness. Long may you live! May the great God bless you all!"

After perusal of these communications, all lovers of justice and fair play must come to the conclusion that the statements made by his Excellency Sir George O'Brien are unfounded, and based on incorrect information, and I feel sure, had enquiry been made from reliable sources, the remarks would never have been uttered.

R. J. Seddon.

FROM THIS FIJI TIMES, DECEMBER 8, 1900.

SIR,—I noticed in your last issue the letter from the Premier of New Zealand to the chairman of the Federal League on the subject of the Governor's address to the natives assembled on the occasion of the opening of the Wainibokasi Hospital.

Seldom, if ever, has so powerful and well-earned a rebuke been administered to the representative of Her Majesty in any portion of those dominions on which the sun never sets.

Mr. Seddon says he read the speech "with surprise and amazement;" and well, indeed, he may have done so. He is not the only one who read that speech with the same feelings. To every right-minded man the utterances of his Excellency the Governor were such as should never have been made. They are statements which are "unfounded, and based on incorrect information." Statements which, used by one holding the high positions of Governor of Fiji and High Commissioner of the Western Pacific, are calculated to do the greatest harm in creating in the minds of the natives a feeling of antagonism to the whites. It behoves every member of the community, especially a community in which the native element preponderates, to use his utmost endeavours to foster a friendly feeling between the white and coloured races. The dangerous nature of an inflammatory speech, such as that referred to in Mr. Seddon's letter, cannot be over-estimated. For one at the head of affairs to tell those who are brought up to regard him as their highest chief and as the representative of Her Majesty, that a section of the white community, with the aid of a neighbouring British Colony, is endeavoring to deprive them of their lands is nothing short of an outrage, more especially when his Excellency's speech is coupled with his subsequent actions. (I allude to the promulgation of this speech far and wide throughout the Fiji Group in the columns of Na Mata.) It is, indeed, inconceivable that Her Majesty's Ministers should have entrusted the guidance of one of her most loyal colonies to the care of one who could so recklessly misrepresent facts, and engender feelings of mistrust amongst those whom he has been sent out to govern. That the statements made by his Excellency were "based on incorrect information, and can therefore, be easily controverted," has really nothing to do with the case. To disprove the facts by letters written by Mr. Seddon and others simply means that the white people who read the newspaper are merely fortified in the opinion that one and all must hold with regard to the deplorable speech at Wainibokasi. But the mischief has been done. In every village, by order of the Governor, a copy of the Government native paper has been read.

The natives have had it instilled into their minds that the white man is to be dreaded, and more especially if he happens to be a New Zealander. The problem that has now to be considered is, how is that pernicious impression—that most fatal of all impressions—the engendering of racial hatred, to be eradicated from the native mind?

Eradicated it must be if the whiteman is to continue on the same friendly relations with the Fijian. The evil consequences of this speech are so far reaching, and the harm that may, nay will be done, is so incalculable if the incorrect assertions of his Excellency are allowed to remain officially uncontradicted before the natives, that some decisive measure must be taken to let them know the truth.

His Excellency stated in his speech, paragraph 2: "You have the land, my friends, and that is what they (the New Zealand party) want to get, and hope that they will get if you are foolish enough to listen to them."

Of little avail is the absolute answer to so misleading an assertion, contained in the letter and telegram received from Mr. Seddon, for their contents can never be made known. There is no means of communicating them to the Fijians. There will be no order issued, signed by the "Governor. Wm. Sutherland, Native Commissioner," issued to the head of each village or his nominee, directing him to assemble the villagers in order that the refutations to his Excellency's speech be read to them. It is well known that no private individual or band of private individuals would be allowed to address the natives in their various villages, and so, unless some measures are devised to acquaint the Fijians with the facts of the case, they will certainly remain in ignorance of them. Those who have taken up the cause of Federation and Representation will, doubtless, find

the means, and it is only to be hoped, in the interests of the colony, that they will not allow this serious attack on the white portion of the community to remain unanswered. As far as New Zealand is concerned, Mr. Seddon has said, "However, the matter cannot rest where it is. As far as this colony is concerned, there has been no reason given for the course his Excellency, your Governor, has taken," and it may be taken for granted that that powerful statesman will not brook the wanton insult which has been gratuitously offered to the colony of which he forms so distinguished a head.—I am, etc.,

Humphry Berkeley.

CHAMBERS, SUVA,

12/7/1900.

Extension of Trade And Commerce.

A Paper Read By Mr John Holmes Before The Conference of New Zealand Chambers of Commerce, At Wellington, On 6th February, 1902.

WELLINGTON, NEW ZEALAND: Printed by the New Zealand Times Company, Limited. 1902.

Extension of Trade and Commerce.

Paper Read by Mr John Holmes at the Chambers of Commerce Conference.

(Reprinted from the "New Zealand Times," of 15th February, 1902.)

An interesting address on the "Extents of Trade and Commerce" was read by Mr John Holmes before the Conference of Chambers of Commerce last week, as follows:—

In accepting the responsible task of stealing in a short paper with such an important subject as the Expansion of our Trade and Commerce, I am reminded of Bancroft's words, when he says, "Commerce defies every wind, outrides every tempest, and invades every zone." I therefore approach the subject with considerable hesitation, knowing how inadequate my efforts will be to do justice to it.

We meet to-day under the gloom of a great and terrible war still raging in south Africa. Its continuance and uncertainty must be matters of the gravest concern to our Imperial statesmen, as well as to every Government in his Majesty's possessions beyond the seas, There are none less anxious to see a greedy and satisfactory termination of this bloody conflict than the people of this colony, who, through the Right Hon. B. J. Seddon, have shown to Britain and the world at large that their sympathies are not mere idle words, but deeds of section What more striking illustration of the bond of true sympathy could be found than in the ready and magnificent response to the Empire's call as exhibited by Canada, Australia and New Zealand. When the history of this struggle comes to be written, and future orators speak with powerful eloquence upon the present crisis, they will all bear testimony to the fact that not only did the blood of England, of Ireland and of Scotland, but also that of the colonies, flow in the same battlefields to uphold the right and give freedom to Britain's sons in South Africa. From this, the most distant of his Majesty's dominions, we have just sent forward the Surrey with 500 men, and the balance will, within a few days, complete the 8th Contingent of over 1000 strong. This is already supplemented by a further 1000 men now in readiness to embark for the 9th Contingent, reprinting a total of over 5000 officers and men, with nearly 6000 horses, which New Zealand has, from its limited population, contributed to the South African campaign. Who, therefore, can deny that this colony has done its share to uphold the Empire?

This is neither the time nor the place to express any opinion as to the causes which led to the great sacrifices of human life and suffering, but there can be no doubt that England did everything that was possible to avert the disaster. We were forced into the conflict, and true to our British instincts, we are now standing shoulder to shoulder to maintain that freedom of government which is always to be found in every clime wherever the Union Jack is supreme.

In dealing with the question of the extension of our Trade and Commerce, which we are to-day considering, I have first of all to congratulate the council of this Chamber upon the excellence of its arrangements in the

varied and interesting subjects tabled for discussion, the ventilation of which in a true and friendly spirit, cannot fail to be of great and permanent benefit to this colony.

Extension of Trade and Commerce.

I am one of those who believe that there are few questions of greater importance to the well being of any country than the development of its natural resources and the consequent extension of its trade and commerce. Agriculture and commerce are inseparably linked together. The prosperity of the one means the success of the other, and the adversity of the one means the depression of the other. It, therefore, behoves us to help forward the general movement which is now occupying the close attention of the Government of this colony, to whom we are largely indebted for the prosperity which we have long enjoyed in New Zealand.

We have many things contributing to our wealth and happiness, for which we ought to be thankful. We possess a beautiful climate, rich and fertile country of 104,000 square miles, regular rainfall, numerous rivers, a land which nature has richly endowed, free from droughts or disappointments, 2300 miles of railway, connecting the main land with the seaboard, good bridges, excellent roads, and 7249 miles of telegraph and also telephone communication, and in fact every facility that the people of so young a country could reasonably expect.

Surrounded by the ocean with a coastline of 4330 miles, and exceptional harbour facilities from the Bluff in the South to Auckland in the North, all combine to give us easy access to the markets of the world. Our distance of 12,000 miles from the manufacturing centres of Britain is perhaps the chief barrier that blocks our way to greater progress.

While saying this, however, I must not be understood to mean that we have reached the haven of our prosperity, and that nothing more is to be done. On the contrary I am of opinion that one of the many reasons which should increase our activity and vigilance is the fact that compared with other countries, we are the most distant from the great consuming population of the Old World. The old saying "Out of sight out of mind" may be applied to commerce as well as to individuals. The success attending our friendly American cousins in marketing their produce and manufactures is largely due to the enterprise they display in their endeavours to capture the markets of other countries, and their readiness to comply with the altered requirements.

They are always in evidence, constantly pushing their goods, an important factor in permanently establishing an export trade. Emulating the people of the United States are to be found our Canadian friends, who exhibit that rare combination of talents which might best be described as having all the vivacity of the French, the solidity of the English and the enterprise of the American.

During my visit to Europe as New Zealand Trade Commissioner in 1897-1898, I was struck with the very great effort! continually put forward by Canadians in directing the attention of the British people to the resources of Canada.

Thousands of specially prepared and beautifully illustrated pamphlets, setting forth the many advantages of the country, are constantly being distributed throughout the United Kingdom. Indeed no opportunity is lost to advertise the country and its products.

Evidence of this I saw everywhere. In England at the Agricultural Shows, Canada was in evidence. At the Healthieries Exhibition in Dublin in 1898, Canada was well represented, distributing literature to attract people to her shores, and exhibiting samples of the various products of that great country, with a view to widening the outlets for her exporters.

That we may have a fuller appreciation of the necessity for extended markets for our produce, I have pleasure in subjoining a detailed list showing the growth of our exports during 1890, 1895 and 1900.

Note.—The most important items of exports given under the heading of "Other New Zealand Produce," are coal, silver, [*unclear*: minerals], fish, oysters, fungus, kauri [*unclear*: n] to, timber, bacon and hams, salted and preserved meats, tallow, sheep and rabbit [*unclear*: skins], hides, sausage skins and live stock, and during the year 1901 the dairy produce has further increased.

Showing an increase in butter and cheese since 1900 of over £6163,704.

The bulk of these shipments are consigned to London, as will be seen by the following table:—

It is instructive to read a similar return from our neighbouring colonies.

The largely increased export of dairy produce from New Zealand has done immense good to the small farmers. One illustration will suffice to show the great improvement in the North Island. I would specially direct attention to the following valuation of the New Plymouth Harbour rating district:—

Growing Industries.

With the development of our dairy industry, our exports in fresh pork, bacon, hams and lard are expanding

and promise to be a very profitable addition to the dairy farmers' annual revenue.

The poultry industry is also steadily growing in favour. Mr Hyde, the expert, is devoting all his energy, ability and special knowledge in assisting to establish poultry farms all through the country. With cheaper freights and a better knowledge of the requirements of the Home and South African markets, the trade in frozen poultry must steadily increase.

Fruit and Vine Culture.

I recently had the pleasure of meeting a gentleman, largely interested in the export of Australian wines. He assured me that for certain classes of wine, such as claret and champagne, the North Island should be able to successfully compete against any country in the world.

This information has been confirmed by Mr T. W. Kirk, the Government Biologist, who has, by persistent effort and illustration, shown to many settlers how profitable fruit and vine culture is.

There were 23,956 acres in orchard in 1900, an increase of 1330 acres on the previous year. No record is taken of less than a quarter of an acre, of these there are thousands, 522 acres are under vine cultivation, and this is yearly increasing. It is confidently expected that within a few years the wine manufactured in New Zealand will form part of our staple exports.

While directing attention to the advantages, nay, even the necessity for new markets I think that in our eagerness to seek fresh fields we are apt to lose sight of the fact that there is yet plenty of work in Britain.

Judging from the various discussions which from time to time have taken place the impression seems to gain ground that because we have long enjoyed the advantages of an excellent direct steam service to London, we have exploited all the markets of Great Britain and must of necessity look to such countries as South Africa, India, China and Japan, in which to place our increasing exports from this colony.

Having an established direct trade with London, which can with advantage and little expense be further extended to the provinces, I would direct your attention to the fact that the total population of the United Kingdom is in round number 38,000,000. In 1840 the total population was 26½ millions, hence in less than 62 years the population has increased about 11,500,000, or more than the present population of Canada, Australia and New Zealand combined.

Not only the population, but the wealth also is great, and the conditions of the great masses of the people are much improved. To Great Britain, therefore we must look for our permanent market; and anything that can be done by the Government of New Zealand to extend our trade with the English provinces, Scotland and Ireland, should have the support and approval of every producer and merchant in this colony.

While in England in 1898, I took the opportunity of publicly urging the claims of New Zealand and suggested, inter alia, that the guardians of the large Charitable Institutions of Britain might with advantage include New Zealand from meat when calling tenders for meat Supplies. The result of that recommendation was that subsequently a large meat contractor in one of the chief cities of England called upon me, stating that my recommendation had borne fruit, and that tenders were being called by one large institution for meat supplies, in which was included "Canterbury mutton." He asked me, "Is that New Zealand mutton?" (Another illustration of the advantages of establishing a good name). Having replied in the affirmative, I immediately gave him all the information I could, supplying him with the names of every freezing company and expert in this colony, and also the names of the principal importers at Smithfield. It is very instructive to read his letter dated 9th January, 1899. It runs as [unclear: followers]:—

"You will remember when you visited England I met you at your hotel, I and we had a conversation on the New Zealand mutton trade, I specially mentioned that I had frequently tendered for the supply of Canterbury mutton, but had not been successful, and was just about to tender again to the firm that had previously rejected me. I did so, but was not accepted; another firm got the contract for Canterbury mutton. I was determined to watch their deliveries, and I discovered that the mutton was none other than River Plate. At the expiration of the contract I privately exposed the fraud to the receivers and the result was that when the contract was re-let they debarred this firm from competing. I tendered again, but was unsuccessful, another firm having preference to supply Canterbury mutton at 3¼d per lb. I have also watched this, and I am surprised that the so-called Canterbury is nothing but River Plate, with false labels and wrappers stamped "Canterbury." Of course I am not in a position to prove this, and I appeal to you to put me in the way of discovering the genuine brand and give me some information respecting it. I am sure this cannot fail to interest you, as it will give you some idea to what extent this fraud is carried on in this corner of the globe. You will observe that I have not been idle since we parted, and I hope that before long I shall have the pleasure of supplying some of the consumers of River Plate with the genuine article."

Let me here remark this is the testimony of an English meat salesman. I might multiply these instances of my experience as New Zealand Trade Commissioner, but I content myself with adding a recent letter dated 29th

October, 1901, from Scotland relative to our dairy produce trade. This is from a gentleman upon whom I called while visiting Scotland. I would specially direct your attention to the great prejudice of Scotch houses to do business through London, and the objection to opening credits. The letter reads as follows:—

As you know, I do a very large business in butter, and am much interested in it from all quarters. I have during the last three years been the pioneer of the Siberian trade, which has made astonishing progress both as to quality and quantity exported. As I told you when here, New Zealand butter is much liked here, but as your exporters only consign to London houses it is to a large extent boycotted here. We large importers here will not do business if we can help it with second hand people. We must import our own goods, and until you do that we will supply our customers with Finnish, Russian and Canadian butters, which come direct to us. We, or let me speak for myself, but I know all others agree with me, will not open credits in New Zealand. The shippers must draw on us direct at sixty days' sight, against B/L and insurance policy in such a way as we are accustomed to."

I am of opinion that every effort should be made to bring New Zealand into closer trade relations with such markets as Liverpool, Manchester, Glasgow, Belfast, Edinburgh and Dublin, even to the extent of subsidising a line of steamers that would include these ports of call in their round trip from this colony. You have only to visit the Manchester Ship Canal to see what enterprise is there displayed to secure direct trade. Already over £17,000,000 have been spent on that magnificent waterway, £5,000,000 of which have been provided by the corporation of the city, who recognise the immense advantage the Ship Canal is to Manchester. During my visit to that city in 1898, the Lord Mayor (Alderman Gibson) and the Chairman of the Ship Canal Company (Mr J. K. Blythel), with several leading citizens assured me that there were nearly 8,000,000 of a population surrounding the Lancashire district who could be best served by direct trade with the Canal, and furthermore added that every facility would be extended to and minimum rates charged upon any steamers trading from New Zealand.

The accomplishment of this is not as difficult as it appears at first sight. Upon further investigation I found the majority of the Bradford Woollen Mills and other importers of New Zealand produce were anxious to secure their New Zealand purchases via the Ship Canal in preference to London.

In view of the yearly increase of our wool sales in this colony, as blown by the following figures:—
and bearing in mind that Yorkshire houses are perhaps the largest buyers, I see no reason why with such a nucleus of assured freight, direct trade with Manchester has been so long delayed. It may be contended that the present steamers are too large, but surely this should not be an insurmountable difficulty. The advantages of direct trade with 8,000,000 of consumers cannot be over-estimated, and is worthy of our best consideration.

To insure for this colony the best representation in the British markets, I would respectfully suggest the advisableness of giving extended powers to the Agent General, who has already done signal service for New Zealand, or separating the political from the commercial representation in London, establishing an office in the city under a qualified commercial trade commissioner, with power to appoint agents in the provinces, who could supply general information. This latter plan has been adopted by Canada, while the former has been worked successfully by our Victorian neighbours. The resident commissioner and his staff would, with advantage, arrange periodical conferences with the various boards of trade and chambers of commerce to whom he could supply the fullest and most reliable information as to the names of the shippers, values of produce, rates of freights, also help to overcome the many prejudices that at present exist against New Zealand product and correct wrong impressions as to the conduct of the export business. While disseminating useful information he would also be gathering valuable data for the guidance of the mercantile community in New Zealand which would repay the outlay.

Mr H. C. Cameron, the present Produce Commissioner in London, has done his utmost to place New Zealand produce in the fore front, but the time has arrived when with more assistance and greater freedom he could render better service to the colony. The adoption of the plan I propose would accomplish this. While advocating closer investigation of the British markets, I also think every effort should be made to establish our name as exporters in the other countries referred to.

It must be as gratifying to every character of commerce in this colony as it is to this conference that the Government is taking such active steps to bring us into closer and more direct communication with South Africa, Ever watchful of New Zealand's interests, the present administration, under the able guidance of the Right Hon. the Premier, has from time to time during the last three years, seized the psychological moment in proclaiming to the world at large that New Zealand is not the least amongst his Majesty's possessions, willing to share the sorrows as well as the joys of the Empire. Who among us can appraise the enormous advantages that such statesmanship, judgement and diplomacy will have upon the commerce of this country in the future Those of us who have been fortunate enough to travel the outer world can realise how little known New Zealand was, and far isolated seemed our position. Thanks to the Government these difficulties are now removed, and when we shall add another line of steamers, for which tenders are now called, to help us in establishing direct trade

with South Africa, we shall become better known, and shall come to look upon the Federal Tariff of the Commonwealth as a great blessing in disguise, for it has undoubtedly accelerated the necessity for the steps now being taken to open up trade with other countries, which in the ordinary course of events we could not have existed for some time to come. If our biding aloof for the present from Federation has done no other good it has certify been instrumental in directing our attention to the necessity of new markets.

Trade With Japan.

My long connection with and interest a the New Zealand fibre trade suggested in me the desirableness of sending, some years ago, several samples of our "phormium tenax" to Japan. The report was far from encouraging. No hope was held out for future sales, and the gloomiest future was prophesied. Having undergone similar experiences in the establishment of the frozen meat trade of Marlborough in 1882, and also in the inaction of direct shipping from Picton to London, I was not discouraged by the reports from Japan, and I continued my efforts. Replying to my friends' several communications, I remember adding that nothing succeeds without effort, and that although there might not appear to be any immediate prospect of trade in New Zealand hemp, there was an old saying, "That it was always darkest before the dawn," which I had so often replied to my London friends whose unfavourable reports upon New Zealand produce of all descriptions were so frequently reversed long before their letters reached me by mail. This is, I am sure, the experience of every merchant long engaged in the export of New Zealand produce, and it is with pleasure I have to announce that for some time past regular orders for New Zealand hemp find their way from Japan. This brings me to say that I read with exceeding pleasure the recent interview in Wellington with Dr Nishikawa, a representative of that country, who gives us further encouragement for extension of our trade, by telling us that in that land there is a good outlet for New Zealand wool. With a population of 40,000,000 who can say to what extent trade with Japan can be developed, especially if they become regular buyers of our staple products, wool and hemp? This will, in some measure, depend upon the shipping facilities which can be secured for the producers, and I am in accord with the gentleman who contributed a very valuable paper last year on the same subject, when he emphasised the importance of securing some connection with an Eastern steam service, such as the Japanese mail. Indeed I go further and say that with reasonable proposals and proper subsidies we should be able to induce the Orient and P. and O. Companies to include some New Zealand ports in their Australasian shipping trade.

Trade with the United States.

Towards the end of 1898, on my return to New Zealand, I visited New York, Washington and Boston, and I was more than surprised to learn upon the best authority that American lamb could not compare with the quality we exported from New Zealand.

I immediately seized the opportunity of suggesting the importance of importing New Zealand lamb, which, in addition to its excellent quality, had the further advantage of arriving when their home grown could not be supplied. It may be very Utopian to suggest such an expansion of our trade, but I would respectfully beg to remind my hearers that a great author has said, "The Utopian ideas of to-day become the realities of to-morrow." When the Vancouver service was established, similar objections were raised, but I found that in Vancouver and Victoria there was a growing demand for New Zealand frozen meat, and I shall be glad to see a renewal of negotiations which will lead to a permanent trade between North America and our own land.

I congratulate the Government upon the establishment of the Department of Industries and Commerce, and upon the appointment of a trade commissioner. Under the able direction of the Hon. Sir Joseph Ward, K.C.M.G., with Mr T. E. Donne, as secretary, the efforts of the various chambers of commerce to widen the outlets for our produce will, I am sure, be greatly assisted.

Gentlemen,—The rapid growth of New Zealand is wonderful, and is unrivalled by any of her sister colonies. Let us give full scope and freedom to this expansion. Let us encourage every reasonable effort without extravagance to place our produce in the markets of the world remembering that the longer we delay the greater the difficulties in permanently establishing our name against our rivals, Let us also remember that to secure the confidence of buyers in the outer world we must be prepared to send the best one colony can produce, and at all till maintain our standard of uniform quality. The careful supervision of the Agricultural Department has already secured for us the confidence of dairy produce and hemp buyers in the Mother Land, which has been of incalculable benefit to those engaged in the respective trades.

Gentlemen,—If we are all true to ourselves, if we would remember that indifference to our commerce produces depreciation of trade, and that industry and activity bring wealth and power, we have nothing to fear as to our future commercial condition, which must, in their natural order of things, bring increased prosperity to

these "Fortunate Isles."

decorative feature

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Note.

Attacks on the Labour legislation of the colony have been frequent of late, its opponents apparently thinking the time has at length come to unveil their hostility. To permit these attacks to pass unrefuted would be to let the case go by default, which would in itself form the ground for further attacks in the future. It is hoped that the contents of this pamphlet will do something, however trifling, to remove the reproach that the organised Labour party are "dumb dogs," and be of some little value in showing that there are solid grounds for the admiration and imitation which the Labour laws have met with outside the colony.

Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration in New Zealand.

A Reply to the articles published in the 'Otago Daily Times' by Mr John Macgregor", ex-M.L.C., Barrister and Solicitor, of Dunedin, against the Labour Laws.

(Reprinted from the "*Otago Liberal and Workman*").

I.

It is with a certain amount of reluctance that we take up the pen to reply to Mr Macgregor's question: "Is Industrial Arbitration a success?" and for a variety of reasons. He gives hardly any facts upon which he may be confuted. He gives no proof that the system has not been a success. He does not point to any industry that has been ruined, or to any that is in danger of being ruined by its operations, but he argues on abstract grounds that the system must be a failure because it conflicts with the law of supply and demand, and because the intention of the framers of the Act of 1894 has been departed from.

"Instead of this" (the settlement of disputes that have actually come to a point of tension not defined) he says, "we have a Court that undertakes to regulate all the industries and most of the other businesses of the country down to the minutest details, simply because a union of perhaps only seven men, or even seven girls, has got up a 'dispute' with the employers and cited them before the Court to have all their business which the union has thought proper to mention adjudicated on by the Court."

This is apparently regarded as a crime, and for the reason that it conflicts with the sacred law of supply and demand (which he says elsewhere has been banished to Saturn), and is a gross and flagrant abuse of the powers given by the Act in 1894. The reluctance of which mention is made above arises from the difficulty of adequately dealing with a critic like this, who does not enter upon the discussion in an honest spirit of enquiry, but in a manner which is unfairly hostile, though the hostility is disavowed. As to the intentions of the framers of the Act, they can only be gathered from the Act itself. We do not go to 'Hansard' or to files of hostile newspapers of the day to find the intentions of legislators; we assume that they are able to put their intentions into intelligible words, and when we find this Act entitled and described as "an Act to encourage the Formation of Industrial Unions, and to facilitate the settlement of industrial disputes by Conciliation and Arbitration," and then encounter a critic who complains because unions have been formed and the settlement of disputes facilitated without calamitous strikes, we must either conclude that the critic has not read the Act, or puts forward a half-truth in support of his arguments.

Further reluctance is created by the difficulty in finding expressions sufficiently decorous in which to describe one who is opposed to any attempt to better the condition of the workers. What is the nature of the mind that can ignore the sufferings that lie behind low wages and the evils that inevitably arise from unrestricted competition? He must have been aware that under the old rudimentary labour laws the evils that make the lot of the bulk of the toilers in the old lands a long drawn agony, offering no hope but the imminent

grave, were also growing here. Would he have the worker remain under the stigma of mental inferiority because the means of education are denied him; would he confine his ameliorative efforts to spasmodic and hysterical protests against sweating? If he would not, but would see the worker lift himself to a higher plane, why sneer at

"This statutory court, which has enormous powers against which there is no appeal, perambulating the country like a peripatetic police court, inflicting fines of a few shillings upon some employer who has dared to give a job to a starving youth who has the misfortune to be a non-unionist."

It is to the last degree difficult to abstain from characterising such criticism with the heat it deserves, when we know as a matter of fact that under such circumstances the employer almost invariably takes advantage of the youth's starving condition to get work out of him for less than its fair value. And surely it is wiser to endeavour to bring about such conditions that there shall be no starving youth to be a menace to the well-being of his fellow workers. It is this strained and prejudiced view that makes it difficult to deal circumspectly with such a critic. But it throws a flood of light on the mental habit of the critic, and makes it easy to understand why the Macgregors were so frequently outlawed in the past.

It will be noted that those who are attempting to copy this law elsewhere are termed "politicians," and those who recommend it are termed "faddists." Writers like Mr. H. D. Lloyd, who venture to affirm after full enquiry that New Zealand is a land without strikes, have "failed to realise the real nature and operation of the system." It is only statesmen like Mr. Macgregor who are able to peer below the surface and discern that New Zealand is walking on the thin crust of an industrial volcano, which may at any moment collapse and engulf the whole community in the molten lava

He tells us that Industrial Arbitration

"As a scheme for the settlement of industrial pursuits in the ordinary sense of the word has never been tried; and the ordinary argument in its favour—that it has saved the country from strikes—reminds one of the number of lives saved by pins—by people not swallowing them. The reply will probably be that it has made strikes impossible by reason of the fact that all industries are regulated by the decree of the Court. So be it, but let the system be judged as one used for that purpose, and not for the purpose for which it was intended."

But it has been shown that the Act was expressly intended "to encourage the growth of unions." What, then, do unions exist for? Are they merely to be debating or social clubs, not daring to discuss the conditions under which their daily lives are spent, and not venturing to dispute the terms upon which they are to sell the commodity which is their all, but to accept the crumbs which fall from the employer's table. When in the name of all that is reasonable is a dispute a dispute? If a number of persons in a trade, dissatisfied with the conditions forced upon them in their disorganised state, organise themselves under a law expressly designed and stated to be for the purpose of encouraging the formation of unions, and if they formulate demands that are rejected with silent contempt, as the earlier demands under the Act were, if they then carry those demands to a court expressly designated in the Act a court of equity and good conscience against which there is no appeal, just as in similar circumstances there is no appeal against the decisions of the stipendiary magistrate; and if that court in the full exercise of its power grant their demands either fully or in part, and that after full inquiry into the facts and the circumstances of the business affected, what right has any man claiming the title of responsibility to term this process a "faking" of disputes and the court a unionist's court? And how shall we properly describe the political animosity that underlies a sneer like this:—

"Surely never outside of Baratania was such a court ever held or imagined, and yet the court goes on its way, trying hard to look dignified as it hurls its mimic thunderbolts against some wicked master baker for the heinous offence of employing some hungry boy guilty of the offence of being a non-unionist."

At the very moment Mr. Macgregor was inditing this sneer there were women working in Dunedin in hosiery factories who had been nine years and upwards at the trade and yet were earning only seven shillings a week, while out of their labour the employer was making £1000 a year. These women formulate their demand for a more humane condition of things. Afraid to appear in the forefront themselves, well knowing that a speedy "holiday" would be their lot, they obtain outside assistance to represent them before the court, and lo, instigated by self-seeking and venal agitators, they are "faking" a dispute before a burlesque court and Mr. Macgregor can find nothing but a lofty sneer with which to designate the process. The worker has reason to thank God that such as Mr. Macgregor have by a discerning Government no longer the power to shape his or her destiny.

II.

It may be granted that the Boards of Conciliation have not done all that was expected of them, but this has arisen from causes easily defined, and therefore as easily capable of amendment.

One principal cause was the contempt with which employers treated the whole subject. When the Act of 1894 came into operation, the employers ignored it. Though the Act contemplated the formation of unions of

employers they formed none, and consequently sent no representatives to the Board. The gentlemen who were nominated by the Government in default of nomination by the employers (speaking now of the facts as disclosed in Dunedin) were conscientious men, and their published remarks show that they were speedily impressed with the justice and moderation of the claims advanced by the workers, who put forward their contentions with altogether unexpected ability. Consequently the demands were very largely acceded to.

There has never been a case before any of the Boards in which the demands of the workers were flouted. A comparison of the records would show that the recommendation of the Boards conceded to the workers nearly, if not quite the whole, of their demands. Still the employers held aloof; and compelled the workers to invoke the aid of Arbitration. It is interesting at this stage to recall some of the arguments advanced against the Bill when it was first mooted. Compulsory arbitration was held to be a self-contradiction, and it has been found that this has been verified from the consistency with which the employers did—nothing. They merely sat tight, and compelled the unions to put the machinery in motion. Instead of cheerfully accepting the Act in the spirit in which it was framed, they have all along adopted the air of contumacious defendants. In spite of the Act and of the advanced opinions that now govern the relations between the employer and employed, they regarded, and still secretly regard, the claims of the workers as a piece of preposterous impudence, and are shocked at the temerity of any one who would dare to inquire into the profits they were making, and to ascertain whether capital was not taking an undue share.

As the 'Bulletin' neatly puts it in a recant shocking case of sweating in Sydney, the agitation is not between the workers and the law of supply and demand, but between the workers and the infamous exaction of 25 per cent profits. The injudicious and partisan action of certain Boards outside of Dunedin helped to bring Conciliation into disrepute, until it really is the case, as Mr Macgregor says, that the Boards are merely courts of first instance. Employers now use them to feel the strength of the case against them. But it does not therefore follow that the Boards should be abolished. It might assist to establish confidence in them, and inculcate respect for their recommendations, if their personnel were changed so as to have skilled persons sitting in every particular dispute, and it ought to be possible to group unions in allied industries so as to avoid the needless irritation of citing one employer in as many cases as he has branches in his business, but when it is found that the Court of Arbitration gives substantially all that the Board recommends, which has been the result so far, then employers will recognise the fairness of the Boards, and abide by their recommendations.

It is something extraordinary that enemies to the worker like Mr Macgregor should be permitted to traduce the labour courts with impunity. It is impossible to conceive courts more fairly constituted, and their pains-taking impartiality has been manifest, yet the impression has been sedulously fostered that they are the creatures of the workers, and have entered into a conspiracy with Parliament, and with some parson or persons unknown, to rob the innocent capitalist of his wealth and to divide it among a number of corrupt and designing persons called unionists. Language like this regarding the Magistrates' Court, or the Supreme Court, would lead to speedy punishment. In a lawyer it would probably lead to suspension. Even if it were true, no person would be allowed to say it in public; how much less should it be tolerated when it comes from a pen charged with the gall of party and the bitterness of the discomfited politician.

"But," says Mr. Macgregor, "the unions have divorced the Act from its real purposes as disclosed by Mr Reeves." Yet if we refer to Mr Reeves' speech, as quoted by the critic, and read the parts not quoted by him, we shall find that Mr Reeves actually cited cases where the details of industries were brought up for amendment. Indeed, it is impossible to conceive a labour court that shall not be competent to deal with the details, thus according to Mr Macgregor "creating disputes." It is impossible even to discuss a measure of the kind [*unclear*: without] contemplating the very things that the unions have done. In the New South Wales House, Mr Neilson pointed out that a grave defect in the Arbitration Bill was the absence of provision for sending an industrial dispute to arbitration ere it occurred. It was well known, he said, that in certain occupations the main difficulties which may arise are not difficulties as to wages or hours but as to the conditions under which men are compelled to labour. A dispute may arise in regard to those conditions, and the Bill states that until the dispute has been decided by the court in one way or other, the men must continue to work under them, however vile they may be. In this way the conditions in intermittent employment would never be ameliorated. The Act, or any such Act, is created for the express purpose of bringing the conditions of labour under review for adjustment by a competent court. To bring these conditions under review they must be formulated. Yet when the unions formulate the conditions under which they wish to work, they are violating the spirit and intention of the Act, and "creating" disputes. Argument of this kind is reminiscent of a kitten chasing its own tail.

Mr Macgregor refers in various places to the "iniquitous" demand for preference to unionists, and in this portion of his attack is absolutely dishonest. He conceals the very important circumstance that Mr Justice Williams, before it was quite clear that the original Act did not confer upon the court the power to give such preference, yet did award preference as a matter of equity. He said, in effect, that the unionists had incurred the trouble, expense, and odium of coming forward to obtain better conditions. The whole body of workers

benefited by the advantages obtained, and it was only just that those who had been instrumental in obtaining them should have the preference. It is further, characteristically left unmentioned by Mr Macgregor that any award giving preference to unionists is conditional only. Take any award you please, and you will find something like this:—It and so long as the rules of the union permit any person of good character upon a payment of 5s, and of subsequent contributions at a rate not exceeding 6d per week, without ballot or other selection to become members, employers shall employ members of the union in preference to non-members, if *they are equally qualified*. It is also further provided in all awards that if any workman deem himself incompetent to earn the minimum wage he may be paid such wages as may be agreed upon between the union and the employer, with the chairman of the Conciliation Board in reserve in case of dispute.

What, then, becomes of Mr Macgregor's philanthropic baker and the starving young non-unionist? If he is not a myth, he must be a sneak, who is ashamed to come before the Union and show cause why he should accept less than the ruling wage. Of all men it ill becomes a member of the legal profession to malign arbitration and conciliation, and one of its consequences preference to unionists. The profession is the closest union that can be found. The rates (minimum wage) are laid down by rules that cannot be evaded under pain of expulsion. The fees that may be charged are laid down in an Act. No doubt many get much more than is laid down. Eminent jurists like Mr Macgregor no doubt laugh at the petty restrictions, because they move in a higher plane, where the fees are lordly, but then all workmen do not assess their services at the minimum wage. The law says that a competent workman shall not receive less than a given wage. He gets as much more as he can—just like a lawyer. Volumes might be written about the iniquity of the closeness of the union of lawyers, but it has been exposed so often that this is unnecessary.

Medical men are also bound in a union. Surveyors, accountants, almost all the professions, have bound themselves similarly, and for precisely the same reasons that actuate workmen. The ostensible reason with professional men is the public advantage, but the real one is their own advantage. They must not be blamed for this. Neither should the workers be blamed, and indeed they are not blamed except by some malcontent whose reasons if carried into effect would lead to anarchy in respect of associations. If the principle underlying industrial association is bad, then the principle underlying all professional associations is also bad and if one should be abolished, then the other should also be destroyed.

III.

THE real point of Mr Macgregor's attackers disclosed in his article on Colonial trade unionism, and the malevolence which he feels makes him ridiculously overstate the case. Colonial unionism, he says, dominates parliament, dominates courts, and dominates the majority of workers. And the evil of this is, according to him, that the domination comes from the inner circle of wire pullers, who arrange the ticket at elections and foist upon constituencies candidates subservient to themselves. In this case it is an easy task to confute the libel, because, for the first time, he descends to particulars. "At our last election" he says, "the wire pullers consummated a secret alliance of the labour party with the Roman Catholics and the liquor interest, by means of which they succeeded in foisting upon the constituencies members of whom they were in some cases ashamed when they came to know them."

This bold assertion is merely a surmise, for which events have given no justification. It bears on its face the stamp of improbability. It is well known that in concerted politics the Catholics have only one aim, which is the obtaining of a state subsidy for their schools. Is it at all likely that they expected Mr Millar to grant it? Could they expect it from Mr Arnold? Was Mr Barclay at all a likely partisan of denominational education? The supposition is absurd. As a matter of fact, these gentlemen have been denounced by the official organ of the Catholics over the Stoke school inquiry. It is more than likely that a number of individual Catholics supported the Government candidates, but that is merely evidence of their discrimination and good sense. It is well known that a number of individual Catholics also supported the Opposition candidates and have been regretting it ever since. The Catholic vote is one of those bugbears that hysterical and designing persons periodically raise for the purpose of discrediting opponents, even though it should be at the cost of raising degrading party issues that evoke the basest passions of human nature. In point of fact, Mr Macgregor has wilfully raised the "no popery" cry in readiness for next election.

For a similar reason he has raised the "no liquor" cry. An unholy alliance between the liquor party and the unionist coterie is attributed to the "wire pullers." Where is the evidence of this? Is it in the Amending Licensing Bill before Parliament? Surely any political party is possessed of more sense than to imagine that measure a reward for support. The plain fact simply is that the majority favoured the Liberal candidate, and we must not look to the Catholics or the liquor party, or the Wesleyans, or the temperance party, or to any organisation in particular, but to a majority of the whole, who were determined that in Dunedin at all events the hands of the clock should not go back, but that men should be sent to Parliament to push forward the work of

industrial reform, already so well begun.

As for foisting candidates upon the constituencies, it may be said at once that a fool has no chance of selection, which is far more than can be said of Conservative candidates who may happen to be wealthy. The process of selection before nomination is a most protracted and searching one. The names of candidates are submitted to all the unions individually, and the one who obtains the greatest number of votes becomes the accepted candidate, when the minority loyally fall in with the choice. If there is a better way of choosing a candidate, if there is one more free from the suspicion of favour, undue influence, log rolling, or corruption of any kind, Mr Macgregor ought to come forward with it and earn the thanks of a grateful country.

Another dastardly charge against colonial unionism is the one that it deteriorates individual character. To a certain extent individual character must be submerged in any collective effort for a common purpose, but Mr Macgregor has the impudence to declare that "the whole spirit of unionism in New Zealand is to give the employer as little value as possible for the maximum of wages." To such a statement the obvious retort is that all lawyers are arrant rogues, and one is as capable of proof as the other, and quite as reasonable. Nevertheless, unionism has an aim with respect to the output of labour and its relation to the wage. Does anyone outside the field of practical labour realise what the maximum amount of work is? It means "racing" the whole time; the utmost tension of mind and body during the whole of the working hours. Why should any man or woman sacrifice himself or herself on the altar of greed in this way? This is the real "ca' canny." Some persons can produce a given result with less exertion than others. If they exert themselves to the full extent of their powers they fix a standard which necessitates a killing pace for all around them, and the fixing of a standard is the inevitable consequence of the adoption of a uniform wage in lieu of piecework. The employer is not content to strike a balance between the output of the exceptionally skilful operative and his less richly endowed shopmate. Once a certain standard is reached by any chance it must be maintained. The tale of bricks must be delivered each day, and when the standard has been reached by exceptional ability, an injury is inflicted on all the others, who are compelled to work out of their natural speed at an injurious and, where there is machinery, a dangerous, rate. This is one of the dangers of a uniform wage, and "ca' canny" in the limited sense here indicated is the worker's only protection. The grocer does not give eighteen ounces to the pound of sugar, and it is difficult to see why a workman should be expected to give £3 worth of work for £2 2s.

The limitation of the number of apprentices is an arguable matter that Mr Macgregor very wisely does not dwell upon, but relies on Dr and Mrs Webb's dictum that it is undemocratic. It would be so if apprentices were rigorously bound and scrupulously taught, but it is not so where the apprenticeship system is prostituted for the purpose of flooding the market with cheap boys, who are discharged half taught when they begin to want men's wages.

The employees in a given industry combine to improve their condition. A union is formed and steps are taken to formulate the grievances (which may have existed for years without a gleam of hope of improvement). At this stage the employer becomes alarmed lest the light of day should be let into his (or her) practices. The ringleader in the movement is dismissed for the encouragement of the others. The law has foreseen this contingency, and has ordained that while a dispute is pending no employee shall be dismissed without sufficient cause. The union directs the attention of the employer to the infraction of a very wise law, and Mr Macgregor terms this "interference with management." And it really is so. It is interference with business in the same sense as the bull's eye of the policeman interferes with the business of the burglar.

Go into any factory, and you will see pasted up the notice: "No smoking allowed." This is perfectly justifiable, according to Mr Macgregor, though it may be in a foundry, where a fire could possibly rise from smoking. A cumber of employees ask for a remission of the rule where it would hurt nobody, and give a little relief during a foodless and interval-less "shift" of nine or ten hours, and Mr Macgregor's hands are held up in holy horror at the "cheek of the working classes." Virtuous Mr Macgregor

IV.

THERE is one thing for which Mr Macgregor must be thanked, though perhaps the thanks are due to his own misadventure. He has not trotted out Jack Cade. In the minds of cheap journalists and critics who think they are broadly generalising when they are only groping in a fog of conjecture, this worthy has long served as a type for social and industrial reformers. In a similar manner a justice of the peace finds a prototype in Dogberry. Let there be an occasion for a smart paragraph, and the puny whipster turns to his faithful little book of quotations, and lo, the enemy is annihilated, as the French army was by Captain Bobadil. Because the Statute of Labourers failed in its object, which was to fix a maximum wage, the law prescribing a minimum wage must also fail. This is reasoning by analogy with a vengeance. As well take any other ancient law that has fallen into desuetude and reason that because it failed efforts in the direction of reform must be left to the mysterious law of nature, as shown in the divinely appointed system of supply and demand. It is like the tide, untiring in its

flux and reflux, irresistible in its might, and eternal in its duration. But if Mr Macgregor had given only a portion of the study to industrialism that we would fain hope he has devoted to his profession, he would at least know the elements of the question. The difference between the fixing of a maximum wage and the fixing of a minimum is so wide that no reasoning can reconcile them. The law that wages are fixed by the standard of living is as well defined, and ought to be as well known, as the law of gravity, and this law operates very largely in the progressive demand for a shorter day. This demand was one of the earliest features in the programme of organised labour.

In the early part of the century women and children worked thirteen to fifteen hours a day. The working day was limited only by the endurance of the workers. This was a splendid result of the law of supply and demand. Organised effort has brought it down, until the nominal day stands at eight hours which is convenient in many classes of employment. But there is no special sanctity about eight hours. No divinely appointed law declares that the shortening process shall stop at eight. Economically speaking the only minimum to the working day is the time needed to supply the worker's wants. The maximum is defined by the physical endurance of the toiler. But we are now informed that any attempt to improve the condition of things as they happen to exist at present is "interference with trade" and "regulating the industries of the colony." Mr Macgregor reminds us very much of the old lady who shudderingly described as an atheist one who spoke disrespectfully of the equator.

Our friend is among those who hoped Judge Backhouse would curse the Labour laws of New Zealand, He has blessed them instead, like Baalam, and yet it is not recorded that any ass restrained him. But it would have been far different if a commercial man and not a judge had been selected by New South Wales to report. If for instance, one of those Sydney manufacturers who get trousers made for 2½d a pair had been chosen, there might have been produced a report altogether to Mr Macgregor's liking. It is easy to be wise after the event. Where Judge Backhouse went wrong was in not consulting Mr Macgregor, who would have produced him a report, piping hot from the oven, and warranted to make Labour leaders everywhere and anywhere squirm.

In his last article our local prophet has outlined the report his special protegee "might" have furnished. But unfortunately the selection of the critic was not placed in Mr Macgregor's hands. The New South Wales government seem to have thought they knew their own business best. So they chose a man most likely from his calling, and his independence of business ties, to furnish the best report. A judge would seem to most thinkers an eminently suitable medium by which the evidence for and against a system might be brought to avizandum and weighed. But our New Zealand iconoclast has as little reverence for judges as he has for governments. Let us hope in the interests of his clients that it is not for the same reason.

It is well to note again that a singular fatality seems to have attended all who have examined the conditions in New Zealand and found them good; Mr Lloyd, Sir W. J. Lynn, Mr Barton, Dr and Mrs Webb, and now Judge Backhouse—they are all superficial observers, or designing politicians. It has been reserved for a local man, hitherto unknown to fame, to hold up the lamp of truth, and spy out the dark corners of the infamous conspiracy to fix wages and otherwise arbitrarily regulate the production and distribution of wealth.

In some respects an attitude of self-sufficiency like this is admirable. There is something not altogether unpleasing in the contemplation of a man who is endowed with a disposition that causes him to believe that he alone is right and all the others wrong. What is unpleasing about it is the contemptuous ascription of ignorance and the culpable insinuation of corruptness of motive.

It may only be surmised whether Mr Macgregor, and those for whom he holds a brief, even dimly realise the sacrifices made by so called Labour leaders. The vulgar belief is inculcated that they make a very good thing out of their agitation. As a matter of fact, the opposite is the case. The unions are not wealthy bodies. They can pay no high fees for skilled advocacy. It was the knowledge of this that was responsible for keeping lawyers out of the Labour courts. And the Labour advocate has no other compensation. On the contrary, he incurs the odium, and in many instances, experiences the revenge, of the class who have employment to give. If need be, the wealthy man can live on his capital; the working man must employ his capital, which is his labour, or starve. And not only does he incur the risk of starving in his own person, he may also condemn his family to a narrow way of living that may blight their future. The Labour agitator has nothing to hope from his agitation; what he does is usually done because of his unquenchable desire to raise his class to a better position.

Another erroneous and injurious belief is that all Labour men are candidates for Government employment. In another series of articles not long ago, Mr Macgregor went so far as to say that departments were created to find billets for supporters. It would be about as reasonable to object to the construction of railways because porters are employed, or to rail at the courts of justice because they are the happy hunting grounds of lawyers.

Still another misconception is it that Labour and Seddonism are synonymous terms. The rights of Labour to a larger share of the world's good things are eternal; Seddonism is only a passing phase of Colonial politics.

The Labour laws are doing that which any person of ordinary intelligence expected they would do. If any imagined that unions, after they were formed in compliance with the Act, would sit down with folded hands and meekly await the cloud on the horizon that betokened the coming industrial storm, that person possessed

little perspicacity They were to continue without question under the wages and conditions given to them at the arbitrary will of employers, who are credited with a desire to give as much as the so-called law of supply and demand will permit. They were to be defensive and never offensive, because that would be "interfering with business." it never seems to have occurred to Mr Macgregor that this lands him in a false position. It is conceivable that under certain conditions employers might be justified in insisting on lower wages and longer hours. Surely even in his eyes that would constitute a dispute But in that event the unions might reasonably resist even though they be economically wrong. Therefore such arguments are two edged swords.

Organised labour takes other ground. It declares that existing relations between Capital and Labour are radically bad, that the caprice or avarice of the employer, or organised employers, deprives Labour of its fair share of the comforts and amenities and graces of life; that the same brand of humanity is on employer and employed; that a human being is different from the machine he operates, and that he has inherent claims to something higher than to be a mere chattel. To quote a recent writer in the 'Clarion': "There is a growing grasp of ideas, of ambitions, of desires, books, newspapers, and travel contributing to the awakening of Labour to a world of sense. The Trade unions because of the lessons of the past, are beginning to fight the drudge curse, to apprehend a bigger lesson, so that field, stream, lake, river, mines, cities, machinery, factories, docks, steam, electricity, ships, tides, seasons, crops markets, education, work, government, laws, the subordination of brute and raw nature to man's needs, are facts becoming better known and appreciated. Instead of being drudge, to be master and sharer of these is the dream of the dawning intellect and conscience of the worker."

V.

MR MACGREGOR devotes the longest of his articles to an exposition of what he calls the economic fallacy of a minimum wage, and according to the old school of economists he is right. If, for example, a man obtains a contract from a public body, and takes advantage of a depression in the labour market to employ men at 8s 6d a day; that also is quite right from the point of view of the economist. The economist is simply buying in the cheapest and selling in the dearest market. If a large firm of drapers employ a girl for nothing a week during the first 12 months, and at the end of that period discharge her, taking on another at the same wages, that is also quite right, and another illustration of the divine law of supply and demand. And if a humane legislature, more concerned about the welfare of humanity than with the sophistry of the schools, steps in and says to public bodies that they shall not let a contract unless the contractor undertakes to pay a living wage, and tells the draper that he must either be content with smaller profits or charge more for the dresses, that is wrong, according to Mr Macgregor. Be it so, and let us see whether it will load us.

If it is wrong to intervene in the matter of wages, it is also wrong to meddle in other conditions of labour that may enhance prices. Sanitation, overcrowding, provision for decency, the adoption of health preserving precautions—these are all matters that should be left to the individual grace of the employer, or the law of supply and demand. Whence it follows that all labour legislation, though it has taken boys and girls from slavery in coal mines, though it has admitted a ray of sunlight to the mills of Lancashire, though it has enfranchised the woman chain makers of Cradley is a huge blunder from an economic point of view, and ought not to have been entered upon because it increases the cost of production. If this involves the principle that we must produce goods as cheaply as we can, without regard to the condition of the workers who produce them, then we ought to employ the cheapest labour of all, which is slave labour, obtained merely for the cost of subsistence. It is not to be supposed that even Mr Macgregor's clients would go so far as to admit this openly, but this is the logical deduction from his contention. And if they are not prepared to go so far, but are willing to admit that some restriction should be placed on employers, how can it be shown that a living or minimum wage is not a reasonable restriction?

Undoubtedly the tendency of a minimum wage is to become a maximum one. It is especially liable to become so when there are more men than jobs for them to do. But it is humanitarian in its intention, and is the admission of a principle that one man has no right to employ another under conditions that will not yield him a comfortable subsistence. If an industry will not do this, then it were better that it perished.

A great deal has been heard of the enhanced cost of living, which is attributed to the demands of the unions Mr Macgregor's illustration is the rent of houses in Dunedin. "The landlord may have to pay almost one third more for material in order that the worker may receive higher wages, but he must not raise the rent." Raise what rent? If a man builds a house he fixes a rent which will presumably give him a sufficient return for his capital. He is quite within his rights in doing so. But that plea does not justify him in raising the rent of houses already built. He may raise them because there is a demand for houses, and they have been raised in some cases 25 per cent in the city, on tenants who have been occupants for many years, but the landlord is not honest enough to fall back on the law of supply and demand. By his advocate he attributes his piracy to the higher prices of labour and material. And the demand for municipal dwellings is to place the supply of shelter, which is almost

as great a necessity as food, above the law of supply and demand, which unrestricted leads to the slums that are the despair of social reformers.

As a matter of fact, the increase in the price of living is the result of a conspiracy among retailers, who have learned the lesson of combination too well. Specific instances can be quoted where the baker compelled to pay an additional 30s a week to a man and a youth, has raised by a halfpenny each the 2000 loaves they produced and thus recouped himself nearly fourfold, The butchers played the same game, though they were to some extent, but not nearly so much as alleged, justified by the price of stock.

The case of the coal merchants, raising the price by a shilling because of the operation of workman's compensation is already familiar. The foolish and injudicious remark of the Premier, though afterwards qualified and explained, lent momentum to the cry, and not only gave every petty retailer from Auckland to the Bluff an opportunity to bawl out against the labour laws, but travelled to Australia, and furnished the opponents of industrial Arbitration with a timely and potent weapon.

The bogey of Mr Macgregor, the labour leader, the Lyncurgus, as he calls him, is not the fool he is assumed to be. He is not ignorant of the laws of capital, and is very far from imagining a capitalist to be an enemy. But the capitalist is an enemy not only to the worker, but to mankind at large, when he enslaves labour so that he may exact an undue share of profit. If Mr Macgregor will examine the list of properties for sale in Dunedin for one week and note the price asked and the return offered by way of rents, he will see that house property is expected to yield from 10 to 20 per cent on the outlay.

If it were possible to examine the books of some of the largest firms, he would find that the capital, originally borrowed at high rates from outside sources, is doled out three or four times over to subsidiary firms, each posing as an independent employer, and each levying his quota of blackmail, until it reaches the lowest stratum in the man who deals direct with the worker. The toil of the worker has to yield three or four profits, and his is the only medium that is supposed to be elastic. All the successive middlemen must have their four or five per cent on the turn over; it is the workman's wage only that must obey the law of supply and demand.

A typical case may here be mentioned. A group of money lenders hold money for investment. They employ an agent, who in turn secretly pulls the strings of a factory, or several factories. The nominal proprietor of each factory poses as the employing principle, but the workers have to maintain (1) themselves, (2) their nominal employer, (3) the lenders' agent, and (4) the lenders. And all the intermediaries wear purple and fine linen and fare sumptuously every day, while the workers earn a bare and precarious subsistence. A beautiful instance of the law of supply and demand.

This has come about simply because labour was disorganised, and children must eat. This disorganisation first permitted of the accumulation of capital in alien hands. Labour was indispensable to its accumulation; it is indispensable in its use, and its claims to the first consideration in the allocation of the results are undeniable, for they are sanctioned by the dictates of humanity. There is a point at which pressure must cease. That point is the decent subsistence of the worker—in other words a minimum wage. This implies a constant pressure downward. But in the clearer day to come, when the rights and claims and duties of each—labour and capital—are better defined and better understood, the right to a decent subsistence will be tacitly conceded, and the minimum wage, with its undeniable imperfections, will be regarded as the Brown Bess of industrial warfare. In that day, which will be one of international and industrial peace, brought about alike by perfection in the arts of war, the moanings of such critics as the one we are now replying to will be as silent as his native Banshee.

VI.

WHEN a hostile critic like, Mr Macgregor asks whether the Industrial Arbitration system in New Zealand has been a failure, and puts the question affirmatively, it is only reasonable to expect him to show that it has been a failure. This, however, he has completely failed to do, and for the simple reason that the facts which are available prove the contrary. It may be possible for him to give us a hundred reasons why, in his opinion, it should be a failure, but his long stream of diatribes contains not one single fact to warrant them. It certainly cannot be said that the system has injured any industry. The number of persons employed under the Factory's Act in 1894 was 25,851. In 1901 it is 53,460, or an increase of upwards of 100 per cent. And if this increase is analysed it is found to be a genuine one. It is spread, over the whole field of industrial activity, and it is not due to any sweeping change in the law defining factory workers. As a matter of fact, the colony has enjoyed a period of great prosperity, attended by great industrial activity. It is not claimed that the arbitration system has brought this prosperity about. A variety of causes have operated. The change in the incidence of taxation is one of them. The growth of the dairy and frozen meat industries is another, The Liberal policy of the Government has also been a factor. And without a doubt industrial peace has done its share. At least industrial warfare has not at any time checked production.

[unclear: It] is in this connection that the fallacy of Mr Macgregor's special pleading becomes apparent. There has been since 1894 a steady increase in the number of factory workers. This implies a demand for labour. At the same time the Government has consistently prevented congestion of the labour market by means of co-operative works, thus necessarily intensifying the demand for labour. Is it not inconceivable that, without the arbitration system, this demand for labour would not have led to industrial trouble? Yet there have been absolutely no strikes and no lock outs since 1894. Critics of the description of Mr Macgregor may still say that there "might" have been strikes nevertheless, but so "might" the world be flat, or the sun go round it. You might demonstrate to him that any two sides of a triangle were together greater than the third side, but he would still reserve the right to doubt it.

It has been shown that by regulating the system of labour strikes are prevented, but Mr Macgregor has another argument in reserve. He is like the woman who would not lend her neighbour a tub because it leaked, and another neighbour had borrowed it, besides which she hadn't got a tub. He says the real question is whether immunity from strikes is, after all, "a matter of such importance as to make it worth our while placing the regulation of our industries under the control of a court of law." The English is a little shady, but much may be excused in a critic who attaches so little importance to the disastrous influence of industrial convulsions. Millions upon millions of pounds have been wasted in fruitless and unnecessary industrial war. Countless women and children have "clemmed" to death, as the expressive Lancashire phrase has it. The lowest passions that debase human nature has been evoked. Disastrous strikes become as memorable as plagues or famines. And yet we are coolly asked whether the regulation of industries—a regulation that defies proof of economical unsoundness—is not too great a sacrifice. Surely the "wretched past" so glibly quoted by the critic has failed to impress him. For such critics history has been written in vain.

The attention of a whole civilised world is arrested when a Tzar proposes a method of adjusting international differences without resort to the last argument of nations. Industrial war is far more calamitous, far more injurious, than international war, yet writers like this seem to regard it as a normal factor of industrial life—regrettable, perhaps, but still a painful necessity, as the plague was formerly considered a visitation of God. In one State, small and remote from the world centre of industry New South Wales—the statistics show that between 1889 and 1897 there had been a loss to the State of £1,219,000 by strikes, of which Labour's loss in wages was £873,000 and Capital's £346,000. In New Zealand over a period of the same duration there have been no strikes, because they were prevented by the existence of a court of equity that has cost at most only a few thousands.

The parish politician holds views that are circumscribed by local influences and interests, or he would not fail to admit that the New Zealand system of compulsory arbitration is an epoch making institution. Perhaps its ultimate influence is dimly discerned and correspondingly feared. It admits the right of the workers to a share of the profits of industry. All employers allege that if the demands of the workers are granted, the industries concerned must be closed down. They have said this so often that probably they begin to believe it themselves. They are like the capitalists who threatened to leave the country when the plutocrat special aversion, progressive taxation, came into existence. But they have not left yet. Clipped though their wings have been by the State lending department, gloomy as the outlook may be for the man who has merely money and no other recommendations, they still cling to New Zealand. So it is with industrial employers. They have always been going to close down, but no one has done so. The most hostile critic has not, so far, been able to point to one industry that has been destroyed or even injured, by the system of conciliation and arbitration.

The present wail is so transparent that it is ludicrous. During last year Judge Edwards decided that only unions of workers who were "producers" were entitled to come under the jurisdiction of the Act. The Amending Act of 1900 enabled distributors to come in as well, with the result that, within eight months before the issue of the last report of the Labour Department some 85 industrial unions were formed. What were they formed for? If the workers had no grievances they would not have troubled to form unions. They formed unions for the express purpose of getting relief. Hence the congestion in the Labour courts, and hence the bitter cry of the industrial mists. In former cases fierce obstruction was placed in the way. In one instance the employers who were cited by the carters and drivers insisted on the citation of every private person who owned a venice and employed a groom-gardener-coachman. Hence the summoning of 470 odd employers utilised by the opponents of the New South Wales Arbitration Bill. The parrot cry was [unclear: immediael] started that the Labour organisations were going too far, whereas the rush of cases was due to this immediate, recognisable, and non recurrent cause. The occasion was too convenient to be lost. Newspapers that had formerly disguised their disguised their [unclear: anim] sit under a show of friendliness, now showed their claws. Servile [unclear: Servil wers], eager to be of use to their patrons, [unclear: ru h] ed in and [unclear: to] the *debacle* of Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration! This is the true interpretation of that rhyme:—

*There was a young lady from Riga (Industrial Unionism).
Who went for a ride on a tiger, (the complaisant Capitalist).
They returned from that ride
With the lady inside.
And a smile on the face of the tiger.*

Allusion was made above to the purblindness of the critic whose horizon is bounded by local influences. To such persons the [unclear: steady e o uti n] of trade unionism is a dead letter. Freedom of contract, which means the "freedom that comes from full purses on one side and empty stomachs on the other is as dead as the feudal system. Unionism is the symbol of a silent but irresistible revolution against the modern curse of capitalism or the curse of modern capitalism, whichever definition is preferred. It has still higher aims than the mere immed at matters of wages and hours, it is destined to be an immense force in trade and politics. In New Zealand an impetus has been given to it by one sample provision authorising an inspection of an employers books. If puny critics cannot see the immensity of the possibilities that will arise from this, there are others who can and who rejoice that another trench has been won, and that the day is nearer when the giving of employment will not be a favour or an act of charity, when the grimy hand will not necessarily imply social or mental inferiority; when the artizan will be as highly honoured as the capitalist, because he is personally of as much value to the world, when the worker shall look the employer straight between the eyes and realise that they are partners in industry and not superior and inferior, when the humblest home shall be replete with the comforts and adorned with the amenities that are now the exclusive property of the rich; when the child shall no longer be torn with stunted Bind from school and condemned to waste its youth in a gloomy factory; when women old or young, shall no longer unsex themselves by premature or uncongenial toil; and when industrial relations, founded on reason, and not on brute force, shall ensure lasting peace.

The Industrial laws of New Zealand have brought the millennium a step nearer, and for this organised Labour must thank the present government. Men who are both learned and wise, and who are also good, have suggested successive amendments, made desirable after experience. With a hostile or indifferent government these would have been baffled or delayed. The strong position of the Seddon government has made amendment easy, and the development of the law has been a natural and rational process, not begotten of political expediency. It is the forefront of a mighty wave, rolling majestically on to the shore of industrial peace and social development. And critics of the kind we are now dealing with are like little fractious boys who imagine they can stay its progress by throwing pebbles at it.

decorative feature

Otago Liberal and Workman print., Kensington, Dunedin, New Zealand.

Feeling the Way in the Canton Villages.

By George Hunter McNeur.

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Canton Villages Mission: First Letters—of—Rev. Geo. H. McNeur.

Presbyterian Church of New Zealand.

Foreword By A. Don.

Twenty-three millions of Chinese live in the province of Kwang-tung, of which Canton, with its two millions, is the chief city. All the Chinese that emigrate to the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand go from eleven districts (out of 81) of Kwang-tung province, the very large majority to America and Australia from four districts—known collectively as "See-yup." In those See-yup, distant over a hundred miles S.W. from Canton, and speaking harsh dialects differing much from pure Cantonese, there are some seventy mission-stations belonging to the American Presbyterians, the American Baptists, the Church Missionaries, and the American Board. Of the 3000 Chinese in New Zealand only a small minority—about one-sixth—come from the "See-vup": the other five-sixths come from two districts—this, holding the eastern half of Canton City, called

P'oon-Yu,

that, bounding P'oon-yu on the east, called

Tsang-Shing.

The clannishness of Southern Chinese is very manifest even in foreign lands. So it comes that, of the 600 and more gold-diggers in Westland, all but a score are P'oon-yu men, likewise the gardeners at Wanganui, Palmerston North, and Kaikorai (Dunedin), also the miners at Nokomai, Waipori, Waikaia, and Orepuki; while the 140 fruit-dealers in Wellington are nearly all from Tsang-shing, as are the Anderson's Bay (Dunedin) gardeners. On the other hand, the laundrymen in Dunedin, Christchurch, and Wellington are almost wholly See-yup men.

Some 2500 of our New Zealand Chinese belong to two clusters of farming villages with a total population of some 400,000. The P'oon-yu cluster, where pure Cantonese prevails, numbers about forty, and lies from 6 to 20 miles north of Canton: the Tsangshing cluster of twenty lies 35 to 40 miles east of the city. Among the former group the American Presbyterians recently opened a chapel: in the latter group the only station was that held by our own student—Mr William Chan—for six weeks last summer at Whitestone Mart.

Those Sixty Villages,

many of them with from 5000 to 20,000 villagers each, need the Word of Life. And, to supply that need, NO CHURCH IN THE WORLD IS SO PECULIARLY FITTED AS THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF NEW ZEALAND. Since:—

- Men from those villages are more numerous in New Zealand than elsewhere abroad; and
- The only mission working among them in China is the American Presbyterian; and
- Twenty years' work has been carried on by Presbyterians in New Zealand among the villagers here.

Therefore it follows that:—

- Nowhere else, outside of China, is there such a suitable place as New Zealand for the training of missionaries to those villages, and
- The "Canton villages" lie more closely to Presbyterians than to any other Church, and to New Zealand more closely than to any other land.

In November, 1898, the C.V.M. was founded by the call for two men. A year later Mr George Hunter M'Neur was accepted as the first student missionary. He had had three years' special training for the foreign mission field—one year in Australia and two in Scotland. After, in addition, nearly two years among the Chinese throughout Otago and Southland studying the language and the people—a special feature of the C.V.M.—Mr M'Neur was ordained in the First Church, Dunedin, and sailed for Canton on November 7, 1901. He arrived there December 19, and soon set out to deliver the thirty-two letters and 104 sovereigns entrusted to his care by men in Otago for their friends and relatives in the villages.

Mr M'Neur's interesting quintette of first letters from Canton form a unique chapter of mission literature: it can safely be said that during these ninety-five years of Protestant missions to China no other missionary thither ever had such an introduction to the people of his prayers. Without a word of argument, these letters—written privately to me—make quite clear the peculiar responsibility and the rare opportunity of New Zealand Presbyterians.

Mr William Mawson, M.A., has been accepted as the second missionary, and is now studying Chinese with the prospect of joining Mr M'Neur about the end of 1905. At the end of 1902 Mr William Chan, formerly seven years in Dunedin, will complete his four years' course in the Presbyterian College at Canton, to work among the Canton villagers in their own land or in New Zealand as the F.M. Committee decides.

What an honour to have been the first Church in the Southern Hemisphere to open in China; but what a responsibility the care of 400,000 souls that no Church can care for as we can! Lord, multiply the hearts that cry: "What must I do?"

(The Chinese personal names are translated into literal English, for Chinese names are given more for sense than sound.)

Letters from Canton

By G. H. McNeur.

Kuk-fau, Canton, China,

January 7, 1902.

My first trip through the Upper P'oon-Yu district is over. Every letter has been delivered, and all the money safely handed over. I am grateful to God that He made this possible, and also made the journey a very pleasant one.

We engaged a Ts'ung-fa boat, the only kind that manages up to Yan-woh market town at this time of the year. [Ts'ung-fa is a district bordering on P'oon-Yu to the north-east. It embraces the upper reaches of the river, so boats plying between it and Canton are of very shallow draft.—A. D.] We paid Idol 30c (2s 6d) a day which was the very cheapest obtainable. In the choice of the boat, as, indeed, in all things, God's guiding hand was evident. Many times did the words run in my mind: "To guide our feet into the way of peace." Our boatman had been in the employ of Mr Pearce and Mr Wells (L.M.S.), and thus understood just what was needed. He is an honest, homely man, and we got on well together. He had his wife, a daughter and little child, with a partner.

My outfit consisted of two cotton wadded quilts, two blankets and a pillow—carried in a large basket. Then I got a food hamper, and in it stored 5lb of bread, jam, tinned meat, butter, milk, three dozen eggs, biscuits, oatmeal, coffee, tea, salt, sugar, two cups and saucers, two small plates, two large do, one bowl, with knives, forks, and spoons. Also teapot, foot-stove and charcoal, lamp and oil, besides a few small things which I forget.

For breakfast William Chan and I had porridge together, followed by an egg and some fruit, with a cup of tea or coffee. We ate Chinese dinner, cooked by our captain's wife—she is a good cook, and we fared well. For tea Willie had rice again, while I had tinned meat with some bread and butter. We took jars of water with us, but after we got up about Ah-woo (Crow Lake) village the river water was quite good enough after boiling. We kept a good stock of fruit on hand, replenishing at Ko-t'ong and some other place.

We started on Monday morning, December 30, and returned on Saturday evening, January 4. The weather was beautiful throughout—just rather warm about noon and with a touch of frost in the evening air.

Monday.—Sailed in small boat from Fati College to P'oon-t'ong, where we got on the larger boat. As tide and wind were adverse we moved slowly, and at sunset—5 o'clock—found ourselves about half a mile below Nam-kong (South River).

Tuesday.—Started at 6 a.m. We soon passed Nam-kong, and then William and I got out and walked along the bank into Ko-t'ong (High Pond) market. It was market day, and we walked right through one of its two streets and back the other. We went through and back twice and through again, and were everywhere treated with respect and friendliness. Of course there was the cry of "Fan-kwai" (foreign devil) occasionally, but with no bitterness. Many were the remarks about my height—"Ho ko ke" (very tall) being continually heard. I think I owed something to the contrast between Mr Chan and myself. Several times William or I remonstrated in a quiet way with small groups for calling the foreigner "kwai," and they seemed to appreciate the reasonableness of our rebuke. We sat down just outside the town to wait for our boat, and quite a crowd gathered. A wedding was being celebrated in a house near, and the whole party came over to examine the foreigner. They asked all sorts of questions, felt my clothes, and seemed much interested in my boots; but were most orderly and inoffensive. Their greatest surprise was at my being able to understand what they said. Again and again I was asked: "How long have you been in China?" When I told them they exclaimed, "Only three weeks, and you know our language!" The townspeople say that a foreigner is a very rare sight in Ko-t'ong, and I suppose I am the first specimen that a great many of the folk had seen. This is evidently by far the best market town in Upper P'oon-Yu district—such crowds of people and seemingly brisk business. There must have been some hundreds of buffaloes in the market, and quite a number of ponies also.

Here we met several men who showed a trembling desire to bring up from their boot-soles the English they had learned in other lands. I understood them much better when they talked Chinese. One man had been gardening in Wellington. Just as we were returning to the boat at the north end of the town I saw a Chinese in foreign dress hurrying past, and pulled him up to ask where he got his clothes. I was surprised to see him shake hands with Mr Chan, in whose garden at Forbury he had worked. He told us that "Golden Purpose" (formerly of King street, Dunedin) was just then in the town, and ran off to find him. We returned to our boat, but they did not come.

Appearances may have deceived me, but I think a good work is possible in Ko-t'ong, if entered on very carefully. [The Americans opened a preaching station here some time ago, but were forced to close owing to the antipathy of the townsfolk. It is they whose good will must be gained. On market day quite a number of

returned emigrants are about, whose open friendliness more than off-sets the enmity of the residents. One shop in the town is owned by three returned Otago men, which may count for something in getting a footing here.—A. D.]

About 1.30 p.m. we left Ko-t'ong, and

Rev. George H. M'Neur (Standing). Rev. A. Don (Sitting).

Ko-tung Mart P'oon-yu - see page 7

about 4 o'clock neared P'ong-woo (Mussel Lake). It was interesting to see on the river bank a building with which—thanks to your camera—I was already acquainted—the High School. We landed and went for a walk into the town. There were some bad characters who were inclined to be rowdy; but we met some who had been in the colonies, and had a good look at the place. As we were going back to our boat a man said in English, "Good day." He used to work in Maori Gully, and knows James Shum and others there. He asked for a younger brother named "Third-lad," but I could not find his name in my book.

Quite a crowd followed us to the boat, some of them talking very excitedly about the "Fan kwai." After tea and reading and prayer together as usual, a small boat came alongside with some women and a man. One is the wife of "Five Duties," who was working on the Lammerlaw Mountains, out from Serpentine. She was very glad to hear that I knew where he was. Their visit was welcome after some black looks ashore.

Wednesday, January 1, 1902.—It was strange to be the only one about who thought anything of New Year's Day. Above P'ong-woo we passed over several weirs built to turn the stream into channels to work the bamboo water wheels [like the Spanish noria.—A. D.] for lifting the water and irrigating the adjacent fields. We went right up to Ko-Tsang market town, and after dinner went ashore. On the steamer between Wellington and Sydney I had met a Ko-Tsang man returning from Greymouth, so I went to the town and asked for him. He had just the day before gone out to Canton city; but we were most kindly received by his friends, and one of his brothers volunteered to guide us to Ai-kong (Dwarf Hill).

But I must break off here, and give you later a full account of the rest of the journey. Tomorrow morning (D.V.) we start about 6.30 a.m. by steam launch for the Tsang-shing district.

House accommodation cannot be had in Canton, except at exorbitant rates, and the sooner we find a home for our mission work outside the city the better. Yet I hardly think it would be wise for me to go right out into the country until I know a little more. More anon.

II

San-kaai (New street) Village, Tsang-shing District, Canton, China,

January 13, 1902.

You know how unsettled China becomes in the evening of the year (the Chinese next year begins February 8). Even this district, which I believe is fairly orderly, has had a deal of trouble lately. Just the night before we came up, a large band of armed robbers marched into Paak-shek (Whitestone) market-town, and looted the pawnshop. They went in about 11 o'clock and left about 4 in the morning, carrying away over 10,000 dol worth. You know how strong these pawnshops are. They made an entrance by blasting a hole in the wall. Two men were killed, and yet the band marched off without molestation and as yet have not been brought to justice. The other evening we got the unwelcome information that a band of 200 robbers were waiting outside the village to attack us during the night. The women-folk were scared and were running about hiding their valuables. The men were exploding large quantities of gunpowder to show that we had plenty of it. However, nothing came of it, the only disturbers of my peace being rats. Last night I heard a great deal of firing, and I suspect there was a scuffle in one of the neighbouring villages. Travelling is risky, and people don't venture far from home, and always take care to be roofed before dark. But we are on the King's business, and carry His safe conduct. Our way has been made very plain, perhaps in both senses, and it has been most enjoyable.

I am going back to the Upper Poon-Yu trip. It is pretty hard for me to settle down to write, as I am surrounded just now by girls asking all sorts of questions. They are not a bit afraid of the foreigner, but just a little too cheeky.

I left you sometime on January 1 between Ko-tsang and Ai-kong. The ground between those places is very bare, the rice-crops having been all gathered in. Here and there were patches of sugar-cane, with men and women cutting it down, while the screeches of the barrows that bore it made music hardly in harmony with the sweetness of their load. Dwarf-hill village looks very poor: it was almost deserted, excepting >by women and

children. We soon found the house of "Reflection," but he was away at High-pond market. His wife—step-mother to "Eastern-brave," who sent the money—was in (she is old and blind) and we gave her the £1. Respecting the other letter and £1 for "Eastern-brave's" wife we were told that she was away, the old woman thought with her own people. Her husband had not written for over 10 years and was supposed to be dead, so the family being poor advised her to marry again, and she went away. However, another woman who had been in some of the missionaries' houses informed us that she was living in Canton with her younger brother. We decided to try to find her there.

We had a hot walk back to Ko-tsang, and met a great many people on their way home from market. Going through the town, several men addressed me in very-much-broken English. One man had returned some years ago from Oamaru, and his face lighted up at the mention of your name. An old man in a shop had been in Australia and New Zealand. He belongs to Dwarf-hill, and kindly invited me to come back and see him. While I was talking to him, someone came through the crowd, saying "Lo Mak" ["Mak" is Mr M'Neur's Chinese surname, and "Lo"—literally "old"—is an equivalent for "Mr."] I was able to name him as Lok Look ("Emolument"), whose raspberries I had eaten, and in whose house I had spent a night at Matakanui last year. He complains very much of the poverty of China, and is sorry that he cannot hurry back to New Zealand. Some of the people in the town were inclined to be rude, but I walked through chewing sugar-cane and was left alone. In the evening we heard the music of wedding processions. I believe we heard this every night.

Thursday, January 2.—After breakfast we sailed down the river to Yan-woh (Human Harmony) market. At the landing was a man in European dress. He had returned from Dunedin some six years ago, and recognised quite a number of the faces in my photo album. [I gave Mr M'Neur some 50 photographs that I had taken of Chinese and their huts and claims in Otago.—A. D.] We walked to the town and into the Gospel Hall of the American Presbyterians, which is at present in charge of a colporteur. The building is well situated and suitable, and a better man is soon to be located here. The colporteur offered to guide us through the market, but I believe we should have been better alone, as the people seem to have little respect for him. At the school the teacher came running out, put himself in front of me, looked right into my face, and said, "Is this a foreign devil?" Our guide replied, "No, it is not." "Yes, it is," the man of culture responded, "look at his eyes." The ignorance and pride of these teachers are alike unbounded. We went into a coffin-shop, where a Christian works, and in the place that spoke so loudly of death, William Chan spoke the Word of Life. This man had been in Singapore, and became a Christian after his return home.

We returned to the boat and sailed down to Ah-woo (Crow-lake), where we landed after midday rice. We first went to Great-lane division, which lies about a quarter of a mile back from the river. "Morning-wealth" was away at Yan-woh, so we left word for him to come to our boat when he returned. We next went to East-gate hamlet, found "Perfect's" house and gave his widow the letter and money. She did not seem very grateful, and wanted to know when her brother-in-law intended returning from Cromwell. A young fellow who had been in Victoria, B.C., walked back with us to the river, and seemed interested in the Gospel. I am inclined to think he is one of the many hundreds, who, in English-speaking lands, profess interest in divine things, but drift back into heathenism on their return.

We were crossing the river to Paak-mai-kaai (White-rice street), which is on the left bank, when we heard a shout behind. It was "Golden Purpose," of King street, Dunedin. He had been looking for us, and from a good distance noticed my foreign dress. He intends returning to Dunedin. We went back to our boat and had a talk, and then he offered to go with us to White-rice landing. Before we left, one "Wooden-foundation" called. He had been in Waipori, and recognised the Waipori photographs. We crossed by the ferry, and a walk of a short distance brought us to the home of "Bright-countenance," of Gore. Here we got the warmest welcome that we had yet received. His old mother is hale and hearty, though about 75. The younger brother "Bright-virtue" came, and we were treated to the usual tea and cakes.

On our return to the boat we received more visitors. "Morning-wealth" came in and got his money and letter. Two men whom you inquired for, who used to be at Waikaia, are still alive and doing fairly well on their farms. When it got dark we pushed into the middle of the river and lay there. Just after worship together we heard a "Coo-ee" from the shore, and I knew by the call that it came from someone who had been in the colonies. He asked for "Golden Purpose," and on being told that he had gone, asked for "Jesus Don." We poled to the bank, and our visitor came aboard with two young friends. He returned a few months ago from Grey-mouth, and knows you by repute. We had a long and very interesting talk with the three.



January 14, 1902.

Yesterday I delivered the last letter and handed over the last parcel of "gold-boys" (sovereigns). I must now finish the account of the P'oon-Yu visits.

Friday, January 3: There was actually a touch of frost last night. We started early from Crow-lake, and sailed down past the weirs to P'ong-woo (Mussel-lake). Immediately after breakfast we went ashore. The street of shops just at the landing-place houses some undesirable characters. We went to Main-north-gate, and soon found the house of "Palm-present," son of the old man of the Upper Taieri. He is a quiet man, but seemed sincerely grateful for letter and money. As at Dwarf-Hill, so at Crow-lake and Mussel-lake, I was struck with the evident poverty. It seems a crying shame that so much money should be lavished on their temples and idolatrous ceremonies when many of the people are so very poor. Near by we found the house of "Having-blossoms" and "Having-enterprise"; but they were both working some distance off, so we handed the letter and money to their uncle, "Having-riches."

We got "Palm-present" to guide us to T'ong-pooi (Damback), but we had first to go to our boat. When we got aboard a crowd followed till the boat was quite full. Someone ashore began throwing stones, but some friends soon stopped that. Dam-back lies about two miles from Mussel-lake, and we had a very hot, tramp, but the reception we got amply repaid. I suppose I was the first foreigner to visit this village. We found that "Gemsplendour" had died last year, and a younger brother "East-splendour" just a few weeks ago; while "Established-splendour" is working in Canton city. His people are very anxious that "Dragon-splendour" should come home, as there is no one at the head of the house. The wife and children of the first-named have to go away and work. We waited while a letter was written to "Dragon-splendour," and then walked to Shui-lek (Watery-ridge) village. I wished to see James Shum's (a Christian at Ida Valley) friends, but they were at market. As we were leaving, the wife of "You're-famous" came asking about him: she had not heard for a long while. An old man who returned from New Zealand some 30 years ago inquired about "Clear-as-water," of Queenstown.

As soon as we got back to Mussel-lake our boat had a stock of visitors, with questions innumerable. One old woman wishes me to ask you if you know the whereabouts of her boy, "Valiantson." [He is at Cromwell.—A. D.] About 3 p.m. we riled down to High-pond mart, and went for a stroll through the town. We found the shops of "Wealthy"—formerly of Arcade. Dunedin—and "Ox," but neither were in. We visited the post office, which is kept by the brother of a man who was a fellow-passenger on the s.s. Airlie, returning from Greymouth, where he was a storekeeper. The evening was spent quietly on our boat. We had some visitors, but they were quite respectful. We were moored close to where the night-watches are struck. You will remember the brassy "Clang! clang! clang!" followed by the "Rub-a-dub, dub!" of the watchman's drum. Just before we turned in at 11 o'clock five passenger-boats passed up, and made a noise that one would expect to waken the town. These boats carry a large stock of arms and travel in company. Robberies seem to be weekly occurrences on this river, and it is said that Crow-lake quarters the worst band of robbers in this district.

Saturday, January 4: We breakfasted early, as we intended visiting Shekma (Stonehorse) village before leaving for Canton. A petty official, having 50 men under him, came to the boat, and very respectfully exchanged cards. Then four or five women came from Watery-ridge with letters and questions. They had gone up to Mussel-lake and not finding us there had hurried down here. It made an interesting picture—the group of women along the side of the boat asking for their friends. They asked for "Pervasive," and I was able to show them his photo at work in his claim at Bendigo Gully. The wife of "You're-famous" gave me a letter for him. It was well worth all the trouble of writing out the long list of names to be able to answer some of the anxious questionings. [I keep a "roll" of the Otago Chinese—their surnames, names, villages, etc.—and Mr M'Neur made a similar one of those he met on the Summer Inland Tour, 1900-01.—A. D.] A number of men also came aboard, and it was nearly 9 a.m. before we started for Stonehorse. We enjoyed much the walk over the low hills thither. There I made my first acquaintance with the sweet water-chestnut. We went to Flat-sand Division of the village, and were soon introduced to "Distant," to whom I gave his father's letter. Quite a number of folk gathered, and we were treated to horribly bad English, but good tea and biscuits. One old woman asked for "Ripple," and I showed her the photograph of him and his house. [The old lady will soon see the man himself, for he left Dunedin for China on February 22.]

Then we went to the part of the village occupied by the Yuen clan, and inquired for the nearest relatives of Ah Mee, who died at Waikaka on December 2, 1900. We found that his old mother had died, and as his father and his brothers also were dead I gave the 30s to an uncle to divide among some cousins who are the nearest of kin alive. A great crowd gathered, and we were treated most hospitably. "T'ong Sin-shang" (Teacher Don) seems to be a kind of household word here. They remembered well your visit four years ago, and of course a

great many of your returned friends were inquiring for you. "Refined," who returned from Dunedin last year, came to have a talk with us. We would gladly have prolonged our visit in this friendly village, but we wanted to make Canton before sunset.

We got back to the boat, and soon set sail. But alas! wind and tide were against us, and although our crew worked with a will we managed to make only Naisheng by sundown. There we waited for the turn of the tide, and moved down in the darkness to P'oon-t'ong, where the Ts'ung-fa boats lie. I had a restless night. The water was filthy, and I felt out of sorts. On Sunday morning we crossed over to Fati, where a bad cold overtook me during the day and at night I had my first touch of fever. I dosed myself with quinine and have not had a return. I find I will have to be careful in many ways, but I hope to profit much by the experience of those who have been so long in this unhealthy field.

With regard to work in the P'oon-yu district, certainly nothing sudden will do. If anyone can get an entrance it will be the worker trained among the Chinese of Otago. But it will need both patience and perseverance before a settlement is obtained. The Americans purpose opening in Ko-t'ong (High-pond) next year. It seems to be the only centre that promises well in our district, and it will have to be handled with great caution. I have had talks with Mr Beattie, who has charge of the work in that district, and he is personally willing enough to leave Ko-t'ong to us if we can gain an opening there. I have no doubt the American Presbyterians would agree to this. There is any amount of room in the district. The Baptists tried to open a chapel in Ko-t'ong but had to fly at once. I think an earnest capable worker could make an opening, with occasional visits from the foreigner until it is possible to make the town a definite centre of work for our villages. It is handy to them and to Canton city. Many of the villagers come to market there. A medical missionary would be invaluable.

IV

Kuk-fau, Canton, China,

January 17, 1902.

The day after our return to Canton from Upper P'oon-yu (6th inst.) the wife of "Eastern-Brave" found us out. She came to Fati with her younger brother, and I was glad to hand her the money and letter from her husband. She has had a hard time of it, but her brother has been very kind. [It is a very rare thing for a man to send money to his wife while his father is still living. It was well for this poor woman that E.B. sent money to her as well as to his father, though by so doing he slighted hoary custom.—A. D.]

I must now begin the account of our trip to the Tsang-Shing district. We started up the East River at an early hour on Wednesday, January 8. The Shek-loong (Stone-dragon) passage boat by which we travelled lay across the river near Honan, so we took a sampan across. After some scrambling we got half a cabin and stowed ourselves and goods therein. About 7 o'clock the steam launch that towed us started and made splendid speed. Some of the pagodas seen on the shore are very high and picturesque—one of nine stories has a large mandarin-orange tree growing on top.

These passage-boats are very noisy places. Above our cabin a man was expounding "The Sacred Edict" with great force and at great length. It was interesting to see how passengers boarded our vessel at different places en route. The launch slackened speed a little, and as the small boat came alongside the larger the passenger was unceremoniously bundled aboard and his baggage after him. I was told that sometimes this feat is accomplished without slackening speed when travelling down with the current. I should be glad to know that I could swim before I indulged in such gymnastics.

On arrival at San-t'ong (New-pond) we got a small boat to take us ashore, and then got our baggage stowed in a rice-shop kept by friends of Willie and Mark Chan. Then we visited John Chan's uncle and handed him the money and letter from his nephew. He asked after your welfare. We visited the chapel of the United Brethren, which is splendidly situated right on the main street. It is comfortably arranged and on market-days there should be very good opportunities. We next passed into a kind of suburb, where I visited the house of Coloured-Ripple and handed over the three sovereigns from his brother at Dunedin. As it was about 1 p.m. we found a restaurant, and had a meal of strange concoctions, some of which were very nice.

We had some difficulty in getting a boat to take us up to San-Kaai (New-street) village, the boat-people objecting that they could not return that night and there were robbers about. However, an old woman and her daughter took us and we had a very pleasant sail up the river. At Kau-yu we landed and walked over the fields to San-Kaai. There I was taken into Wm. Chan's house and shown the prophet's chamber upstairs. I had hardly got settled when "Gathering-flowers" called to know if I brought a letter from his brother. I handed it over with the money. That night he was back again with some friends to see me. He was very anxious to take me to see

his newly-wedded wife, but I thought better spare her the shock. Other visitors there were—one a man returned from Wanganui, where he used to help the teachers of the Chinese Class by interpreting, seeing that the pupils attended, and so on. He says he promised that he will be baptised when he returns to New Zealand by the end of this year. He does not believe in idols, yet he argued that he owes it to his parents to attend to idolatrous rites: to which I replied that it is never right to do wrong. I saw a good deal of him and like him; with a true conception of what it is to be a Christian he will make a good man.

That night I was waited upon by a deputation of New-street rats, that inquired loudly as to the nature of the eatables in my hamper. Their tastes are so depraved that they actually tackled some Chinese cakes that were on the table, and left my things alone. Next morning (Thursday) my hands were all swollen with mosquito bites received the night before we left Canton. Willie counted 60 bites on one hand. They say that mosquito-bites bring malaria—I

P'ONG-WOO (MUSSL-LAKE) HIGH SCHOOL, P'OON-YU. (See page 11.) Crop of ripe barley in foreground.

Toad Hill Tsang Shing

must have had so many that one half antidoted the other.

After breakfast we walked to Sha-t'au (Sand-bank) village and asked first for Joseph's mother. We were invited to enter one of the large public halls and there treated to cakes and tea. Presently the old lady, who is like her son, came. She asked about his business and wished to know when he is coming home. A returned Walker street man, "Autumn-Child," tried his best to make me feel at home. We met another Dunedin man, who had a garden at Anderson's Bay, and another, and yet another. One said he had wished to attend the services regularly, but the larrikins hindered him. We called on Wong K'au-Foon, who had had an encounter with a thief two days earlier and got his foot hurt. Then we found the father of Lai-Ts'oi, of Stafford street, who had just received a letter saying that we were to be expected.

On our way to Paak-shek (Whitestone) market-town, we passed "Coming-Prosperity" working his plot of ground. Mr Chan says that when he was at Anderson's Bay he used to attend your services regularly; but he came to none of the White-stone meetings last summer. In Whitestone Mart it was soon evident that Mr Chan is well-known and respected. Everywhere he was greeted with "Seen-shang" (teacher). We saw the outside of the building that he held the meetings in, but could not get in as the landlord was away. There was great excitement in the town owing to the robbery of the pawn-shop two days before. After visiting several of the shops we walked across to T'ong-mei (Pond-end) village, where a foreigner is a rare sight. A big fellow whom we passed at the gate came running alongside saying quite excitedly: "I have not seen one before." A little child fled in great alarm, and soon its mother came requesting that the child might be allowed to taste of my spittle so as to prevent bad effects of the fright. [Dr Henry, once when inland from Canton, had to cut off a piece of his clothing with which to make a drink for a child that had been scared by his appearance. On the same principle as "Take a hair of the dog that bit you"—homoeopathy in embryo. By the way, in this very district a remedy used when a child has been greatly terrified by a dog is to find and catch that dog, pull a tuft of hair from its skin, wrap these together in a small package and fasten this to the child's clothing.—A. D.] We very soon found the house where lives the wife of "Deep-Forest," and I was glad to unburden myself of 22 sovereigns. The gladness was by no means all on my side. His wife, his younger sister, and in fact the whole street, rejoiced with me. I was able to tell them where the younger brother is working in Otago. We had a fine time there, and had to drink syrup and eat cakes, while the women-folk made up a package of yam-flour. Their kindness did not end here, for on the Sunday the sister came to New-street with a letter for "Deep-

Forest," also a basket filled with yam-flour and oranges. Leaving this village, we saw a scene that seemed to call for a camera, but it would have needed a snapshot. The water had been drained off the village pond, leaving several feet of mud. In this mud the village boys and men were disporting themselves and trying to catch eels, which did not seem to be very plentiful. Just outside the village, on the Whitestone side, a large temple is being built. We returned to New-street through Understone village, lying under the shadow of Toad Hill, familiar already to me by your photograph. After dinner we went to the Wanganui man's house for the afternoon, winding up with a great Chinese meal.

V

Kuk-fau, Canton, China,

January 18, 1902.

This letter closes the account of our "gold and letter" visits.

Friday, January 10: After dinner we walked across to Hok-hoi (Stork-sea), having to use a ferry-boat twice. This village is small, and we soon came to the house of "Girdle-bound," whose wife and old mother were glad to get their letters and money. I got a very warm welcome and a very close examination. It is amusing to see their wonder at the first foreign specimen seen by them. One old woman about 80 was specially interested, and said many quaint things that I cannot remember. Great wonder is expressed at one so young having a moustache. On the way back we passed quite a number of small villages.

On Saturday morning I was awakened early by the women below pounding rice into flour. The harder they pounded the louder and faster they talked. It was hopeless to try to sleep, so I got up. We left after breakfast for Long-ha. It was a long hot walk, but very interesting. After going again through T'ong-mei, we crossed a low range planted thickly with lichee trees. Then we struck across country parallel to the great Nam-heung Mount, meeting several groups of Hakkas on their way to market. Their villages strongly resemble those in Upper P'oon-Yu. Near the far end of the mount is Long-ha, and the first shop we entered was that of the man we sought—brother to "Rich-face," of Cardrona. The old mother came in, and was greatly delighted when she heard who I was. She is over 80, yet looks hale and hearty and has such a nice grandmotherly face. We were treated to syrup and many other good things. A man who has been in Sydney and Melbourne escorted us all over the village, which is splendidly built. They pressed us strongly to stay overnight, and we left them with the hope that we should soon return and proclaim the unsearchable riches of Christ.

Going back, we took another road and passed through Paak-shui (Whitewater) village, where there is a Chinese girls' school conducted by a Chinese Christian woman. We also passed Sheung-shiu, whence I believe a good number go to New Zealand. Just outside we stopped to buy some sugarcane, and found that the old stall-holder is a professing Christian returned from abroad. Several others who had been abroad greeted me kindly. As we were about to enter Whitestone Mart we met a man who had been in Sydney. He invited us to his house, which he has built, as far as possible, in Western style. Another man came up who was in Dunedin two years ago. After our long walk we were quite ready for the rice that awaited us at New-street village. The usual company of visitors came in the evening.

On Sunday I felt the effects of having walked so far in the hot sun, though I had been careful to keep a white-covered umbrella open overhead. At noon we had service, I suppose the first of its kind in New-street. There were eight of us present—W. Chan, Sin Fook-Kwai, Chan Chi-yung, Lau Yu-hon, Looi Yut-k'ai, Wong K'au-foon, myself, and Willie's tathe—all professing Christians except the last. Mr Siu is a young colporteur employed by the American Bible Society, past 20 years of age, and a nice lad. After rice together I was glad to lie down; but when the sun set I rose and we climbed to the top of Toad Hill, from which we surveyed the surrounding villages, canals, and hills.

Monday, January 13: After breakfast we started for Kong-Naam. We went right through that village and at length met a man who had been in Sydney. He was very anxious to resurrect and air the English he had learned—his Chinese was much more intelligible. He took us to the house of "Little-peace," to whose mother we bore a letter and four sovereigns. We found that the old woman had died over three years ago, but his brother would not send out the news lest it might keep "Little-peace" from returning home. We met an old friend of yours—one "Vigorous-roots," who used to keep the shop near your church in Walker street. At the house we were treated to the usual delicacies, and your old friend brought out from his mind's inner recesses some fragments of "The Gate Ajar," "Jesus Loves Me," etc., which you had taught him. Over a score of people gathered, the colporteur read a chapter and Willie preached the Gospel to them.

On Tuesday I had a spell. I photographed the new tower and the bridge at New-street, also a family group at Willie's home. During the day I was presented with three lots of eggs, so I return to Canton with a bigger nestful than when I came away.

Next morning we were up early and got a boat down to San-t'ong Mart. It was very pleasant on the water. I was much amused at our boat-woman's two-year-old son. He, dressed in nothing but a shirt, was bravely helping mother at the oar, stepping out just like an old hand. [Chinese stand to row.—A. D.] At San-t'ong we had not much time to spare, as the steam launch towing two passage-boats came down about 10 o'clock. We found much difficulty in getting room, but at length got seats in the purser's cabin. One cabin we tried to enter was occupied by some kind of official, who had a brace of pistols lying on one side and a sword on the other. He looked unpleasant, and surveyed the interlopers with undisguised contempt. We were glad to get down to Canton again. The first thing I did was to invest in a mosquito-curtain. In spite of this precaution, the enemy found entrance somehow and gave me a welcome home.

With regard to the Tsang-Shing District, I think we should begin work there as well. P'oon-Yu will be a difficult and discouraging field: Tsang-Shing promises to be the opposite. How good it would be to be able to turn for a time from the op-position of Upper Poon-Yu to the comparative friendliness of Tsang-Shing. With regard to spiritual need, both districts are on a par. What a group of villages there is within reach of Whitestone Mart untouched by missionary effort!

Round about this district there is quite a number of men who have professed faith in Christ in other lands, but returning here have drifted back until there is little to distinguish them from the heathen around. A church would make it much easier for them to stand true. Whitestone would also be a good place to establish a Christian school.

I hope another missionary will be ready to join me at the end of this year or the beginning of next. It would make such a difference if there were two of us.

Otago Daily Times Print, Dunedin.

The Parliamentary Debate on "Vaile's Stage System."

(See HANSARD, 24th of July, 1902, No. 7, page 603.)

THE following is the petition which led to this debate. It was presented by Mr. W. F. Massey, and dealt with and reported 011 by the following Railways Committee:—Mr. Flatman, Mr. Lawry, Mr. Massey, Mr. McGuire, Mr. R. McKenzie, Mr. G. W. Russell, Mr. Sidey, Mr. Tanner, Mr. J. W. Thomson, and Hon. Sir J. G. Ward. It will be seen that in this petition I have been careful to repeat all the charges I made against the administration of our railways in the paper I read before the Congress of Chambers of Commerce held in Wellington on 4th February, 1902:—

TO THE HONOURABLE THE SPEAKER AND MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE COLONY OF NEW ZEALAND IN PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED.

The Petition of Samuel Vaile of Auckland humbly sheweth—

- That for the last twenty years your petitioner has been a close student of Railway Administration as practised in many parts of the world, and more particularly in New Zealand, and is the inventor of the Stage or Zone system.
- That your petitioner as a citizen of New Zealand feels aggrieved at the great and yearly increasing loss made on the railways of this Colony.
- That at a meeting of delegates from all the principal Chambers of Commerce in New Zealand, held in Wellington in February, 1902, your petitioner read a paper on the Railways of New Zealand, a copy of which is hereto attached.
- That this paper formed part of the proceedings of the said Congress of Chambers of Commerce, was accepted, and ordered to be printed. The Official Report of the said Congress was printed by the Government Printer, but by some means and for some purpose your petitioner's paper was excluded from the said Report.
- That the facts stated in that paper as regards the administration of our railways are all taken from the Annual Reports on Working Railways as issued by the Government.
- That your petitioner says that in the said paper he has proved that in the period 1897 to 1901 inclusive the real rate of interest earned by our railways was not more than £2 12s. 2d., £2 3s., £2 1s. 9d., £2 os. 2d., £1 10s., instead of £3 3s. 10d., £3 4s. 10d., £3 5s. 10d., £3 8s. 5d., and £3 9s. 8d, which the Railway Department claims to have earned.
- That your petitioner says that the higher rate of interest said to be earned is made to appear by omitting to charge the Revenue Account with interest on moneys expended on lines under construction, as was formerly done; by charging to Capital Account large sums for "Additions to Open Lines," instead of to Revenue Account as formerly; and also by taking credit for all Government passengers and tonnage carried over the lines as so much revenue earned, this charge having been made only since 1896, prior to which period these items were carried free.
- That your petitioner says he is not concerned to enquire whether interest on "Unopened Lines" and sums spent on "Additions to Open Lines" should rightly be charged to Capital Account, but he says that formerly these items were charged to Revenue Account Your petitioner further says that the Account, "Additions to Open Lines" was introduced by the late Railway Commissioners in 1891, when they charged to this Account £12,927; and that from this amount it has grown to a vote of £800,000 for the year 1901-2. Your petitioner would further direct the attention of your Honourable House to the fact that

for two years (1895 and 1896) after the Government resumed control of the railways, this Account does not appear in the Annual Reports, but it reappears in 1897. Your petitioner further says that it is owing to the rapid increase in this Account that it is made to appear that our railways are yearly earning an increasing rate of interest, when as a matter of fact that rate is rapidly decreasing, and the resulting loss to the country is now over half a million per annum.

- That your petitioner says that the paper referred to in which these facts are fully set forth has now been before the public for six months, and no one has challenged the statements therein made.
- That your petitioner says that the facts stated above clearly prove that the *financial policy* of our Railway Administration is radically wrong, and is rapidly involving the country in a ruinous loss.
- That your petitioner says that by altering our railway financial policy by introducing the Stage System the loss now made could easily be converted into a large profit.
- Your petitioner would respectfully point out to your Honourable House that the facts stated above and in the paper attached prove that the present system of administering our railways is a serious financial failure, and that it does not meet the requirements of the Colony. And he therefore prays that you will be pleased to take such steps as may be necessary to ensure a full and fair trial of the system of administration known as "Vaile's Stage System," this system, although faultily applied, having proved financially successful in other countries.

And as in duty bound, your petitioner will ever pray.

Samuel Vaile.

Auckland,

9th July, 1902.

I propose to make a few comments on the arguments put forward and statements made by the various speakers. This will enable me to deal briefly with the various points at issue.

MR. TANNER (*Avon*), CHAIRMAN RAILWAYS COMMITTEE, on the 24th July brought up their report, and moved, "That it be laid on the table, and be referred to the Government for consideration."

MR. PIRANI (*Palmerston*)

thereupon moved as an amendment, "That the words be added to the motion, 'so that a trial may be given to the Vaile system.'"

Mr. Pirani, in speaking to the motion, alluded to the many times this question has been before the House. I think I am right in saying that the House has divided on it at least eight or ten times. Personally, I feel very much indebted to Mr. Pirani for the energetic support he has given to the Stage System ever since his first entry into Parliament.

MR. E. M. SMITH (*Taranaki*)

is quite right in saying that he has always voted for a trial of the Stage System, and I very readily acknowledge his consistent and energetic advocacy of it. Mr. Smith says that I have never "attempted to accept the offer of the Government to give his system a trial." That is true. I am not such an idiot as to be a party to the destruction of the work that has cost me so much, or to fall into the trap laid for me by the Department. If Mr. Smith can show how I, or any other sane man, could comply with the demands made upon me, I shall be happy to reconsider.

Mr. Smith says that I ought not to have dealt with other public questions, but with the railway question alone; and he seems to imply that I ought to have kept quiet in order to gain I favour with the Government. Would this be worthy conduct? Has not this sort of thing been the curse of the country?

Mr. Smith says I know the Government are gradually working up to the system of charges that I propose. No greater mistake could possibly be made. Every step taken by the Government so far has been in exactly the opposite direction. My system means much more than mere cheapness—it means *distribution*: distribution of population, distribution of opportunities, distribution of wealth. All that the Government have done, or propose doing, means more concentration of all these in fewer centres and fewer hands. I will go into this more fully when commenting on the Minister's statements.

MR. HUTCHESON (*Wellington City*)

is quite right. My system was not designed in the interest of any party or any district, but in the interest of the whole country. Why, then, should I "truckle to the Government of the day"? At any rate, it is quite certain that I have never done so, and never will.

MR. NAPIER (*Auckland City*)

is also right. When before the Railways Committee in September, 1901, I was not allowed to ask the General Manager any questions, nor would he ask me any. There was simply an assumption that the Department "knew all about it," and that I was merely wasting time. Mr. Ronayne's Report on my statement absolutely proves one of two things, either he did not in the least understand my proposal, or that he wilfully misrepresented. (See Parliamentary Paper I., 6B, 1901.)

Mr. Napier voices the opinion of most of the Colony when he says that the cost of trying the Stage System would bear a very small proportion to the amount that has been spent on experimental legislation in other directions. He also states the truth when he says that this system (in a much spoilt form) has given remarkable financial results in other countries; and let it be remembered that the financial aspect of the question is the only one our Government has ever attempted to deal with. No one has ever denied the social benefits that would be derived from the Stage System.

Mr. Napier also thinks that I should have done well not to have written on other subjects than the railway question. In saying this I am quite sure he is actuated by the most friendly spirit, but he probably does not remember much about the earlier stages of this agitation, which commenced twenty years ago. Up to this period I had steadily resisted every effort made to induce me to enter public life, and when I invented the Stage System I offered the idea to several of our leading public men, both in the North and South. Not one of them took the least notice of my letters. I believe they all thought me raving mad; indeed, some of them have since told me so. So I had to tackle the task myself.

Then what happened? The Department at once opposed, and their friends soon began to say, "What is the use of listening to Vaile? he has gone mad on the railway question." "He is simply a railway crank." "Did you ever know him do anything else? he can only talk about railways," etc., etc. So, in self-defence and for the good of the Stage System, I thought I had better deal with some other subjects, just to convince the public that I could think straight on other great questions.

MR. CARNCROSS (*Taieri*)

touches a very important point when he speaks of the effect the Stage System would have on settling the back country. This is what the system was more especially designed for. The Single Taxers see that it will have this effect, and that is their avowed reason why they have always worked their hardest against me and it. It is impossible to increase the value of the back land without increasing the value of the whole Colony.

MR. MONK (*Waitemata*).

I quite agree with Mr. Monk that Sir Joseph Ward has made an earnest, honest effort to administer the railways in the interests of the country, but I believe he has been very badly advised by his chief officials. Mr. Monk speaks of a 30 per cent, reduction in charges during the next 20 years. I say that passenger fares could at once be reduced to an average of one-fifth of the present charge, and goods rates to an average of one-half, with enormous advantage to the country and to the railway revenue. I am aware that to most people this statement will appear outrageous, and it most certainly cannot be done in the way the Government are trying to do it; but I would remark that the Hungarians followed my lead, and reduced their fares to an average of one-fifth, and that so long as they kept them at that figure they paid well, but as soon as they raised them they began to lose profit. (See Parliamentary Paper, 1901, D—7, p. 10.)

SIR J. G. WARD, MINISTER FOR RAILWAYS.

Sir Joseph's speech being one of the utmost importance, I will endeavour to deal with it carefully, and it gives me great pleasure to say that in all the personal intercourse I have had with him, which dates from 1885, he has always met me in the most friendly spirit, and, up to the time of his entering the Ministry, I think I am right in saying that he gave the Stage System his support. I quite believe he is anxious to see the new system tried. The difficulty is not with him, but with his officials.

The Minister's speech is remarkable for three things. (1st) He does not make the slightest attempt to refute or deny the accuracy of the very serious charges contained in my petition, as regards the manipulation of the Railway Accounts, and the very serious financial loss now being made. (2nd) Sir Joseph frankly admits that the increase of traffic under the Stage System would be so enormous that the Department would not be able to find rolling stock sufficient to deal with it. (3rd) He says that everyone in the country wants a trial of the new system.

Sir Joseph says that when the railway officials have differed from me, I took it as a personal matter, and abused the officials and the administration. I hardly think this is correct, unless telling the plain straight truth is abuse. Then I certainly am guilty. The fact is that it is easy to prove that from first to last these officials, being unable to meet my arguments, and thinking their privileges were being invaded, have most grossly misrepresented me, and have unblushingly said that I made statements and propositions which I never made, and when I have exposed this wrong-doing, then I have been accused of being abusive.

Take the latest instance. In September, 1901, the Railways Committee intimated to me that they would hear what I had to say if I chose to attend at Wellington at my own expense. I went and paid my own expenses—the Department seems to think I ought to do everything in this matter at my own expense. Mr. Ronayne reluctantly attended, and was supposed to listen to what I had to say. His report on the statement I then made appears on page 22 of Parliamentary Paper I., 6B, 1901.

In it he deliberately states that I propose to reduce the charges on all items of coaching traffic other than "ordinary passengers," and also on all goods traffic, to one-half the present rates. *I have never proposed, to do this, either in the work he professes to quoit from, or in any publication, or from any platform, nor have I ever quoted any prices for the transit of goods.* Mr. Ronayne's object in making this false statement is to make it appear that the introduction of the Stage System would entail a severe loss. I ask if this is conduct worthy of a Government official in charge of the largest department in the country. Have I not a right to resent it? My reply to Mr. Ronayne's report will be found bound with the paper I read before the Congress of Chambers of Commerce held in Wellington on the 4th of February, 1902.

This paper of mine, although it was accepted by the Congress, which thanked me for it and ordered it to be printed, *was cut out of the report of the proceedings of the Conference, presumably by order of the Government, while it was passing through the Government printing office.* Again I ask, was this fair treatment? The statements therein made are very serious, and if untrue surely it was the duty of the Department to refute them. So far, not the least attempt has been made to do this, although they have been reproduced and commented on in some of the London papers. All I have ever asked for is truthful and fair treatment, and this the Department has never given me, but has striven to put me down by the grossest and most untruthful misrepresentation. Let me here say that my quarrel has been with the *General Managers and sub-managers only*. I have no complaint whatever against any of the other officials.

In the Press telegrams sent round the Colony reporting this debate, Sir Joseph is reported as saying, *"The difficulty was to face the enormously increased expenditure that would be necessitated to provide fresh railway stock to cope with the enormously increased traffic that Must Take Place Under Mr. Vaile's Stage System."* In *Hansard* this is toned down by the addition of the words "for a time." Why for a time? In other countries—in Siberia, for instance, which had a far sparser population than New Zealand, and in every other country where it has been introduced—the increase of traffic has been great and continuous. Why, then, should it not be the same here? I say that it will—there will be neither loss of revenue nor decrease of traffic. At any rate, we have the Minister's distinct statement that the introduction of the Stage System would lead to an *"enormously increased traffic."* Seeing, then, that under the present system we are now not only *losing every penny of interest* 011 the capital expended in our railways (£19,496,553), but also *in addition over a quarter of a million in working expenses*, would it not be wise to try the new system, and see what it will do? It could not possibly be a worse financial and social failure than the present one, and we should at any rate have its undisputed social advantages to the good.

As regards increase of rolling stock required, we have Mr. W. M. Hannay's evidence that in 1886 on the most crowded line in the Colony, they only carried an average of seven (7) passengers to a carriage, the said carriages being capable of carrying forty (40). We have also the express declaration of the Hungarian Minister that the alteration in system led to a very small increase in expenditure.

In 1890, the proprietors of the *Glasgow Evening Citizen* sent a "Special Commissioner" to Hungary to investigate this system on the spot; he also reports, "Very little additional expenditure has been incurred in

connection with the rolling stock, and the entire staff of workmen and officials has been maintained as before, on account of the increased traffic."

During five months in 1889 and the whole of 1890, the Hungarians worked their Zone tariff on 4,415 miles of railway, dealing with 16,000,000 people. During this period of seventeen months, they carried an *extra 16,577,200 fares, and to accommodate this enormous increase we have the emphatic statement of their Minister that they only had to expend another £7,267 on new rolling stock.* Knowing as we do that for several previous years the Hungarian lines had been in a most deplorable state, it is not in the least likely that their rolling stock was in a more efficient state than ours. I ask, then, why this enormous increase in rolling stock should be required to deal with the 378 miles and 176,000 people of the Auckland Province? It is because Mr. Ronayne knew that I would ask plenty of awkward questions like this one, that I was not allowed to question him, and not because he "knew all about it." As to whether more or less of rolling stock is required, depends on the skill with which it is employed. Our officials seem to think that to carry double the number of passengers, you must of course have double the quantity of rolling stock; but this is by no means the case. The larger your passenger traffic, the easier to arrange for cutting off carriages at the different stations as the train passes along, these cut-off carriages being again immediately used for the short distance traffic. The Stage System simply means hauling full, instead of empty carriages. It is these empty carriages that swell the working expenses. I repeat that it will be entirely the fault of the Department if the introduction of the new system causes any loss whatever.

THE MINISTER FOR RAILWAYS' OFFER.

This so-called offer is merely a repetition of similar offers that no sane or honest man could possibly accept made on former occasions, with another most serious obstacle thrown in the way.

"(a) That a cash guarantee be deposited with the Treasury."

All the efforts of myself and friends have failed to extract from this or former Governments any indication of the amount of cash guarantee they would require. It is quite evident to me that no matter what sum we had offered, demands would have been made that it was impossible to comply with. There never has been any intention on the part of the officials of granting facilities for a trial of the Stage System.

In 1888 a number of gentlemen joined me in an offer to the Government to lease the Auckland Section of railways and try the new system; but then, as now, nothing could induce them to name the amount of guarantee they would require. The correspondence with the then Minister on the subject will be found in the Parliamentary Papers for that year. I mention this circumstance for the purpose of showing that as the demands under previous Governments were practically the same as under the present one, the control really lay with the officials, and not with the Ministers.

Let me here say that it cannot reasonably be expected that the Minister can be sufficiently conversant with details to settle this point himself; he must rely on his superior officers, and I say those officers have consistently and persistently deceived the various Railway Ministers and the public; or else they are densely ignorant of their own business.

"(b) That the trial be for not less than one year." This I readily assented to.

"(c) That the experiment be carried out under the control of the officers of the N.Z. Government Railway Department." All I have ever asked is that I may be in some way associated with them during the trial, so as to assist in seeing that it is a full and fair one. All reasonable men will, I think, see that this is necessary; for in trying any new system little difficulties are sure to arise which the inventor alone is likely to be able to readily deal with.

On the 10th of October, 1900, I wrote to Sir Joseph, asking for an explanation of this stipulation, and added, "Will you kindly let me know what is to be my position, and what are to be my powers?" On the 19th I received the following somewhat curt reply: "Beyond fixing the fares and rates to be charged, you will have neither position nor powers in carrying out the trial." I ask, could I possibly have done justice to the public under these circumstances?

"(d) That you furnish me with a complete statement of the rolling stock required in order to give the scheme a fair trial."

This is a new demand, and it can only have been made for the purpose of throwing more obstruction in the way. I have always stated that I should expect to carry three times as many fares as under the present system, and the officials ought to know what rolling stock would be required. That is purely traffic manager's business. My work has been with the *Financial and Social policy that should govern the administration of railways, and with that only.*

Then I am told: "Before the amount of cash guarantee can be appraised, full particulars of the charges to be

made for all classes of traffic must be furnished by you. The Department is already in possession of the fares proposed to be charged, and similar information must be given for parcels and goods traffic."

The demand is here made that I shall furnish a complete goods (including live stock) and coaching tariff. Whatever the Minister may think, the General Manager knows that it is utterly impossible for me to comply with this demand. He knows well that there is no information published, or obtainable by me, on which I could found it. As regards ordinary passenger fares it is obtainable, but not as regards any other class of traffic. Mr. Ronayne also knows that it would be a work of immense labour and of considerable expense. I reckon that it would take three or four good clerks at least three months to collate the necessary information, and these would require to have full access to the books and papers of the Department. Why should I go to this great labour and expense, simply to give the Department a chance to destroy the whole thing and pronounce it a failure? This is what they are aiming at, for they know well that I should have to work entirely in the dark.

I have repeatedly pointed out that the only proper way to introduce the new system is to apply it first to "Ordinary Passengers," then to the other items of "Coaching," and finally to "Goods Traffic." This is what the Hungarians did, and it is what we must do if we want to avoid loss; but the Department wants to create loss, and hence their preposterous demand to apply the new system to every branch of traffic at once. Again I ask: Why should I be put to this great labour and expense, merely to give the Department an opportunity to destroy my work?

It is not my fault that I have not been able to work in harmony with the officials; I have tried to do so. The first time Mr. Maxwell was in Auckland after I placed the Stage System before the public, I waited on him, in order to explain it to him. He declined to listen to me, said he had read all I had published, that he had no doubt I believed all I said, but that it was not possible for me to know, and that the officers of the Department alone had access to the necessary information. This is the spirit in which I have been treated throughout.

On arriving in Wellington last year, after leaving my card with the Premier, I had an interview with Sir Joseph, and expressed the hope that I might be able to work in harmony with the Department; then I went to Mr. Ronayne, and after pointing out that the men who had opposed me—Messrs. Maxwell, Hannay, and Hudson—were all now out of the Department, I impressed upon him the desirability of our working together in harmony, to do all that we could for the public good. I told him that on my part I was prepared to sink all the past; and did everything I could to conciliate him. It seems with very little effect. The public may make quite sure of this: If a trial of the Stage System is to be made, Parliament will have to order this to be done, in spite of the opposition of the officials. Their statement that they cannot estimate the amount of cash guarantee required is an absurdity.

Sir Joseph says that it is right that the locality that is to derive the benefit of cheap rates and fares, while other localities are paying higher ones, should guarantee the country against loss. *I ask who has proposed to give any one locality this advantage? Most certainly I have never done so; I have persistently fought against it. It is the Department that has insisted on this being done, and I say they have done it for the purpose of stirring up local jealousies, and so preventing any trial taking place.*

This is the proposition that I have made, and I consider that it is an eminently fair and judicious one. We must commence somewhere, and it is agreed on all hands that the Auckland Section is the most suitable. This is not because it gives the Stage System the best chance, but *because it gives it the worst*; for, being an absolutely isolated section, it cannot draw on any other system for support, and it has this further disadvantage that, with the exception of Auckland City, it has only one town of 4,000 people on the whole section, and then one of 1,250, then only villages. My proposition, therefore, is to apply it on this section to ordinary passenger fares, and to those fares only to begin with. We should soon see how it was working, and if it did not give good results we need go no further; for if it will not pay on ordinary fares, it certainly will not pay on any other branch of traffic. But it will pay, and pay well.

As soon as it was thus running in Auckland, I would apply it to the same branch of traffic on the lines South of Dunedin; then I would do the same on the Wellington-Napier-Taranaki Section; and then on the lines in the South Island North of Dunedin. Then I would start again at Auckland and apply the system to the other branches of coaching traffic, going from Auckland to the lines North of Dunedin, then to Wellington, and afterwards to the lines South of Dunedin. Then back to Auckland for the goods traffic, then to Wellington, Dunedin, and Canterbury.

I ask, if the experiment is carried out in this manner, what possible unfairness can there be to any portion of the Colony, and can there possibly be any serious loss incurred? *Which is the fairest and most judicious proposal—mine, or that of the Department?*

Sir Joseph says that, with all the officers and records of the Department to help him, he has never been able to arrive at what would be a fair amount of guarantee to ask, and yet I am asked to do this without help or information. I direct attention to the fact that *Sir Joseph expressly endorsed the statement of "an Hon.*

Member" that "everyone wants a trial of the system." He also repeated the statement about the increase of

traffic, saying "*he recognised, as well as did any member of the House* " that once the sixpenny stage system was adopted and made to apply, as it was intended under the system to all the sections of railway, *there would be an enormous increase of passenger traffic.*"

I challenge the correctness of Sir Joseph's statement that "To say they were not willing to give a fair trial to the system was absolutely incorrect." *I say emphatically that no offer of a trial that would be fair, either to the country or myself, has ever been made.* I further say that all the so-called offers were carefully and expressly so framed as to render their acceptance impossible. I further also say that in the persistent demand—which I have always protested against—that the system shall at the same time be applied to all branches of traffic, the Department sought to ensure the failure of the system, by making me propose a coaching and goods tariff without having any data to work on, and by making it unpopular by saying it gave an unfair advantage to one district.

I wish again to distinctly say that I do not accuse the different Ministers of complicity in this, but I emphatically say that the various General Managers know that I am speaking the truth: but I have little doubt that I shall be again accused of being abusive. I repeat my denial that I have ever been abusive, but have merely, without mercy, expressed the untruthful manner in which I have been met.

MR. MASSEY (*Franklin*).

I am much indebted to this gentleman for presenting my petition, and for calling attention to Mr. Arnot Reid's statements as to the working of the Stage System on the Siberian Railways. Mr. Massey very naturally falls into the general belief that the Government are gradually adopting my system, and I have no doubt they think so too. As a matter of fact, they are working in exactly the opposite direction; but I will deal with this in a separate paper. The reductions promised in the Budget are on the plan proposed by the late Mr. Charles Waring in what he called a distance scale (See his work, "State Purchase of Railways," Chapman and Hall, 1887). The effect will be to increase passenger revenue for a while, to give no real relief to the country, and ultimately to injure the railway revenue. I attribute much of the loss now being made on our railways to the grotesque attempts the Government has made to appropriate the ideas contained in the Stage System. Long ago I pointed out that they could not make the two things fit one into the other.

Mr. Massey is right. If the system is tried, it is tried for the whole Colony; therefore the whole Colony should take the risk, if there is any, which I deny. I quite agree that neither I nor any set of citizens should be allowed to make a profit out of the railways of the country.

MR. LAWRY (*Parnell*)

says that the verdict of public opinion has denounced the Stage System "over and over again," and mentions the result of various election contests in support of his contention. As to the Waikato contests, all the older residents in that district know that Mr. J. B. White had to retire from his seat owing to his hostility to the Stage System. Then as to the contest between Mr. Thompson and myself. Mr. Thompson was declared to have won by 35 votes. 36 votes were thrown out, said to be informal, but which, when too late, I discovered were never examined by the returning officer. I also found out that 50 of my votes were stolen after they had passed through the ballot-box. Some of these are still in the hands of a legal firm, awaiting a "falling-out of thieves." I am extremely obliged to Mr. Frank Lawry for giving me this opportunity of throwing a little light on that piece of electioneering rascality. At any rate, it is quite certain that Mr. Thompson would have lost his seat by an overwhelming majority, had he not in the strongest manner pledged himself to support the Stage System. This I gratefully acknowledge he did, *until he became a Minister.*

As to the Parnell contest, that was not a contest between Mr. Lawry and myself, but between Mr. Lawry, Mr. Withy—who received the support of the Temperance Alliance, the Socialists, and the Single Taxers—and myself. I did not intend to contest any seat, and had refused to allow myself to be nominated for two. The Parnell electors were in a disagreeable position; they had to choose between Mr. Lawry and a young Socialist-Single-Taxer, and most of them hated both. Two men they relied on failed them, and strong pressure was then brought to bear to induce me to step into the gap.

I was announced as a candidate on the 14th of November, and the polling took place on the 4th of December. Thus I had only 17 days in which to fight a triangular contest. Had I had another 17 days, Mr. Frank Lawry's place in Parliament would have known him no more. His statement that this contest was fought "on that one particular fad of his" is absolutely untrue. I gave in all 14 addresses, and in not one of them did I attempt to deal with the railway question. Many people think that I lost the seat in consequence I feel that it is

quite derogatory to have to speak of these election matters, but, as the same argument has before been used against the Stage System, have thought it well to show what Mr. Lawry's statements are worth.

Mr. Lawry's silly talk about inducing people to travel when they do not require to do so is not worth replying to. It is on a par with the argument freely used when I was a boy, that the "common people" ought not to be taught to read, because, if they were, they would be sure to read bad books. Nice argument for a "Liberal" M.H.R.! Mr. Lawry evidently does not think his constituents fit to be trusted with a railway ticket, for fear they should play truant and use it wrongly.

Mr. Lawry asks why the Railway Companies of America have not adopted the new system. It is a sufficient reply to point out that in all the countries where it has been adopted, the Governments have found it necessary to buy out the companies, as both the United States and the United Kingdom will most certainly have to do.

MR. G. W. RUSSELL (*Riccarton*)

thinks as many others have done that I ought to have commenced with goods traffic instead of passengers, but he forgets that to make a large reduction in the charge for the transit of goods must at first and probably for years lead to a large reduction in revenue. What chance would a new system have that at its start made a severe financial loss? If I am wrong, then all the countries that have started the Zone System are wrong also. It is only by starting with passengers that the country can be saved from immediate loss.

As to the decreasing charge proposed by the Government, I will deal with that in another paper, and I think I shall be able to show that it is not so good as it appears to be. It is really only another form of differential rating in favour of the great cities. My plan is totally different in policy from Sir Joseph's proposition.

As to the risk of handing the control of a section of our railways over to me, I have no wish to boast—far from it—but I think I may say this: All I have ever asked for is power to control the financial policy that should govern the administration of this section, and I ask, will any man in the House or out of it say that I am not as competent to deal with this branch of the subject as the late Chief Commissioner, or any Minister of Railways who has held office during the last twenty years? It is because Mr. Russell and others do not properly distinguish between railway *management*, and the *policy* that should govern that management, that this difficulty arises with them. The policy is all I have pretended to know anything about. The *management* is the traffic manager's business; the *policy* is the Minister's.

Mr. G. W. Russell says, "Had Mr. Vaile adopted a conciliatory attitude; had he, instead of abusing everybody who differed from him, been reasonable to those whose business it was to criticize his proposals, *there would have been a trial of his scheme long ago.*" May I with all kindness point out what a poor compliment Mr. Russell here pays to the House of which he is a member? What in effect he says is this: That because some of these gentlemen think I have abused them (which I say is an unjust charge), in order to be revenged on me, they have not hesitated to inflict a most serious injury on the country; for he must remember that it is Parliament and the Government alone that can cause a trial of the new system to be made.

I am glad to see that Mr. Russell is among those who take the sensible view that this is not mine but the country's affair, and that, therefore, I ought not to be asked to give any guarantee. I am also glad to find that Mr. Russell sees with me as to the distributing effect the Stage System will have. I do not think a distance of 25 miles on either side a large town would be a fair test. To really test the system we must tap the far distant and most thinly populated country. The Auckland Section presents the most of this. It is more against me, and presents more difficulties than any other section; that is why I ask for it. I am not trying to work a fraud, but to confer a great benefit.

Mr. Russell is far from correct in saying that at each election contest I secured a less number of votes. I entered the Parnell contest, as I have shown, at 17 days' notice, more to keep the Socialist-Single-Taxer out than for any other purpose—in this I succeeded—and all Parnell knows that if I had had another fortnight, I would have kept Mr. Lawry out also. As it was, out of 3,740 votes recorded, he polled 1,770 and I polled 1,302. In my last contest I again entered the field at a fortnight's notice, and for much the same purpose, and I did so on the express understanding that I was not to be put to one shilling of expense, was not to canvass, nor to give addresses. I, however, did give two. As a matter of fact, only £25 was spent on my contest, yet I polled 2,456 votes. How many could have done as well under the circumstances? At my first election I only scored 708 votes, so at my last contest, under the most adverse circumstances, I polled nearly four times as many. So, judged by Messrs. Lawry and Russell's standard, we have the best evidence that the Stage System is growing immensely in popular favour.

MR. GEORGE FOWLDS (*Auckland City*).

This gentleman's ridiculous comparison between a house lift and a railway reminds me of his silly assertion that the single tax tenure is a freehold. There is just as much resemblance between the one thing as the other. He goes on to say, "He hoped that in deciding on the question of giving this system a trial the House and country would not be guided by any facts or figures put forward by Mr. Vaile, *because he (Mr. Fowlds)* had been compelled to test his figures and statements, and he had never found anyone who could so exaggerate and so misstate facts." He then quotes my statement that our railways last year did not earn their working expenses by £280,266, and goes on to say, "Still, of course, no sane man would accept those figures or believe there was any reliability about them His (Mr. Vaile's) statements were not to be taken as in any sense reliable. During many years he had investigated many statements made by Mr. Vaile, and he had *never* found his figures accurate or his statements correct."

It is difficult to imagine a man in the position of a member of Parliament descending so low as to speak thus of another man's work, without making the least attempt to prove the truth of his assertions. He says that for years he has examined my figures and had "*never*" found them "accurate."

Others, and far more competent, more widely known, and esteemed men than Mr. George Fowlds, have examined my figures and have publicly certified to their accuracy. Among them the first I remember is the late Mr. Whitaker, who formerly represented Waikato. He stated that he had examined my figures and found them "substantially correct." (I have made it a rule to avoid fractions as much as possible.) Then Mr. A. C. Fife, Accountant to the Railway Department, prepared a table which absolutely proves the correctness of all my more important figures and calculations. One of the best known mathematicians in the whole world, Professor Steadman Aldis, kindly checked over some very important figures of mine, which had been called in question, and in writing certified to their correctness; so did Captain W. C. Daldy; also a Committee of the Auckland Chamber of Commerce; also well-known professional accountants like Messrs. J. A. Connell, John Milne, and C. A. Jonas. With evidence like this against him, for Mr. George Fowlds to say that my figures are "*never*" correct, savours of something like insolence.

If Mr. Fowlds has made this grand discovery, is it not his duty to expose my error? Does not the country pay him to watch over its interests? I do not ask him for any mercy. I do not claim to be perfect, and it would be strange indeed, if in the vast cloud of figures I have placed before the public during the last twenty years, there were not some errors. But the fact remains that they have never been pointed out, although I have been keenly and closely watched.

I, too, have had occasion to examine some of Mr. Fowlds' figures and statements, and here are some of the results. In England Mr. Fowlds published a letter in which he stated without any qualification whatever, that the increase in the N.Z. Public Debt by £5,108,778 during the then four years of the Seddon administration had decreased the burdens of the people, because, he said. "The increase of debt has gone entirely in three directions—the conversion of previous loans at a premium to secure a lower rate of interest, the building of railways, and lending out money to farmers at a much lower rate of interest than they had previously been paying." Now, during this period, the total amount spent in building railways and in loans to settlers was £1,881,223. Consequently, Mr. Fowlds says that during this four years we spent £63,227,555 in converting loans, when the total capital value of the loans converted was considerably under £3,000,000. When this preposterous blunder was brought home to him, he had not the manliness to confess his error; but this could hardly be expected of a man who a few days previously had written thus of himself: "Now, if there is one thing on which I pride myself more than any other, it is the exactness of the facts and figures used by me in any public utterance." In one of his single tax contentions I also proved him to be £29,000,000 out in his statement of values. Mr. F. G. Ewington also has more than once shown Mr. Fowlds to be wildly astray in his figures. No Auckland man would trust them, excepting always the single taxers, who seem prepared to swallow anything their leaders say.

HON. MR. MCGOWAN (*Minister of Justice*).

This gentleman also talks of the danger to the country of allowing me to control a section of our railways. I have replied to this argument in my comments on Mr. G. W. Russell's speech, as I also have to the question of a guarantee. Mr. McGowan speaks of the demand made upon me as "*such a reasonable request*." I consider it as the most unreasonable one ever presented to any private citizen, and, as I have shown, it is one that the Department knew it was quite impossible for me to comply with.

I take exception to Mr. McGowan's statement that the introduction of the Stage System will depreciate the value of land near our great cities. No class of land will benefit so much; for it will enable all land within a radius of 30 miles to be brought in as suburban residence sites and for small market gardens, for which purposes land will pay a higher rental than for any other. I contend that from the city out the Stage System will

add value to every acre of land in the Colony.

MR. FLATMAN (*Geraldine*).

While I gratefully acknowledge that the Railways Committee listened to my statement with great attention, I must respectfully deny that "every opportunity was given me." I was not allowed to ask the officials any questions, nor did they question me. For instance, at the conclusion of my statement, I asked Mr. Ronayne if he would be good enough to inform the Committee how he expected the great loss he spoke of in trying the new system to arise. He was not allowed to reply. I was not informed that this was to be the position, and consequently was placed at a great disadvantage; for I had not come prepared with a full statement, and intended only making a short one, and trusting to question and answer for the rest. It was only the day before meeting the Committee that I accidentally found out the line of action the Department meant to adopt. Had I not made this discovery, I should have been completely thrown. As it was my only chance, I at once set to work and put as much information in my statement as possible, but I feel it was only a poor attempt (See Parliamentary Paper I. 6B, 1901). I do not think this was giving me "every opportunity."

As to being struck dumb on the question of framing a goods tariff, I think I have given a sufficient reply to that matter. I ask Mr. Flatman, does he really think I am so silly as to seek to be entrusted with a task I am unable to perform?

Mr. Flatman says, "Was it possible on the same line to carry passengers under one system, and goods under another? It could not be done. There would have to be trains for goods and special trains for passengers." This is a wonderful statement for a member of a Railways Committee to make. Surely Mr. Flatman should know that the perfection of railway working is to separate the goods from the passenger traffic. The wear and tear on a railway is in proportion to *the velocity at which weights are carried*. Therefore, good traffic managers seek to keep their lines fully employed during the day with their light coaching traffic, which must be sent at the highest velocities, and to work their heavy goods traffic by night, which then may be sent at low velocities. Much of our loss arises from the fact that we run so many mixed trains.

Mr. Flatman twits other members on their want of knowledge, and talks about Hungary; but he does not appear to know that for some years they worked their passenger traffic on the Zone System and their goods traffic on the old system. Nor does he seem to be aware that each time the Hungarians raised their passenger fares, their profit decreased.

Mr. Flatman says: "Any reasonable man would agree to make good any loss that might occur at a trial of the scheme." Why should I do this? Would the trial be for my special benefit? It would be for the benefit of the country; therefore the country should take the risk, of which I again affirm there will be none. The country has repeatedly expressed its willingness to take the risk, but the Department has always sought to force me into a position where it could easily ruin both me and my work.

MR. PALMER (*Ohinemuri*).

is quite right in saying that it would pay the Colony to raise a loan to test the new system, but I say no such loan is necessary, and that if the new system is honestly applied in the manner I suggest, it will pay a large and increasing profit, starting from the very first week.

MR. MCNAB (*Mataura*).

I have replied to all this gentleman said, in dealing with the speeches of other members.

MR. HERRIES (*Bay of Plenty*).

I am pleased to see that this gentleman also takes the right view of the so-called offer made to me. He also pointed out that I could not lay down a goods tariff, and that the Minister must have known this. "An Hon. Member" interrupted him with the question, "Did he (Mr. Vaile) have access to the books for the passenger traffic?" Mr. Herries rightly replied, "No." It however happens that this was not necessary, although Mr. Maxwell asserted that it was. As regards "ordinary passengers," all I required was to find out what was the relative proportion of first to second-class passengers, what was the average fare they paid, and what was the

average distance they travelled. All this I could, and did, get from the public records, and Mr. Fife's table absolutely proves that I solved this somewhat difficult problem safely and successfully. It also proves that Messrs. Maxwell and Hannay, with all the officers and records of the Department to help them, utterly failed to master it.

Give me the same information as regards the other items of coaching and goods traffic, and I will undertake to as successfully work out a tariff for these items; but I say it would be easy to prove that since the advent of Mr. Maxwell we have never had a General Manager who could do this. They knew all the difficulties, and hence their persistent attempt to force me into proposing a goods tariff without the necessary information to work upon. This unreasonable demand cannot be made, and is not made, in the public interest. It is made in the hope that through it the Stage System may be discredited and destroyed.

Mr. Herries suggests that I should be appointed Traffic Manager of the Auckland Section. I should hardly like to take the responsibility of this position, seeing that I do not understand traffic management; but possibly some arrangement might be made by which I could be associated with the Traffic Manager. All that I ask for is such a position as will enable me to see that the experiment is faithfully carried out, and that the new system is not ruined by pretended improvements by men who have given such emphatic proof that they know nothing at all about it.

Mr. Herries is quite right in saying that no business man could possibly look at the so-called offer made by the Minister. This is merely a repetition of that made in 1888—with another impossible condition thrown in—and I repeat that Messrs. Maxwell and Hannay then knew as well as I did that it was absolutely impossible for me and my friends to comply with the conditions laid down. Had I last year been allowed to question Mr. Ronayne, it would have taken me a very few minutes to make him admit that this was the case.

To show that this talk about the immense cost of the rolling stock is all bunkum, I may mention that the charge in the United Kingdom between the various companies, one with the other, for the use of each other's rolling stock is as follows:—1st class passenger carriages, $\frac{3}{4}$ d. per mile; 2nd and 3rd class, $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per mile; every other class of vehicle, $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per mile. These charges are of course for the use of the whole vehicle, and not per passenger or per ton.

A trial on the Manawatu line would not test the system. It does not tap sufficient sparsely-populated country. I do not want it to be said that a section was selected that gave the Stage System an undue advantage. I am not a bit afraid of it on the most unfavourable one.

MR. BARCLAY (*Dunedin City*).

I am glad to see that Mr. Barclay also looks upon this as a National and not a personal question. He correctly points out that we have run greater risks in our experimental legislation, and I may ask could we run as much risk of loss in trying this system, if it is put in force in the manner I propose, as we shall run in working State coal mines, or State fire insurance? Time will show. Mr. Barclay appears to have a much better grip of what has been done in Hungary than most men, and I feel much indebted to him for placing that matter so clearly before the House.

THE VOTING.

Out of a House of 74 members, 27 voted for, and 34 against, a trial of the Stage System, and 13 did not record their votes. Out of the 14 Auckland members, 9 voted for a trial, 3—Mr. F. Lawry (Parnell), Mr. R. Thompson (Marsden), and Hon. J. McGowan (Thames)—voted against a trial. Mr. J. Bollard and Sir Maurice O'Rorke did not record their votes. Sir Maurice was, I believe, in Auckland at the time. It is gratifying to me to find so many of my fellow-colonists giving me their support. I tender them my grateful thanks. If I had had the same opportunities of explaining the Stage System in the South that I have had in Auckland, it would have been running long ago.

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

I should like to draw special attention to the fact that, during the whole of this debate, neither the Minister nor any of his followers attempted in any way to refute the statements made in the petition that gave rise to it, as to the manipulation of the Railway Accounts and the enormous loss that is now taking place.

Taking the last three years, with interest on loans at only 4 per cent.—the Hon. J. Cadman says we pay $4\frac{1}{4}$

per cent.—and the account taken in precisely the same manner in each year, this is how it works out:—

In addition to this heavy loss, there must be added the amount credited to railway revenue as "Revenue received by the Railway Department from other Government Departments." This amount is not given for the years 1900 and 1901, but it is for 1902, and is stated at £71,593. This brings the loss for that year up to £1,007,095.

I challenge the accurate Mr. George Fowlds to disprove the truth of this statement, and I say that it is not to the credit of a city like Auckland that it should be represented by a man who, when he is confronted by a statement which so seriously affects its interests as this does, contents himself with the assertion that Mr. Vaile's figures are "never accurate." It is his duty to prove them to be inaccurate if he can, but he knows well that he cannot, and therefore deals in assertions only.

I may mention in passing that the *Gazette* returns for the first sixteen weeks of the current year show a further falling off in net revenue of £21,233, as compared with the corresponding period of last year. Let me again draw attention to the fact that throughout the whole debate there was no attempt whatever made to dispute my statement as to the serious loss made. It may, therefore, be assumed that the Department admits that my statement is correct.

Samuel Vaile.

AUCKLAND,

Sept. 22, 1902.

The Postal and Other Systems as applied to Railway Administration.

AT the present moment there are two systems of Railway Administration actively at work in the world, and there are four under discussion.

Of the two actively at work, the English System was the universal system up to the 1st of August, 1889, when the Hungarian Zone System came into force in that country, just five years and seven months after I had placed the Stage System before the New Zealand public.

THE ENGLISH SYSTEM,

or rather no-system, with its many defects and injustices, is too well known to require any comment from me. Those who wish to know what a powerful engine for oppression and robbery it is, have only to study the British Royal Commissions and the Hepburn and other Commissions of America. Indeed, they need not go out of this country; for a short time ago, when £75,000 was expended in the reduction of goods rates, £57,000 of this went to Canterbury and Otago, and the whole of the Auckland Province only obtained £2,700.

THE ZONE SYSTEM.

This is said to be an adaptation of our Stage System. So far, this system has given good financial results; but it appears to me that the social effects have been anything but good. During the time it has been running, the population of Budapest has increased over 50 per cent. When the population of a country becomes piled up in a few centres, not only is a bad social state produced, but railway revenue must also suffer. It may be remembered that before the Hungarians commenced to work the Zone System, I pointed out that this state of things would arise in that country. (See *N.Z. Herald*, 20th July, 1889.)

The four systems under discussion are the Postal System, Free Railway Travel, the Stage System, and the Distance Scale.

THE POSTAL SYSTEM, OR UNIVERSAL FARE.

Of the proposed systems of railway administration, probably the Postal System commends itself to more people than any other. It is so natural to say: See what an immense amount of good has been done by making universal rates for letters, papers, and parcels—why not do the same with passenger fares and goods rates? For many reasons. The Post and the Railway are so dissimilar that they never can be worked on the same plan.

What people require in the shape of mail service can be, and to a large extent is, carried out by men on foot. Railway service can only be carried on by means of the iron road, and ponderous rolling stock. The man on foot with his letter can penetrate anywhere. The steam engine can only go where the rail is constructed. A ton of half-ounce letters would pay, £298 14s. 4d. when delivered. How many tons are there carried on a railway that could pay such a price?

In the postal service the average weight of the package to be delivered is so small that it was easy to fix the charge so low as to be within the reach of everybody. With the railway, on the contrary, the average weight is so large that we could not fix the average charge low enough to prevent all the short distance traffic from being wiped out of existence. For instance, in this country the average passenger fare is 1s. 8d. Suppose we took this down to one-half, and the goods rate, which is 6s. 8d., also to one-half, say 10d. and 3s. 4d. respectively, could the short distance traffic be maintained?

It is quite certain that under the Postal or Universal Fare System, the average charge would have to be fixed so low that it would be necessary to maintain the railways out of general taxation, instead of being both constructed and maintained out of revenue, as I contend they can be. The increased burden of taxation the Postal System would entail would be so heavy, and its incidence so unequal, that no community would put up with it. If those owning property or residing near railways were to have their transit services provided for them practically free, what is to become of those owners and residents who have no railways in their districts? They would have to provide for their own transit services, and consequently their property would sink in value, and their districts become depopulated. Under this system it is quite certain that railways could not be made to pay their working expenses, probably not one-fourth of them.

The social effects of the present "no-system" have been bad, very bad—those of the Postal System would be far worse. It must of necessity mean far greater concentration in the cities. If people or goods could go for the same price anywhere, would not most people live in the cities? Most certainly, very few women and children would reside in the country. It would simply mean greater concentration of people, of opportunities, of wealth.

FREE RAILWAY TRAVEL.

All the objections that apply to the Postal System apply with still greater force to free travel. Under it we should soon set up the worst form of absentee landlordism. If people could travel everywhere for nothing, how little inducement there would be for owners to reside on their farms! Soon nearly all these would fall into the hands of managers, while their owners and families would reside in the towns. When we remember the numerous advantages the town has over the country in matters of house-keeping, education, social intercourse, amusements, etc., how could we expect the women and children to reside on the farms when they could go to them, or send goods to them, whenever they liked, for nothing? The inevitable result must be great separation of husbands and wives, which is an immense social evil, and much greater concentration of population in the cities, out of which our greatest social evils arise.

Again, what would be the effect on industrial enterprise and the development of the country? At first sight this appears easy. People say, naturally enough: why, if you can go or send to any point for nothing, it must assist development. Quite so, if you could do this, but all it would mean is that you could send to any point within districts where railways were constructed, and every other district would be practically shut up, and those residing in them would have to pay their full share of the taxation which provided means of transit for their more fortunate neighbours. Those outside districts would of course demand railways, but if railways are not to produce any revenue, where is the money to construct and work them to come from? It is not likely that the districts already served, and which must contain nearly the whole of the population, would tax themselves for this purpose.

After the closest study, I fail to discover any good thing in either the Postal System or Free Transit as applied to Railways.

THE STAGE SYSTEM.

This system differs totally from every other system either in existence or suggested. It is the only system in which the location of population is taken into account. The only thing in common with it and the Zone System is that they are both of them Stage Systems. It differs from all these systems also in the fact that it is meant to, and must act, as a distributing and not as a centralizing influence, as all other systems do. This was the main object I had in view when designing it. When working among and studying the condition of the poor of London and Manchester, I was much impressed with the great evils produced by the overcrowding of the great cities. I saw clearly enough that most of the evil could be got rid of, if a large proportion of our workers could have

even only a small plot of land about them, but how to effect this I could not then see, nor did I then know that our railways were responsible for nearly the whole of the mischief.

When, however, I came to study the railway system, a new light dawned, I saw that the system of charging "tolls" of so much per mile acted as regards compelling people to live within a certain area precisely the same as if a toll bar were actually erected at every mile, and I set to work to remove these toll bars; for I was convinced that it was these that are responsible for the overcrowding, and that the overcrowding is responsible for the poverty.

As I write, a letter from Earl Grey lies before me. In it he says: "*The great problem of modern civilization is how to distribute our town population over the country.*" This is true, and this is the problem I have set myself to solve, with what success time will show. Personally I have no fear of the result. As regards these young countries I do not expect it to reduce our larger cities; this is not necessary; but I do expect it to prevent their too rapid growth. Our chief cities are all seaport towns, through which the trade and commerce of the country must flow, and I expect the Stage System to have such an effect in settling the country and developing its resources and trade that our seaport towns must also share in the general prosperity, and grow much beyond their present size. All we want is for things to be in something like just proportion.

Another reason why the present system piles the population up in the great cities is that the rating for passengers and goods is *all made permanently in their favour and against the country*. I propose to make the rating *temporarily in favour of the country*. Perhaps I shall best explain the difference between the two systems by the aid of the following diagrams.

PRESENT SYSTEM.

In nearly every country except New Zealand (and they would have put it in force here if they had dared) where this system prevails, it is the custom to charge for 15 miles round the great cities one-half the rate per mile for passenger fares that is charged for the same distance starting from any point in the country. The excuse for doing this is that it develops the suburban traffic, 15 miles being called the suburban area. Take New South Wales as an example, and it works out thus:— Rail distance scale

The rates quoted are for second class return fares, and it should be remembered that in going to or from the country, or for travelling in the country, the fare is charged at the rate of one penny and five-hundredths per mile for the whole distance. No allowance is made for the lesser rate round the city. New South Wales favours the country more than most places, but it will be seen that even there the rate charged for travelling in the country is just about double the rate charged near town. This is what acts as a perpetual incubus on the country districts. Not only does it bar the development of the country, and inflict a cruel injustice on our farmers and producers, but it destroys railway revenue by slowly but surely decreasing the average distance people and goods travel, by destroying large numbers of small trading centres, and thus reducing the average rates paid. This, I hold, is the real reason why railways as a rule pay such miserable dividends. If conducted on sound principles, railway business ought to be the most profitable business in the world.

How all this would be changed under the Stage System, the following diagram will explain:— Rail distance scale

A comparison of these two diagrams will show that the principle of rating is exactly the reverse. In the present system the lowest rate per mile is charged at the city end of the lines, and this is a permanent protection given to the great cities. It has been done ever since railways were first constructed, and the effect undoubtedly has been to mass up the population and wealth in these cities.

Under the Stage System this would be reversed. It will be seen that the lowest rates per mile are charged in the most thinly populated country districts, but it must be remembered that this is merely a *temporary* protection given to these sparsely populated localities. As their population became more dense, the length of their stages would be proportionately shortened, and thus the rate per mile gradually increased, until ultimately it would be the same all over the country.

For particulars as to how these changes are to be carried out, see my work, "Social Problems," page 25—Upton & Co., Auckland.

Another distinctive and most valuable feature of the Stage System is its extreme simplicity. Anyone able to understand the Postal Guide could easily interpret the whole tariff, both for goods and passengers. There would be but four classes for goods, and one additional for dangerous goods. There would also be only four different classes of ordinary passenger tickets, instead of the many thousands there are now. These, as also stamps for parcels, would be procurable anywhere where postage stamps are sold. I rely on this simplicity of the system almost as much as its cheapness to help the development of railway traffic.

We have now to consider the

DISTANCE SCALE,

which Sir Joseph Ward proposes to adopt. So far as I am aware, the late Mr. Charles Waring was the first to propose this plan, in his work on the "State Purchase of Railways," a copy of which he was good enough to send to me. I could not see how he was to reduce the idea to practical working, and wrote to him for an explanation. Unfortunately, he died before my letter reached home. What is proposed is this (again taking second-class passenger fares to illustrate): Rail distance scale

This is going from the City to the Country Districts, but going to the City from the Country, *or for travelling in the country*, this is how it would work: Rail distance scale

I fail to see that this gives any relief to the country districts. It certainly does not, as appears at first sight, give the country any advantage over the city. It is simply another differential rating in favour of the great cities—one more inducement to "visit the capital." I await with some interest the issue of the new fare-table. This Distance Scale is one of those things which appear so eminently just and easy on the face, but will not bear close looking into.

MY PROTEST.

In the most emphatic manner I enter my protest against the Stage System being put in force as regards every branch of traffic *at one and, the same time*. I have always objected to this. It is not fair to the system. It is not fair to the various districts of the Colony. No one having any knowledge of the subject and wishing to act fairly could have suggested so doing. *This proposition was made by the Department, which in the strongest manner has from first to last insisted on this course being adopted.*

To anybody able to deal with this subject, it must be quite clear that their object was if possible to create a loss, and by stirring up local jealousies, to delay a trial taking place. The only safe and fair way is to apply it in the manner I have indicated in my remarks on the speech of the Hon. Sir Joseph Ward.

MY APPEAL.

I desire to convey my sincere and heartfelt thanks to those Hon. members of the House who have given me such powerful support. I feel deeply grateful to them, and I venture to express the hope that in next session many other members will be found voting with them. I direct their earnest attention to the fact that, during the last three years, the loss on our railways has risen from £348,995 to £1,007,095. That is to say, it has nearly trebled in this short time. Surely we need a change. For now twenty years I have striven earnestly to reform our railway administration. So far without any good result. No doubt my work has had some influence in reducing railway charges, but that is far from being all that is wanted. *Nothing will affect any real good that does not afford substantial help to the thinly populated districts*, and I earnestly appeal to the members of Parliament and to my fellow citizens generally not to allow this, the great distinctive feature of the new system, to be tampered with.

I am well aware that, if it falls into the hands of the Department, every effort will be made to alter it in this respect, and that is the reason why I am so anxious for it to be tried while I am here to watch over it.

My contention is, and always has been, that by means of the Stage System the railway revenue can be enormously increased. I place that increase at not less than one and a quarter million (£1,250,000) per annum. (See Parliamentary Paper, D—7, pp. 4 to 7.)

It has always seemed to me an absolute absurdity to suppose that a virtual monopoly of the inland carrying trade of a country cannot be made to pay a reasonable rate of interest on the capital cost of the plant employed. There must be, and is, something wrong in the business policy pursued. The fault is that the present system gives no real encouragement to settlement in the far country, as the diagram given above will show.

We now have the Railways Minister's express statement, twice made, that the new system will enormously increase the railway traffic, and that to such an extent that we could not find rolling stock to cope with it. What more do we want? What more could I say in favour of the new system? Its warmest advocates could not possibly say more than this. Where is this enormous expansion of railway traffic to come from? It can only come from a development of the trade, commerce, resources, and by no means the least blessing, the social intercourse of the country. The Minister also says everybody wants it tried. Why, then, should it not be tried? Surely the more men we can keep employed building rolling stock the better.

Anyone who wants to know what a railway conducted on sound principles can do for a country has only to read some of the recent books on Siberia, and notice the extraordinary development that has taken place in that country since the introduction of the Stage System. There you can travel thousands of miles at the rate of a shilling per hundred miles—just the rate that I proposed here twenty years ago. It is true that that is my

first-class fare, while it is their third; but it must be remembered that in Russia you can travel thousands of miles at that rate (and experience shows that it pays well), while here you could rarely travel one hundred. In Siberia, too, their railways cost about £10,000 per mile more than ours have cost.

By means of this railway, nearly 19,000,000 acres of land have been occupied. In 1899 they exported 144,000 lbs. of butter; two years later they exported 1,080,000 lbs. And this progress has been made in a country where only 3 per cent, of the people can read and write!

What would have been the position of this country if the Stage System had been introduced here as it ought to have been 15 or 18 years ago? A million of money expended now would not advertise it as well as that would have done; to say nothing of the otherwise great development that must have taken place. Knowing as I do how much the country has lost through the want of knowledge or selfishness of our railway officials, is it any wonder that I resent their action?

In conclusion, let me say that no one can be so conscious as I am of having committed many errors in the method of carrying out this agitation. Still, my task has not been an easy one, and I have done my best. Let me hope others will do theirs.

Samuel Vaile.

AUCKLAND,

Sept. 22, 1902.

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The Railways of New Zealand

Paper read before the Congress of new Zealand Chambers of Commerce, 4th February, 1902,
By Samuel Vaile, of Auckland.

Letter to Sir Joseph Ward

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.—In 1882 I invented the "Stage System of railway administration, and placed it before the public on the 3rd January, 1883.

From the first the Department offered the most determined opposition to the new system being tried.

In 1886 a special Parliamentary Committee was set up to investigate my proposals. After an inquiry extending over nearly ten weeks they reported that the new system ought to be tried. This Committee was a powerful one, comprising the ex-Premier, the Minister for Railways, three ex-Ministers of Railways, and five other well-known M.H.R.'s. (See Parliamentary Paper, 1—9, 1886.)

In 1889, in an altered and much spoilt form, this system was put in force on the Hungarian Railways under the name of the Zone System.

In September last year (1901), I went to Wellington to give evidence before the Railway Committee. This evidence and the Report of the General Manager of our Railways thereon forms Parliamentary Paper I—6B, 1901.

The letter to Sir Joseph Ward, Minister for Railways, is my reply to Mr. Ronayne's statement.

Despairing of reforming our railway administration by other means, I have felt it my duty to place the true position of our railways before the public, and therefore prepared the following paper:—

The Past, Present, and future of our Railways

By Samuel Vaile, of Auckland.

Read before the Congress of the new Zealand Chambers of Commerce at Wellington, on the 4th of February, 1902.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—

When we consider the vast influence railways have on the trade and commerce of any country where they exist it is wonderful how little attention Chambers of Commerce devote to them. It does not appear, even now, to be generally understood, that the development of the trade, commerce and industrial enterprise of any

country depends absolutely on its transit facilities.

And by transit facilities is more and more meant railway transit facilities. Vast as is the importance of ocean transit it is as nothing compared with railway transit. If anyone doubts the truth of this statement, let him reflect on the fact that the total tonnage of the combined steam and sailing fleet engaged in the home and foreign trade of the United Kingdom in 1898 was 9,080,728 tons, and that if we take this at an all-round price of £16 per ton it will only amount to £145,291,648 while at the same date the paid-up capital of its railways was one thousand one hundred and thirty-four millions four hundred and sixty-eight thousand pounds (£1,134,468,000), or, say, nearly a thousand millions more than its shipping interest.

If we apply the same test to our own little country we shall find that the value of its shipping is but £2,200,000, while that of its railways is over £18,000,000, say, nine times as much more, and one requiring close application and study, more as its shipping.

This being the case, gentlemen, it does astonish me that the Chambers of Commerce here and elsewhere have devoted so little attention to the important question of the

Policy that should Govern the Construction and Administration of Railways.

There are many reasons for this. The men who compose these Chambers are busy men. The subject is an abstruse and complicated one, one that 110 men would take up for amuse-

Note.—On page 2, the tenth line from the bottom has been misplaced. This line should precede the first line of page 3.

study and time than most business men can give to any question not directly affecting their own particular business.

The object of my present paper is to endeavour to create a deeper interest in the railway question, to place very briefly before the Chambers of Commerce of New Zealand the creation, rise, and present position of our railway investment, and to throw out a few hints as to the principles that should govern the construction and administration of our railways in the future.

I have no intention of pressing on your notice, or again on this occasion, alluding to the Stage System. That will take care of itself; it is fast spreading over the world, and will come here in time. What I want to do, is to place clearly before this Congress the real position of our railway investment, to point out the causes of its failure, and to suggest how the position may be improved.

Having had to prepare this paper at very short notice, I have not found time to dig up the ancient history of the earliest efforts at railway construction in this country, suffice it to say, that prior to 1870, short bits of railway had been commenced in Auckland, Canterbury and Otago. These the Government took over at a total valuation of £1,104,281 $\frac{2}{5}$. I hope for the sake of the credit of the colony that this $\frac{2}{5}$ was duly paid.

Our Government scheme of railway construction dates from the year 1870. The credit of the inception of this measure is due to Sir Julius Vogel. It was a grand scheme, and had it been honestly and faithfully carried out, we should have received far greater benefits from it than we have done.

All who are engaged in business pursuits, whether professional, trading or manufacturing, know this,—that, having our establishments as regards premises, plant, stock and assistants, in working order, that we could easily carry on increased operations of from 50 to 100 per cent, at a very small increase in working expenses.

We also know that if we largely increased the capital invested; that we should expect the increased capital to yield a profitable return, otherwise we should not introduce it.

I propose to show that, tried by these well-known business standards, our railways are a most miserable commercial failure. I shall further prove that their boasted recent successful administration amounts to a fraud, and that they never paid so badly as they have done during the last three years, the year 1900-1901 being the worst failure of all, although in that year by far the largest carrying trade was done.

On the 31st March last we had 2,212 miles of working railways. These cost us £17,207,328, and lines unopened £1,022,729, say, £18,230,000 in all. Desperate, and, in my opinion, unprincipled, efforts have been made to prove that this investment has given a return or over three per cent., and it is claimed that last year they paid £3 $\frac{9}{8}$ per cent. I shall easily prove that all they earned was £1 $\frac{10}{-}$ per cent., and I fully expect that for the current year they will not earn more than from 18/ to £1 per cent.

Knowing that our English creditors regard our railways, as our most valuable paying asset, I have hesitated to expose their utter failure, and the deceptive—indeed, I may say fraudulent—manner in which the railway accounts are made up. It, however, being now fully evident that the Government and the Department are determined that no alteration in the system pursued shall be made if they can help it, and that the real position is being carefully concealed, I think it is my duty to point out the danger that is hanging over us. I invite careful attention to what follows.

For the six years prior to the appointment of the Railway Commissioners, our railways paid an average rate of £2 8/1 per cent, per annum. So far as the records show, and I can find out, this rate, though small, was honestly earned out of revenue, and it is the highest rate they have ever earned. As I shall prove, the increased rates said to have been earned since then, have been made to appear by a very gross manipulation of the public accounts.

The late irresponsible commissioners took charge of our railways in January, 1889, and retired in January, 1895. From their appointment dates the "Starving" of our railways, and the practice of charging to capital account items that ought to have been, and previously had been, charged to revenue account. It was they who opened the account, "Additions to Open Lines." By the aid of £73,518 so obtained, "starving" and not charging interest on amounts spent on "Unopened Lines," they contrived to show that they earned an average rate of £2 14/3 per cent. as against the former £2 8/1. For this fictitious extra 6/2 per cent., we have had to pay most smartly. Prior to the reign of these gentlemen the law provided that interest must be charged on the cost of all lines opened and unopened, but we placed these commissioners above all law and they did as they pleased.

I have always considered the placing our railways under an irresponsible commission as an act of madness, and it is unquestionable that from that period dates the destruction of our railways, and the decrease in their profitable working. Prior to their appointment there were no votes for "Additions to Open Lines." The items so charged were paid for out of revenue.

In January, 1895, the present Government took charge of our railways and the old position was reverted to. I want to draw your particular attention to the fact that for two years after this Government resumption the account "Additions to Open Lines" disappears, then in 1897 (the Government having passed an Amendment Act to enable them to do as the Commissioners had done) it reappears and rapidly increases, as the following table will show.

Well, gentlemen, if this is not "cooking" the public accounts, I do not know the meaning of that expressive slang term. You will see how cleverly it has been made to appear that in each succeeding year an increasing rate of interest has been earned, and we all know of the loud boasting about the successful railway administration of the last few years, but when we look into the matter, we find that the rate of interest earned has rapidly decreased, until from £2 12/2 per cent, in 1897 it fell to £1 10/- in 1901.

Taking interest on our loans at A per cent., the loss on our railways last year was £455,750. Is it any wonder that our taxation has increased during the last two years 6/3 per head.

But, gentlemen, the deception practised in the railway accounts is not all that is involved in this matter. Many people have wondered

Where the Rt. Hon. Mr. Seddon's Surpluses came from.

It is quite clear that they were obtained by this manipulation of the Railway account. As I have shown above, during the last five years the Government has charged to Railway Capital Account £944,769 which ought to have been charged to Revenue Account; and have incurred a further liability of over £400,000, to cover which and help the rate of interest up, they last session took another vote for "Additions to Open Lines" of £675,000. It is manifest that if these items had been rightly charged, that instead of a surplus, there must have been a very large deficiency. The expenditure on this account for the current year is almost certain to exceed half a million, for as I have already stated there is the liability of £400,000 to be provided for, and also the quarter million surplus which the Right Hon. the Premier promises us.

As the charges I have made against the Government and the Railway Department are very serious, it will be as well to apply a few more tests as to their accuracy.

As business men, we all know that if the proportion of gross revenue of our various establishments consumed in working expenses is constantly increasing there must be something wrong with the management. Let us apply this test and see.

What it Costs to Earn each £100.

Take the six years prior to the appointment of the Railway Commissioners and we find that the average cost was £66 0/8 for each £100.

Then, under the Commissioners, for six years, by means of "starving" and charging £73,618 to Capital instead of Revenue Account, they contrived to reduce this to £61 4/4.

Then the Government resumed control, and for two years without any charge to "Additions to Open Lines," the cost was £62 10/8 per £100.

The last five years deserve a little more careful attention. So rapid has been the increase in the cost of working, that it has attracted the attention of the financial journals in London.

In 1892, notwithstanding that £64,716 was charged to Capital that ought to have been charged to Revenue, the cost of earning each £100 was £61 7/-.

In 1898, £156,732 was charged to Capital Account instead of Revenue, yet the cost rose to £62 6/-.

In 1899, £179,932 was charged to Capital instead of Revenue, and the cost of earning each £100 rose to £63 5/2.

In 1900, £218,357 was charged to Capital, but the cost of earning each £100 again rose to £64 16/-.

In 1901, £325,032 was again wrongly charged to Capital, but notwithstanding this the cost of earning each £100 of revenue rose again to £65 6/-.

Thus we see that after five years' of the present Government's administration of our railways, notwithstanding the fact that they charged £944,769 to Capital instead of Revenue Account, their Working Expenses have increased £4 1/8 per cent.

As I have already said, the indications for this year are that we shall have a still worse result.

If this is successful railway working, then I do not know the meaning of the word failure. I wish to draw attention to the fact that notwithstanding the rapid and enormous increase in the charges to Capital Account, the percentage of Working Expenses to Revenue just as rapidly increases also. Nothing could more clearly prove that the system pursued is radically wrong. I now produce a Table showing for the last five years the Increase in Passenger and Goods Traffic over each preceding year; and also the Increase in Working Expenses.

I invite your special attention to the rapid and enormous increase in this account. What there can be in the increase ill traffic to require this huge increase in working expenses is more than I can imagine.

I should like, gentlemen, also to direct your attention to the enormous

Increase in the number of Railway Employees.

In 1888 we had 1,758 miles of railway, and these employed 4,389 men in all. This was equal to two and a-half (2½) men per mile.

In 1894, the last whole year of the Commissioners we had 1,948 miles and 4,920 men, or slightly over 2½ (2.52) men per mile.

Last year we had 2,212 miles and 7,793 men, or a trifle over (3.52) men per mile. Last year 557 men were added to the railway staff. It appears to me that this excessive increase is altogether unwarranted, and it is no doubt one great cause of the increase in working expenses.

It will be as well to ascertain what we have gained, by the large increase in our Railway Working Expenses and the £1,018,387 charged to Capital by the Commissioners and the Government, and I shall have no difficulty in proving that our lines are

Worse furnished with Rolling Stock now than they were 13 years ago.

That is the year before the Commissioners took charge, and I again "repeat that it is they who are mainly responsible for the present position, for they it was who introduced the practices that have led to this deplorable result.

In 1888 we had One Engine to every 6½ (6.49) miles of railway.

In 1888 One Passenger Car to every 3½ (3.44) miles.

In 1888 Over 4½ (4.63) Trucks per mile.

In 1901 we have

1 Engine to every (7.25) miles.

1 Passenger Car to every 3¾ (3.67) miles.

5 Trucks (4.92) to every mile.

This is the real position after the Government alone claim to have expended £659,693—to say nothing of the £400,000 liability on new rolling stock. That such a state of things can exist is nothing short of amazing. It seems incredible that, after this vast expenditure our lines should be worse furnished with rolling stock than they were 13 years ago, and the question naturally arises, What has become of the money?

I now propose, gentlemen, to speak very briefly on the

Causes of this Lamentable Failure.

First I place the system of administration pursued. This Professor R. T. Ely has more correctly described as "Our abominable no-system of railway." Years ago, writing of it I said, "The whole present railway system has been cradled in fraud and reared in corruption, and there will be no real lasting progress in the world until it is

entirely swept away." To this statement after further years of study I adhere. We must reform our administration.

Next we must be more just as regards our railway expenditure and railway charges. Our railways can only prosper as they are worked in the interests of the whole community. We are far too small for any portion of our community alone to support them.

Let us take a look at the way our railway

Mileage in Proportion to Population

has been distributed.

Including the little scattered bits at Kawakawa, Kaihu and Whangarei, and taking no account of the thirty or forty thousand Maoris who are now large users of the railways,

- Auckland has 1 mile to every 465½ souls.
- Wellington, Napier and Taranaki 1 mile to 476.
- Canterbury and Otago 1 mile to 266½.
- West land, 1 mile to 11½.
- Nelson, 1 mile to 1,148.
- Picton, 1 mile to 684½.

This distribution is certainly not in the interests of the whole colony, and the money expenditure is still more unfair. I fail to see what good can be done to the colony by concentrating so much of the public expenditure south of the Nelson province.

Nor is it in the matter of railway construction only that the distribution is unfair. The same evil exists in railway charges. By means of various expedients known to railway men, certain districts are favoured at the expense of others. Thus, in 1900, Canterbury and Otago obtained in remission of railway charges £57,775, Wellington, Napier and Taranaki between them obtained £11,872, and all that fell to Auckland's share was £2,727. The whole South Island obtained £61,012, and the North Island £15,009. I could give many other examples of how some districts are favoured and others oppressed, but the above will suffice.

The question arises

How can we Improve the Position?

and here let me say that we ought never again to entertain the idea of appointing a rail way commission. If we had not taken that unwise step, much of this present trouble would never have arisen.

Parliamentary control is the only right control. We can get rid of a Parliament, but a Commission must stay out its time, and even then it is very difficult to move. Australia will find this out to its cost. I consider the colony owes a debt of gratitude to the present Ministry for abolishing the Railway Commission.

I think that one of our first steps towards improvement should be to insist on the railway accounts being brought under the control of the Auditor-General. I do not understand how it is, or why it is, that the vast sums of money passing through this department are allowed to be dealt with practically without inspection or control.

Then we must learn to deal more justly by each other, and insist; on a more equal distribution of railway facilities. We ought to be able to rise above our petty provincial jealousies and work for the good of the whole colony. One of the chief reasons why our railways do not pay better is the shameful way in which the Northern end of the colony has been treated in the matter of railway construction and charges. We have made great sacrifices for the benefit of the whole Empire. Cannot we make some small ones for the benefit of our own country?

Then we must have a simple and fixed railway tariff. One that can be read and understood by anyone. I speak with knowledge when I say that there is no reason whatever why this should not be done. The only obstacle is the fixed determination of the chief officials to maintain the secrecy and mystery that now surrounds railway working. They will not until they are forced, part with the power which this secrecy and mystery gives them. By it they can help one district and depress another. For instance, last year the average charge for carrying and delivering each ton in Canterbury and Otago was the same as the previous year. In Wellington they were reduced 1d. per ton and in Auckland raised 3d. per ton. I may mention in passing that for months past our railways have been run without any printed tariff.

What we really want

is a truly national transit system, one that shall meet the wants and requirements of the whole people. Our system does not provide for the wants of one-fourth of the community, hence its failure, financially and socially.

We want, and must have, a system that will develop the trade that lies hidden among the great bulk of the people.

We want, and badly want, cheap transit, but we want far more, an equalisation of transit charges, on a fair and just basis.

We want a system that will open up, not close, our great producing districts, a system that will enable the distant farmer or miner to bring or send his produce to or from market without having all his profits eaten up in transit charges.

We want a system that will enable the city artisan, clerk or labourer to make use of his special knowledge or strength in a town or district 100 or 300 miles away from the city he may now happen to find himself jammed up in.

We want a system that will enable the invalids of our poorer classes to visit our health resorts. It is a cruel injustice these people are subject to.

We want a system that shall attract population to our shores, and promote settlement of our land: a system that shall make the barren lands of this country able to contribute their fair share of taxation, and so relieve the pressure of the heavy burden that now rests on a few only.

In conclusion, gentlemen, let me say that the present ruinous loss on our railway investment is maintained solely in the interests of the chief railway officials and their friends, and I again say that it would be quite easy to add another million to our railway revenue without materially increasing the working expenses.

Samuel Vaile.

Auckland,

January, 1902.

During the brief discussion that followed the reading of this paper, the question was raised, Whether it was right to charge interest on sums expended on lines still under construction? I replied that prior to the appointment of the Railway Commissioners it was both law and custom to do so, and I believe that law is still in existence. Someone disputed this, but a reference to *Hansard* of 3rd September, 1885, will prove that I am right. The then Minister had not charged interest on lines under construction. I pointed this out, and as a consequence he had to ask leave "to lay on the table an amended statement of the profit obtained," etc., and said that the error "has been pointed out to me through the press by Mr. Vaile, of Auckland." This should be conclusive.

In India the practice is to charge the railways revenue account not only with interest on the amount expended on lines open, and under construction, but also on the unexpended balances of all sums appropriated for railway purposes. (See Indian Railway Report for 1900, Part I., page 5.)

My paper is comparative, and, of course, I could not show the relative position of profit in this, and former periods, except by taking the account in the same manner throughout. Had my object been to make out a case against the present Ministry, I could have done much more. For instance:—

Prior to 1896 all the numerous host of Government officials were carried free, so were the mails, and all the material used in railway construction or other Government work. Now, these are all charged for as ordinary traffic, and this very elastic item goes to swell the railway dividend. In 1895 they estimated these services at £38,500; since then they have not condescended to tell us what they consider them worth—I suspect the amount would surprise us.

There is another railway account that wants looking into, and that is "Refunds." Its precise nature I have not succeeded in finding out, but I understand it is for sums returned to users when they have been overcharged, and for rebates given to large users, "Special Rates for Quantities." In other words, differential rates to the wealthy.

In 1895 these amounted to £92,092. In 1896, to £91,298.

In 1897, to £98,245. In 1898, to £98,889; In 1889, to £95,946. In 1900, to £115,107. In 1901, to £123,159.

The rapid rise in the last two years is noticeable. It would be interesting to know to whom these "refunds" have been made. Ought not our railway accounts to be strictly investigated?

The position I take up is this: Our railways are owned by a company, the shareholders being the community, and the directors the Ministry and the general manager and sub-manager. The "Railways Statement" is the annual report and balance sheet of these directors, and I say in this report the accounts have been so manipulated as to lead the shareholders to believe that their investment is yearly paying them an increasing dividend, when the said directors must be aware that the dividend is year by year rapidly decreasing.

Special Note.—The above paper is printed word for word, as I read it before the Congress, which received

and thanked me for it. Every figure in it is taken from the public records, and I am prepared to stand by them, as also by the facts stated, and conclusions drawn.

The proceedings of this Congress, and the papers read before it, are now—per favour of the Premier—being printed by the Government Printer. Pressure has been put upon me to alter my paper so as to make it reflect less strongly on the Government. This I have absolutely declined to do.

As I have been threatened that the edition in the hands of the Government Printer will be "cut down and altered in a manner you will not like," it is necessary, that I should state, that the above is the edition for which I am responsible, and that I have had no hand whatever in any alterations that may be made in the one issuing from the Government press.

Auckland,

10th December, 1901.

HON. SIR JOSEPH WAKD, MINISTER FOR RAILWAYS, WELLINGTON:

SIR,—I am indebted to a friend in Wellington for a copy of the report of the Railway Committee on my Petition dated 22nd June last, and also a copy of your General Manager's remarks on my evidence. I think I was entitled to have these papers sent to me officially, but neither the Railway Department, the Committee, nor the Government appear to have thought so.

I notice that Mr. Ronayne's letter to you, Sir, commenting on my statement is dated the 11th October, or exactly one month after the conclusion of the said statement. He therefore had ample time to consider his reply.

I have been so long accustomed to gross misrepresentation by the chief officers of the Railway Department that I cannot say his letter surprises me, but I may say that for want of knowledge of his subject, and of truth, it equals anything that has preceded it. His object, of course, has been to try and make out that the introduction of the new system would cause serious financial loss, and he compiles a ridiculous and false table to show that the loss in one year would reach £216,723.

In the first paragraph of his letter he says, speaking of the working of the Hungarian railways, "*No reliable information is available with regard to the expenditure incurred in working the increased traffic:*" and in his next paragraph he repeats this statement thus: "*Although the Department has no figures available to show the increased expenditure in working the Hungarian system, etc., etc.*"

To procure this information from official sources cost me two pence and a postage stamp. The sources of information that were open to me were open to Mr. Ronayne also, and I ask you, Sir, if it is creditable to this country, that its chief railway officials should be in such a state of ignorance of the most interesting and important experiment in railway administration, that has ever taken place. Newspaper proprietors have thought it worth their while to send special commissioners to Hungary to investigate on the spot, but our general manager did not consider it worth the expenditure of threepence.

I may remind you, Sir, that on the 5th November last year, I sent you a letter which gave in detail the percentage of working expenses to revenue of the Hungarian railways for each year from 1881 to 1898 inclusive, and I added, "These figures are all taken from the reports of the British Consul-General at Buda-Pesth." As a matter of fact, they were prepared for the British Government by Mr. Gerard Lowther, and Mr. Acting-Consul-General Brull, and are therefore beyond dispute. I also pointed out that they proved absolutely that raising the fares in Hungary had *decreased* and *not increased* the ratio of profit.

From *Hansard* of October 28th, page 788, I see, Sir, that you laid this letter on the table of the House, and that it was ordered to be printed.

This and other correspondence between the Railway Department and myself forms N.Z. Parliamentary Paper D—7, 1901.

It is, therefore, evident, that when Mr. Ronayne wrote his report, the information which he says was not obtainable had actually been in the hands of the Department for more than a year. This is a very fair specimen of the untruthful manner in which the chief railway officials have always treated this important public question.

In paragraph 3 Mr. Ronayne says, "the maximum goods rates which are proposed to be charged are supplied in page 26 of Mr. Vaile's 'Social Problems,' the goods rates being in many cases less than one-third of our existing rates. It is stated by Mr Vaile in his evidence that if three-fourths more passengers travelled at his proposed fares the same passenger revenue would be obtained as at present. The goods rates being on an average not more than half the existing rates, it would require at least double the volume of goods traffic to produce the same goods revenue."

All this is a very gross perversion of fact, I have never said anything of the kind. As regards goods traffic, everybody knows that the officers of the Department have tried every means in their power to entrap me into quoting goods rates, and that I have persistently refused to do so, or to fix any price for the transit of goods until

I was placed in a position to do this without running the risk of loss to the community.

Mr. Ronayne professes to quote from my pamphlet, "Social Problems," but he had not the honesty to quote the footnote attached as follows:—Note.—The prices quoted for goods *are merely given to show the system of charging*. It is my opinion that very much lower rates can be fixed." To that opinion I adhere, but I repeat that I have never attempted to fix any "goods rates," nor will I do so until actual trial has shown what profit can be made out of passenger fares. The note quoted above has been invariably added in every paper I have published referring to goods rates.

As regards passenger rates, what I have said was that, assuming there was no increase in the average distance travelled, that then we should require a three-fourths addition, to secure the same amount of revenue, but I argued strongly (see Parliamentary Papers, I.—6B. 1901, pages 13 and 14) that the enormous reduction proposed in the long distance fares must so increase the distance travelled that the average fare would certainly reach 1/3d, and probably 1-8d, so that we should stand a very good chance, indeed, almost a certainty, of getting the same passenger revenue that we do now without carrying a single extra fare: This is very different from what Mr. Ronayne says I said; but possibly he may not be able to see the difference.

And now, Sir, a word as to the absurd table by which your chief officer seeks to establish the false position he has taken up. First, let me say that I have never given the slightest indication of the charges I propose to make for the various items of coaching with the exception of ordinary passengers and parcels, nor have I ever attempted to fix any goods rates. It, however, suits Mr. Ronayne to assume that I shall fix all these at half the present charges, and he further assumes that a reduction in the charge for passengers to an average of one-fifth, and the charges for goods to one-half the present charges, would have no effect whatever on the distance people and goods would travel. It is a disgrace to the controller of a railway system, to sign his name to such a statement. He has evidently followed in the steps of his predecessors, and not cared what he said, provided he could prevent the new system being tried.

I ask, Sir, if it is not intolerable that my work should be judged and condemned by a man who has shown such a thorough want of capacity to deal with it? But in justice to Mr. Ronayne I ought perhaps also to ask if he is to blame and give him the benefit of the doubt.. When we take a man whose sole training has been that of a mechanical engineer—and that, I am told, in a very small way—and ask him to pronounce judgment on the financial policy that should, govern a business institution employing eighteen and a-quarter (18¼) millions of capital, and nearly 8,000 men, what can we expect?

I think I have a right to complain that my work, which is purely commercial and financial, should be subject to the approval or condemnation of a man trained as Mr. Ronayne has been. It is not to be wondered at he declined to ask me any questions, or to answer any I might put to him; it would not have taken me half-an-hour to expose his complete ignorance of the whole subject.

The question naturally arises, Why are your chief officials so anxious to prevent the new system being tried? Parliamentary reports, the numerous petitions presented, the general wish of the people, and the result in other countries would more than justify them in taking the risk, if there is any, which I deny. I am, therefore, driven to the conclusion that they are acting in their own self-interests.

I regret exceedingly that my last visit to Wellington, and the large amount of time, trouble and money I have spent in an earnest effort to improve our railway administration should have led to such a miserable result. However, I am convinced that before long the country will insist on this great question being more honestly dealt with.

In conclusion, let me say that this report of Mr. Ronayne's makes it very evident that if the new system is to be tried, I must have some controlling power during the experiment.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Yours faithfully,

Samuel Vaile.

No notice whatever has been taken of this letter, although it is addressed to Sir Joseph Ward in his official capacity.

decorative feature

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Poetry as a Factor in Education.

An Address delivered by Professor Wall before the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science, 1902.

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Poetry as a Factor in Education.

THE subject of my present paper is one of such wide importance and interest, and seems to me to bear so deeply and strongly and in so many different directions upon the springs of character and conduct, that my chief difficulty in treating it is to compress what I must say upon the subject into the limits allotted me. I have thought it best, therefore, to narrow the field somewhat by dealing with a concrete case first. I do not think that in doing this I shall lose anything by taking the case of a man of such exceptional experience in the matter of education as John Stuart Mill. His is, it is true, an extreme case; but I think that the study of it will tend to throw my subject into very strong relief, and thus to make its treatment easier for myself and my hearers.

Mill tells us in his Autobiography that he became a prey, at the age of twenty, to a strange mental disease, a hideous apathetic melancholy, which he can only describe in the words of Coleridge:—

*"A grief without a pang, void, dark, and drear;
A drowsy, stilled, unimpassioned grief,
Which finds no natural outlet or relief
In word or sigh or tear."*

He describes how a small ray of light broke in upon his gloom from reading a passage in Marmontel's Memoirs, and how this brought him some relief. It hardly concerns us to enquire what this passage was; it is sufficient to say that it moved him to tears. Nor do I intend to dwell upon the first of the two lessons which Mill tells us he learned from this terrible experience of his youth; it is sufficient to observe that Mill now found himself to be the victim of a very extraordinary system of education which had been imposed upon him by his father—an education wholly intellectual and non-emotional, and one tending to develop in an abnormal degree the power and the habit of analysis.

What concerns us here is Mill's Second Lesson, and here I must allow him to speak for himself:—

"The other important change which my opinions at this time underwent, was that I, for the first time, gave its proper place among the prime necessities of human well-being, to the internal culture of the individual. I ceased to attach almost exclusive importance to the ordering of outward circumstances, and the training of the human being for speculation and action. I had now learned by experience that the passive susceptibilities needed to be cultivated as well as the active capacities, and required to be nourished and enriched as well as guided." He goes on to say that he "never turned recreant to intellectual culture," but he realised that the power and practice of analysis, through an essential condition of improvement, had consequences which required to be corrected by joining other kinds of cultivation with it. "The cultivation of the feelings," he says, "became one of the cardinal points of my ethical and philosophical creed." Very significant for us is the sentence which follows:—"I now began to find meaning in the things which I had read and heard about the importance of poetry and art as instruments of human culture."

When Mill had thus been painfully convinced of the necessity of the culture of the feelings, he turned to music and poetry. His experience in music is interesting and amusing, and is often quoted, but does not concern us here. The first permanent relief he obtained, he tells us, from reading Wordsworth. He had tried Byron at the worst period of his depression, and got no good from him, "but the reverse" Wordsworth exactly suited his condition. This poet had himself passed through a very similar crisis, as recorded in the "Ode on Intimations of Immortality in Early Childhood," and also Wordsworth addressed himself to what had always been one of the strongest of Mill's pleasurable susceptibilities—"the love of rural objects and natural scenery." But this was not the chief benefit which Mill derived from him. "What made Wordsworth's poems a medicine for my state of mind, was that they expressed not mere outward beauty, but states of feeling and of thought coloured by feeling under the excitement of beauty. They seemed to be the very culture of the feelings which I was in quest of. In them I seemed to draw from a source of inward joy, of sympathetic and imaginative pleasure, which could be shared in by all human beings From them I seemed to learn what would be the perennial sources of happiness when all the greater evils of life shall have been removed; and I felt myself at once better and happier as I came under their influence The result was that I gradually but completely emerged from my habitual depression, and was never again subject to it."

The case which I have here sketched in Mill's words should have many lessons for us. Allowing for the peculiar constitution of the subject's fine mind, and for the abnormal conditions of that mind at the moment when Wordsworth first touched it, we may at least draw one general conclusion, namely: *That if education be*

directed too allusively towards the cultivation of the intellectual faculties of the mind, so that the emotional faculties are neglected, very disastrous results may follow; and I would add: the finer the mind and the more delicate its susceptibilities, the greater is the danger of ruin to the growing soul. Leaving aside all the other lessons which may be drawn from Mill's case (even for the present the interesting question of Wordsworth's wonderful "healing power" and its sources), I have here a firm basis for some remarks on poetry as an instrument for the cultivation of the emotional side of human nature; and I may say, I think that in an age when so-called "scientific" culture is showing such a strong tendency to oust the "humaner" system of education, too much stress can hardly be laid upon this view of my subject. Poetry, I would say, is soul-food; of mind-food I suppose we shall always have enough and to spare. Intellectual repletion is synonymous with soul-starvation; and I think I have now said enough to indicate a rock ahead.

I must now clear my way a little by describing briefly what I refer to as education in this paper. I have thought that two kinds of education may be pretty clearly distinguished: the haphazard and the systematic; and again two kinds: education for character and education for intellect. (Education for a special purpose—technical or professional education—I must omit altogether to consider.) I think too, that my double classification may turn out to be really one. By the haphazard kind of education I mean (using an extreme term to characterise it) that kind of education which has been in vogue in England, with some not very radical changes and natural growths, from the sixteenth century to the present day, or rather, yesterday. It is that inconsistent, apparently ill-organised, mainly "classical" education, which, combined with the wonderful social machinery of the English public schools and universities, has made the British nation what it is. By the systematic kind of education I mean that well-balanced, well-thought-out, well-carried-out system of training the young which is now being aimed at by all civilised nations, with, I think I may say, the United States of America at their head. The system is, so far as I know, not perfectly organised as yet anywhere. Its field is of course rather the primary and secondary schools, in England and her dependencies and colonies, than the great old-established public schools, grammar schools and universities. There, war is being carried on briskly between the votaries of the old and the new kinds of education. At its best, the new system aims at good citizenship as its ideal result.

I think I am right in supposing that the old haphazard method of education aimed, in a vague, ill-defined and instinctive way perhaps, at the development of character, and in education in this sense I of course include the whole of that "social machinery," as I called it, of the English public school and university which, I venture to think, has been the most potent factor in moulding the character of the upper and middle-class Englishman of the past. Whereas the more modern system has for its object rather the cultivation of intellect, the production of efficient, dutiful, and law-abiding citizenship, and the advancement of the physical and mental well-being of the State. There; can, of course, be no question (leaving aside social influences) whether the first or second of these systems is ideally the better. The old method has, from a logical standpoint, hardly a merit; the new has all the merits and excellences possible. Yet the old method seems to have made England great, and the new has certainly introduced and developed to a most pernicious degree the present system (*must* I say inevitable or irreplaceable system?) of examinations.

Let me now show what seems to me to be the bearing of my subject upon the conflict which I conceive to be now impending or actually waging between the two methods of education which I have endeavoured to sketch, premising that I have been obliged for the sake of clearness in argument to represent them as perhaps more clearly distinct and more vitally in opposition to one another than they really are.

I think we shall find that the old system, from the point of view of poetry in education, is open to very severe criticism, and that the new system, from the same point of view, is threatened by a great danger. I cannot think that poetry, English poetry that is, had its fair share of attention, or anything like it, in the old English system of education. The plea for the study of English literature in the universities put forward by John Eachard in 1668 went unregarded, though winged with the feather of a very pretty wit, till the present day, when the heavier attack of Mr. Churton Collins has at last made a gap in the enemy's ranks. We cannot acquit the educators of English youth in the past of wholesale neglect of the masterpieces of English literature. By haphazard, indeed, and in a random scrambling way, I believe most Englishmen of brains and culture did gain some knowledge of at least our greater lights, of Shakespeare certainly, of Milton probably, and of a few of the really great, but that is the most we can say. I hold no brief for the old system from the point of view of poetry in education, and cannot here enter into the vexed question of the benefits arising or likely to arise from the study of Greek and Latin poetry by English schoolboys and youths.

In dealing with the modern style, I must return to the case of Mill and my main conclusion from it. I cannot but think that the tendency now-a-days is to make our educative system too exclusively rational and intellectual, to appeal to the reasoning faculties rather than to the gentler and more spiritual emotions. (The appeal to some of the lower emotions, the combative especially, is no doubt quite strong enough.) I must venture to say that I think Mill's disease is by no means unknown in the present generation, but that it exists in a very much milder form—milder by reason of the less terrible result upon the less susceptible and delicate

organism. I must not pause to describe what would seem to me to be the present-day forms and symptoms of emotional starvation in the young, nor would I be understood to speak of the disease as present and rampant, but rather as incipient and menacing. I would say that there seems to be a danger, if things continue to develop as they do at present, that our youth may cultivate the mnemonic and mechanically rational powers at the expense of the feelings, and that very serious injury to character may be the result.

Coming to the more practical side of the question, as I hope to do by degrees, I must now describe how the term "poetry" is to be understood in this paper. If I thought it necessary to choose a definition of poetry for my purpose I should choose either that of Wordsworth: "Poetry is the spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings" or the more mystical one of Coleridge: "Poetry is the blossom and the fragrance of all human knowledge, thoughts, passions, emotions, language." Poetry, according to Wordsworth, being the outcome of strong feeling, must also stir feeling in the reader; it must stir or soothe; it must influence the feelings. This will fit in admirably with Mill's Lesson. Without classifying or defining poetry any further for the present, I would say then that all true poetry must make an appeal to the feelings, must stir or soothe. It would be superfluous for me to emphasise the fact that the higher feelings are meant; some of the finest art work of English poets must be a sealed book to youth because they appeal to the lower rather than to the higher feelings. I must consider as subsidiary and beside my subject all the incidental teaching which poetry may supply. I shall not dwell upon the fact that history may be studied in Shakespeare, ancient cosmology in *Paradise Lost*, Middle English phonology and grammar in Chaucer, and a fine old rugged foreign tongue in *Beowulf*. Poetry has already suffered much by performing the office of a whetstone. The outcry against the modern "annotated editions" of our classics is already so loud that I need not pause here to add my complaint to its volume. I am dealing here only with the influences of poetry itself unannotated yet understood, upon the mind and heart of youth. And I think I may take it as a good general rule that all poetry which does not stir the higher feelings may be neglected so far as the best and most essential kind of training of youth is concerned.

Taking this as a general rule I may now proceed to examine the various kinds of poetry which are open to the teacher to choose from. I must premise that I am now to speak of poetry for boys and girls. The University "man" must of course fend for himself, and all classes of poetry are, or should be, open to him.

To begin with the oldest kinds—the genuine epic, the epic of Homer, is most admirably suited for the education of youth. Kinglake's eloquent testimony to the effect of its magic upon his childish mind would be enough to prove this. But the reflected or "deliberate" epic, "*Paradise Lost*," for example, is by no means so suitable. I believe most young people of both sexes learn to dislike Milton violently from being obliged to read "*Paradise Lost*" at school. No author so lends himself to the arts of the annotator and the prospective examinee. I must confess that I should like to see "*Paradise Lost*" banished from the schools (if it be not so already), and I do not think that Milton's fame would suffer by its banishment. Other epics we have none. Homer may be read in Pope's Translation; youth is not likely to be very critical about diction, and it was in this form that the *Iliad* touched Kinglake. Chapman's translation of the *Iliad* is by no means suited for youth. But his "*Odyssey*" I know to be very pleasing to the palate of the young.

I think, on the whole, that the influence of the genuine epic, with its appeal to the healthy and natural story loving-instinct of youth, and its imaginative presentment of the primitive and basic virtues, is entirely for the good; and in the absence of any great accessible English epic for the purpose, I should personally like to see a fairly complete series of translations from the pure and noble classics of the Icelandic prose saga-literature read in place of it in our schools. I can conceive of no more bracing, stirring and tonic course of study than this.

The educative function of the epic may to some extent be performed by a selection from Scott's admirable balladesque narrative poems; some of the stirring war-poetry of Dobell, Tennyson and Campbell, Aytoun's *Lays of the Scottish Cavaliers*, Henley's *Lyra Heroica*; some very carefully selected pieces of Mr. Kipling; and by such modern work as that of Mr. Newbolt. These, however, I can only regard as very second-rate substitutes for the true epic.

Of lyric poetry I need say little, not because there is little to say but because it is so very obvious that this is the class of poetry which is from every point of view the best for the purpose I have in view. Besides, have not Messrs. Palgrave (in the *Golden Treasury*) and Henley (in the *Lyra Heroica*) and a host of others, made this clear by their admirable Selections and collections from the vast body of our English lyrical poetry? In lyric poetry everything that is best in English Literature is included, with the exception of the work of the great dramatic schools.

Here, however, I must utter again a note of warning. There is an immense mass of lyrical poetry in English, produced mainly from the days of Surrey and Wyatt, early in the 16th century, to the end of the 17th century, which is entirely amorous and complimentary in its tone. It is most frequently fanciful and "metaphysical," also frequently coarse and gross; this body of verse contains much of the very best of English lyric poetry; yet I think that it is, on the whole, unsuited to youth. There are hundreds of these exquisite songs which are in their very "dialect of thought," if I may so express myself, incomprehensible to youth, and, if understood, not

beneficial. I refer to such gems as "Drink to me only with thine eyes," Lilly's "Cupid and Campaspe," Waller's verses "On a Girdle," and many of Shakespeare's sonnets, which are included in the Golden Treasury. I cannot see that any good purpose is fulfilled by the study of this class of poetry by the young. If we educated with the idea of making poets, and courtly ones, the case would be different.

There is another matter connected with lyric poetry about which I feel strongly and must speak briefly. There are many beautiful lyric poems whose meaning is so abstruse, obscure, or attenuated, that it is I not comprehensible by the young, except perhaps by great effort. I refer to such poems as Wordsworth's great ode "On Intimations," etc., Blake's "Whether on Ida's shady brow" and "The Tiger," Vaughan's "Happy those early days," parts of Tennyson's "In Memoriam," and many of the songs of Wordsworth, Keats and Shelley. I believe that poems of this kind, though not fully understood, have, or may have, great influence upon the minds of the young. If learned by heart, they remain a perpetual possession, lying far back in the mind, subtly and unconsciously touching and directing the springs of feeling and thought. They act like fine melody, which carries no distinct formal idea to the mind, yet touches, stirs and elevates. It is in poems of this kind that the most delicate, most stately and beautiful rhythms of our tongue are attained, and such rhythms are a possession and a treasure apart from the meaning they convey. I do not believe that any boy or girl could recite, mentally or aloud, Wordsworth's "Ode" or Blake's "Whether on Ida's shady brow" without being spiritually the better for it. Of this I am very deeply convinced, and I am sure that it is in this class, and by this indefinable touching of the imagination and the soul, that poetry has its best, deepest, and most lasting influence upon the minds of the young of both sexes. It is here and in this way, I think, that true poetry enriches life.

I shall presently have occasion to speak of the danger of compelling children to read or learn poetry, and it is especially with reference to this class that I would emphasise the warning. I think this is too delicate and subtle an influence to be directed, as it were, by steam pressure upon the child-mind. I would remind you of Lamb's comment on one of Wordsworth's poems: "The instructions conveyed in it are too direct, they don't slide into the mind of the reader *while he is imagining no such matter.*"

Of dramatic poetry I must also speak more briefly than I should like to do. The great bulk of the Elizabethan school, of which English literature is so justly proud, must, by the very nature of its subject, its almost exclusive treatment of vile and loathsome features and tendencies in human nature, its revelling in bloodshed, crime, lust, and graveyard horrors, be barred to our youth. Shakespeare already has his place; I think he is over taught and over-annotated, but must let that pass for the present. I would only remark that the greatest of Shakespeare's plays, especially Othello, Lear, and Hamlet, are very questionable food for youth. Dealing as they do with mature passions of a very violent nature in violent disturbance, and touching upon the deepest and most obdurate secrets of our nature, they are hardly calculated, I think, from any point of view to influence the young healthily and naturally. But the value of the historical plays, and especially of the humorous characters presented in them, cannot be overrated. I feel, though I should find it hard perhaps to explain or justify the feeling, that an intimate literary acquaintance with a character like Falstaff, as with Mrs. Gamp, or Captain Costigan, or Mr. Jorrocks, is an excellent preparative for entry into the world of real men and women. And I should say that the peopling of the mind of the young with such personages is among the best results attainable from the study of the historical dramas of Shakespeare. I need not dwell upon the educational advantages to be gained, from a different point of view, by the reading of Marlowe's "Edward II.," of Browning's "Strafford," of Tennyson's "Harold" and "Becket," and of Taylor's "Philip van Arteveldt," because the case is obvious, and I have preferred to dwell rather upon the deeper and more essentially character-forming influences of poetry upon the mind. I need hardly apologise for introducing this remark on Falstaff and similar creations on the ground that he is a prose creation. I must of course speak of dramatic poetry as a class or not at all.

Spenser must be considered apart. The influence of his great allegory upon the minds of youth is proverbially great, and I can only say that it must be good. But I doubt whether all, or even the majority of the young of our generation, feel his charm. And I would say that if the charm be not felt, it is unjust both to the poet and to the pupil to make the reading of the "Faery Queen" compulsory. I am, I confess, not able to estimate at all accurately the degree of interest taken in this poem by boys and girls, and must express myself very diffidently about it.

Our religious verse, especially of the Carolean period, is so rich, melodious and profound that I think it should have a very large share of attention in any curriculum of poetry for the young. The best work of Vaughan, Herrick, Milton, Donne, and their contemporaries, cannot be too highly praised, and its effect upon the minds and characters of English youth should be very great. I should not hesitate to recommend the learning by heart of a large number of pieces of this school and period by way of both esthetic and moral training. Their influence makes for purity and gentleness in life, and what could be a better aim?

I have now dealt with all those kinds of poetry which I believe to be most essential and valuable in the training of youth. I must also say something of those kinds which should, I think, be either excluded altogether

or given a very subsidiary place. The ballad I have not spoken of separately, as it may be considered a special (and a very excellent) kind of lyric poetry; and what I have said of lyric in general will apply also to our ballad literature—to the great unnamed authors represented in Percy, to Coleridge, Wordsworth, Tennyson, and Browning as ballad-writers. The following kinds of poetry or verse I should mention as being more or less unsuitable for reading in schools:—(1) Satire, which is at its best in English a growth of exotic character, based upon classical models which are hardly admirable in any sense. The satirical work of Nash, Oldham, Defoe, Dryden, Marvell, Pope, Churchill, and Thomson, as well as of the more genuinely English Skelton and Butler, may, I think, be neglected in schools. I do not think that boys and girls need be encouraged to admire the arts of giving pain and making personal enemies ridiculous. (2) Pastoral poetry, with some exceptions, like "Lycidas." Beautiful as the work of our best pastoralists is,—the work of Drayton, Wither and Browne, for example,—it is of exotic inspiration and essentially false in its prettiness and its optimistic presentment of toy-shop humanity. If we want the real poetry of sheep and of shepherd, of stream and rock and wood and mountain, we can find it in Wordsworth, in Matthew Arnold, and many other poets of our own time. (3) Rhetorical poetry. Poetry which is essentially rhetorical and declamatory, whose diction is glittering and tawdry, should, I think, be barred altogether or relegated to the elocution department. Collins' Ode on the Passions, *e.g.*, is admirably suited for the training of Wopsles. Mrs. Meynell, I think, recently pointed out that Gray's "Elegy" was unsuitable for reading by the young. Her statement aroused much comment, as the "Elegy" has been for so long the prime favourite among English poems for the schools. I must say that on the grounds I have just mentioned, I think Mrs. Meynell was right; and I would exclude from a curriculum of poetry for the young all poems which resemble the "Elegy" in its pretentiously rhetorical, yet commonplace, philosophy. (4) *Didactic* poetry of all kinds, even the descriptive. The didactic work of Thomson, Dyer, Cowper and their school should, I think, be barred, in spite of much elegance and beauty in isolated passages. The chief drawback to even the best work of the descriptive and didactic poets of the Eighteenth Century is, I think, the fact that they are not poetry according to Wordsworth's definition of Mill's requirements. They are not the overflow of spontaneous or of powerful feeling. They have no spontaneity and no power. They can do no harm, but we need not fall back upon them as though our literature had nothing more vital and dynamic to offer us. (5) Humorous poetry. I must naturally refrain from saying much of this class, as its influence at its best is very different from that which I have made the subject of this paper. I should, of course, not deny that the influence, or rather the temporary effect, of such excellent work as that of Barham and Hood is for good; and very sorry I should be to think that these authors will not be read and laughed over by young people for many generations to come.

Having now endeavoured to show, in outline merely, what kinds of poetry the teacher has ready to his hand as educational instruments, I proceed to develop more fully what I have already incidentally touched upon—the influence of poetry upon character. I may say that the influence of the best poetry upon the mind and character is, in general, to purify, to stimulate, to brace and to harmonise. The best poetry, especially of the lyric and religious lyric classes, purifies by raising the tone of the mind above earth, and directing the spiritual energies into their proper channel. I would not be understood to recommend or uphold the study of deeply mystical or Platonic poetry by the young. I think that nothing more profound than "In Memoriam" need be read by young pupils, and that only in the higher grades. Such work as Shelley's "Prometheus Unbound," the bulk of Browning's productions, and the "metaphysical" poetry of Donne would be altogether unfitting for our purpose. The authors whose influence makes for gentleness and purity of life are rather those I have spoken of under the head of religious poetry—Herrick, Vaughan, Crashaw, Milton and Herbert; and among more modern writers: Tennyson, Arnold (in isolated pieces only) and Wordsworth. This purifying and raising the tone of the mind is one of those functions which can only be adequately and fitly performed by poetry, and I can have no hesitation in saying that the poets who are likely to do this best are those genuinely English, manly, and gentle writers, Wordsworth and Tennyson. Wordsworth can, of course, only be read in selections; but the whole of Tennyson's work is most excellently calculated to influence the minds of youth in the best possible directions.

Poetry also stimulates. It is part of its function, as I have said above, to stir the feelings. It may stimulate to thought and to action. The heroic virtues, physical and spiritual, are best learned in poetry. All those activities, and that thorough control of them, which we call "manliness" are here to be learned. I would instance "The Idylls of the King" as poetry which should make for true manliness. I must not over-rate the importance of patriotic and bellicose verse as mental tonic. I would not say that poetry is likely to be a more efficient instrument than prose in this instance. Indeed I fear there is some danger of our going too far in this direction. Just as I think that most of Browning's work is too subtly and abstrusely philosophical to be studied with full advantage by the young; so I would utter a note of warning against a part, at least, of the vigorous "patriotic" doggerel of Mr. Kipling, and still more strongly against most of the verse which has been written under his influence. Mr. Kipling's "Imperial" poetry has of course great excellence, as had that of Tennyson before him; but admirable as its influence may be upon the minds of youth, and especially from the political point of view, upon colonial youth, it falls outside the sphere with which I am endeavouring to deal in this paper.

When I say that poetry's function is to harmonise I use an expression which needs some explanation, as it hardly says what I mean, yet is the only term I can find to my hand. I mean that in a sense the best poetry has the tendency to make all people consciously or unconsciously philosophers. It makes men wise. It tends to produce and foster that true wisdom which was noted by Tennyson's nearest friends as eminently characteristic of him. It is that wisdom which results from a due appreciation of the value of things in relation to one another and in relation to life. It is that wisdom which is a kind of harmony in the mind, which is interfused throughout the mental structure, which acts subtly, profoundly, and as it were by a divine instinct. Part of Mill's Second Lesson was this: "The maintenance of a due balance among the faculties now seemed to me of primary importance." It is this balance of the faculties, and this only, that can produce true wisdom in minds not otherwise capable of the highest flights. I believe that this harmonising and tuning of the mind can only be produced by the study of the best poetry (I would perhaps except the prose of Carlyle, of Ruskin, and of Sir Thomas Browne), and it seems to me that it is here in this way so hard to define and so hard to understand that poetry produces its best, highest, and most permanent effect upon character. I am well aware that mental balance, mental harmony and wisdom are fruits of mature growth, and are not to be expected in the young; but it would be superfluous and impertinent for me to insist upon the fact that it is during the plastic period of youth, and during that period only, that the instrument can be prepared and the field tilled for the future harvest. Tennyson has given beautiful expression to the thought I have here endeavoured to describe, in his little lyric called "The Spiteful Letter," in some other brief lyrics of the same period, and at full length in that very subtle and profound lyric, number 114 of "In Memoriam." This harmony of the mind is also characteristic of Wordsworth, especially in his 1797 to 1807 period, and I would instance especially the rather puzzling lyrics "I heard a thousand blended notes" and "Up, up my Friend, and quit your books," the most beautiful and profound stanza of which, by the way, Mr. John Morley has pronounced to be "a half-playful sally."

I feel deeply that I have not been able to do justice to this part of my subject. I hope, however, to have shown, at any rate, what my own conviction is in the matter of the influence of poetry upon character. I must leave much unsaid, and leave the subject at the risk of repeating myself *ad nauseam*, with the remark that the highest function of poetry is to attune the mind to wisdom, and that the wisest of our poets, and the best to study if wisdom be desired, are the two great laureates of the nineteenth century.

I must now come to the practical and much-vexed question of the manner in which poetry should be studied by the young. I hope to have shewn that it is eminently desirable that poetry should form an important part of the ordinary educational pabulum of the growing mind, nay, that it would be dangerous to omit it. This has of course long been recognised, and a certain amount of poetry is always read in one way or another in schools. The question is: "How should poetry be treated in the schools if we desire that it should produce its fullest effect upon the minds of our pupils?" I cannot hope to answer this question fully. I shall presently put before you a tentative or provisional "curriculum in English poetry for the young," based upon the considerations which I have discussed in the earlier part of my paper, and I hope that this will go some way towards answering it. In the meantime I must add a few words upon the manner in which I think this mental food should be administered.

In the first place, I am deeply convinced that in this department, at least, there must be no driving, no compulsion. The fact that compulsion is, in fact, commonly resorted to in this matter, is partly due, no doubt, to the uninviting and even repulsive nature of the poetic fare which is too often put before the young. I believe that the youthful mind will gain little or nothing from the enforced study of poetry, before which it instinctively recoils. I am thinking of "Paradise Lost," and I am not quite sure about Gray's "Elegy." I think that all poetry which is not "simple, sensuous, passionate," to use Milton's own phrase, is likely to be uninteresting and unattractive to the young. When I hear a person say of a poet, "We read him at school," I understand him to mean "and therefore I have not read him since."

This is sad, but I am afraid that in the majority of cases it is true. And I do not think that this state of things is due only to the unattractive nature of the poetry usually read in the schools; it cannot be so. It is due also in part to the manner in which really attractive poetry is made repulsive and a bugbear to the learner. I must enquire briefly how this is done, for of the fact that it is done I can have no doubt.

There are, I think, three reasons why most people do not look back with pleasure upon the poetic part of their school curriculum. The first is the compulsion I have already alluded to, due to the unattractive nature of the material to be studied. The second is over-teaching and over-annotation of texts,—too common practice of making the poem a peg upon which to hang historical, philological, and metrical disquisitions. The third, and the most potent of all, is the examination system. With the first of these causes I have already dealt. I propose now to say a few words of the second and the third.

With regard to over-teaching and over-annotation of texts, I can hardly speak strongly enough, for it has been my lot to review a very large number of school editions, "edited and annotated" for schools, of the great English classics, principally, of course, of Shakespeare. There are some brilliant exceptions; but, in general, I may say

that I can conceive no more efficient method of diverting the attention of the learner from what is essential to what is extraneous and incidental in works of literary art, than that supplied by the ordinary "annotated edition." The notes are not only superfluous and irrelevant—I have seen, for instance, a "note" on one of Macaulay's Essays explaining gravely that "Bob" is short for "Robert"; and another on a passage in which the mole happened to be referred to, consisting of a long account of the appearance and habits of the animal, lifted bodily from a dictionary of natural history)—they are not only very frequently compiled by incompetent persons and done in a hurry (this kind of work not being highly paid),—but such passages as do really need a word of explanation or comment are too often explained and commented upon at such length, with such solemnity and parade of authorities, such copious reference to folios, and quartos, and Hanmer, and Steevens, and Malone, that no pupil can really be blamed for thinking that after all the notes are the chief thing, and that the examiner will certainly ask questions based upon them and not upon the text. It is by no means uncommon for students in higher classes than those I am referring to, to go up for examination in a given text without having read the text itself, but full charged with the thunder of the notes. To be honest with you, I will confess that I have done it myself, when pressed for time, with success, which is a poor compliment to my examiners. I made a practice, as a reviewer of school editions, of comparing the bulk of the text and of the notes in all cases, and I frequently found cases where the notes out bulked the text by twice or three times its volume, the notes, be it observed, being printed modestly in smaller types. These facts speak for themselves. I can hardly trust myself to speak of the results which I believe to follow, almost inevitably, the study of our great classics in this manner. Nobody will, of course, deny that in the case of Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century authors some explanatory and glossarial assistance is necessary for the comprehension of the text. What we must demand is that this assistance be reduced to a minimum, that the attention of the reader be not drawn off incessantly to irrelevant and subsidiary matters, however interesting these may intrinsically be; and that as far as possible in the schools explanations should proceed from the teacher rather than from the text-book. I need hardly add that a wise and competent teacher knows how to cause his pupils to explain difficulties for themselves, and obtrudes himself as little as possible upon the attention of his class.

I believe that this evil, which I consider a great and crying one, may be remedied by the adoption for study in schools of the least annotated, and least "edited" texts; and, in the case of modern authors, I am strongly of opinion that unannotated texts are by far the best. A Series of English classics on the model of the late Prof. Henry Morley's well-known little National Library Series, cheap, well-produced and unannotated, is, I think, the *editio desiderata* for use in schools. I must not leave this subject without adding that there seems already to be a fairly strong reaction setting in against over-annotation and its allied evils, and that in the case of Shakespeare, at least, there are now editions (notably that edited by Prof. Herford for Messrs. Macmillan) which leave little or nothing to be desired in the way of dispedagogisation.

I come now to the third cardinal fault in the teaching of poetry in schools, and what I have to say on this head applies also, to some extent, to the study of the English classics at the universities, old and new. It is only with reluctance that I can admit that the examination system is really necessary in any department, but I must allow that in most subjects it is an unavoidable evil. I do not propose to enter at length here upon the question whether literature can be taught, or whether examinations in literature can be so conducted as to obviate the danger of cramming. The subject has attracted much attention in England of recent years, and has been the *casus belli* in several controversies. Some prominent English literary journals, notably the *Saturday Review*, have taken up a very decidedly hostile attitude to the examination system, as tending to encourage cramming and the development to perfection of the crammer's art. This seems to me very encouraging. With examinations and their effects in general I cannot here deal however, but must enter a most vigorous protest against our English classics being made the subjects of examinations in our schools. I would say, if examinations are really a necessity in schools, for the purpose of testing the relative capacity, industry, and progress of the pupils, let the English classics form an unrecognised, unofficial department of the school curriculum. I do not believe it is possible for any child or youth to enjoy or appreciate thoroughly any poem in which he is about to be, or has been, examined in the ordinary school way. I need not dilate here upon the evil effects of reading with a view to examination. It will be sufficient to say that the mind of the reader is directed solely, or almost so, to the detection of possible "points" and "likely" passages for examiners; and that the chief quality fostered and encouraged by this kind of reading is a kind of sharpness which may be called "examinee's cunning," and is only accentuated, aggravated, and acidulated by the emulative instinct which must always accompany the expectation of a list of marks or "examination result." I should weary you if I should endeavour to describe fully what I believe to be the effect of this kind of reading with a view to a competitive test. I will say briefly that it is benumbing to all the higher faculties, that it encourages feelings and instincts which need no encouragement, and that it would be quite impossible for any pupil to gain, from the reading of English poetry, under this system, any of the great advantages which I have spoken of as likely to result from the study of it when fitly and decently encouraged.

I suggest, therefore, that the reading of English poetry by schoolboys and girls should be interfered with as little as possible by teachers, and that no examination of any kind should be held in this subject. I think that some way might be devised by which the reading of certain books might be encouraged without the possibility of reward or punishment in case of industry or neglect. Many and many an English schoolmaster has made his pupils genuine lovers of English Literature and of English poetry especially, by simply reading to them, out of school hours, the right books in the right way; or by merely lending his books judiciously. It is in some such unofficial way as this that I should like this all-important kind of soul-food to be unobtrusively and unostentatiously communicated to the young. Pupils should by no means be compelled and in some cases they should not even be encouraged to write essays or compositions upon the poetry they have read. Anyone who has had the misfortune to be obliged to read a number of such productions for examination or other purposes will feel the full force of this remark, and, I am sure, will agree with me in it. It is almost impossible to keep certain critical text-books and histories of English literature out of the hands of the young, and their jargon is only too easily acquired. I believe that there are thousands of miles of criticism, plausible, glib, and even correct enough in a sense, written every year in the English language by young people who have not read a line of the works they criticise. And I cannot but think this is undesirable, dishonest, and hostile to the best instincts which the best teacher should have at heart. I do not myself think that any criticism of poetry should be required under any circumstances from the young. Critical taste is, as is well known and acknowledged, an exceedingly rare gift; and I do not think that the formation of a good taste in poetry, a thing so much to be admired, is likely to be assisted by encouraging the young to write or repeat the judgments of others, or to give expression to their own naturally crude and immature judgments. Good critical taste in poetry, I take it, if it can be acquired at all, is to be acquired by long, patient, loving and silent study of the best poets. How can we expect this from schoolboys and girls? I must remark, in case of misunderstanding, that I am here speaking of poetry itself and its study, not the history of poetry or of literature, which is an entirely different thing, and, in fact, may be called one of the inexact sciences.

To sum up: I have now endeavoured to show that poetry should play a very prominent part in the education of the young of both sexes; that its effects are beneficial to the mind, and more still to the soul and character of the young reader; that great care should be exercised in the selection of poetic works to be studied by the young; that English literature is peculiarly rich in those great wise natures whose expression in poetry is calculated to have the very best influence upon growing pliant minds; that there are very great and mischievous faults (which are tending to correct themselves however) in the methods of "teaching poetry" in our schools at the present day; that, in my opinion, the reading of good poetry should be encouraged, not enforced; and that, lastly, pupils should be encouraged to read solely for their own pleasure and delight, without being afterwards subjected to an annoying and wearisome examination in what they have read, or being obliged to write down their impressions, judgments and opinions. Much of what I have been obliged to say here has been said very often before; and much that I should have liked to say, I have been forced to leave unsaid; yet I have ample justification in my own mind for both these facts. If I am right in complaining of the evils which have crept into our schools, I am sure I cannot speak too often nor too strongly against them. I, like many others, am anxious that these evils should be corrected, and I have this matter at heart. On the other hand it would have been unwise in me to say all that I might have said on the examination system, for example, for I should then have defeated my object by wearying my hearers.

I have only now to put before you the following curriculum, naturally nearly an outline, which I recommend as a preliminary course of reading for the young in English poetry. I have been obliged to make it a strictly preliminary course, and I have designed it for the use of pupils between the ages of 12 and 17. Those who continue their studies after their 16th year usually read for some University Degree, and it is not with students of this age, and their requirements, that this paper primarily deals. I would also have it understood that the age of the pupil is not a matter of the first consequence, but rather his capacity and especially his bent or inclination towards such subjects as that I am dealing with. I am well aware that many children have no natural taste for poetry or for anything allied to it, yet I cannot recommend any compulsion, mild or severe, in these cases, for I am sure it can only replace indifference by dislike and want of taste by distaste. Very much must be left to the personal influence and judicious methods of encouragement of the teacher himself.

I must add that the scheme here proposed is by no means comprehensive. My object has been rather to indicate the class or grade of poem suitable for each period than to give a complete list of works to be read. Many old favourites will be missed, some omitted simply because to mention all would be beyond the scope of this paper, and some because I have hardly thought them eligible, in spite of their popularity.

FIRST YEAR (12th to 14th years).

Blake: "Songs of Innocence."

Wordsworth: The simple Ballads of 1798 to 1807.
Percy's Reliques: "Chevy Chase," "Sir Patrick Spence," etc.
Coleridge: "Ancient Mariner."
Henley's "Lyra Heroica."
Scott: The Romantic Poems.
Macaulay's "Lays of Ancient Rome" and "The Armada."
Tennyson: Patriotic Ballads; "The Revenge," etc.

SECOND YEAR (14th to 15th years).

Tennyson: "Idylls of the King"; "Enoch Arden."
Shakespeare: "Henry V."; "The Merchant of Venice"; "Julius Caesar"; "Coriolanus."
Coleridge: "Christabel"; "Kubla Khan."
Barham: "Ingoldsby Legends."
Wordsworth: "Peter Bell"; "The Waggoner", "Hart-Leap Well." Chapman's "Odyssey."

THIRD YEAR (15th to 16th years). Wordsworth: "Resolution and Independence"; "Michael"; "The Brothers."

Tennyson: "The Princess"; "Becket"; "Harold."
Herrick: Selections.
Vaughan: Selections.
Crashaw: Selections.
Herbert: Selections.
Shakespeare: "As You Like It"; "The Tempest;" "The Midsummer Night's Dream"; "Richard II."
Burns: The non-amatory songs and "Tarn o' Shanter."
Byron: "Prisoner of Chillon."
Milton: "Lycidas," "L'Allegro," and "Il Penseroso."
Dryden: "Ode on St. Cecilia's Day."
Matthew Arnold: "Balder Dead"; "Sohrab and Rustum."

FOURTH YEAR: (16th to 17th Years).

Tennyson: "In Memoriam; ""Maud."
Wordsworth: "Ode on Intimations;" "Tintern Abbey;"
Shakespeare: "Macbeth," "Hamlet," "Lear," "Romeo and Juliet." Marlowe: "Dr. Faustus;" "Edward II."
Chapman's "Iliad."
Milton's "Comus."
Chaucer's "Prologue and Knight's Tale."
Sir Henry Taylor: "Philip van Arteveldt."
Crabbe: "The Village."
Blake: "Songs of Experience."
Palgrave's Golden Treasury (a good deal of which might be selected for the earlier periods.) Keats' Poems.
Matthew Arnold: "Lyrics;," "The Scholar Gipsy;" "Thyrsis;" "Empedocles on Etna;"
Spenser: "Fairy Queen."

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Front Cover

Wanganui # Old Settlers,
(Illustrated.)

BY James Garland Woon,

Late Collector H.M. Customs, &c, &c., Wanganui, Greymouth and Hokitika.

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James Garland Woon

Preface.

NOT a few of my Wanganui friends having importuned me to write some account of the old settlers and publish same in book form, I, after mature consideration, decided to do so; not, however, without misgivings seeing that this is my first serious venture of the kind, although I did, only a few months ago by special request of, and under engagement to, the proprietors of the "Auckland Weekly News," write a few sketches for that journal of prominent Wanganui citizens, whose names were submitted to me.

In the following pages I make no pretensions to, neither do I claim any recognition of, literary merit either from my readers or the Press. All I claim and I do so with every confidence—is that what I narrate of Wanganui Old Settlers is reliable, and in the main correct. There may be trifling errors here and there (I have been compelled to rely almost entirely upon my memory, not having kept a diary or journal in bye-gone days) and I am probably not always correct in my *dates*; but I vouch for the accuracy of my facts, statements, and anecdotes generally. One word more. From the first to the last of the Old Settlers of Wanganui dealt with in my little book, I have ever kept steadily in mind the grand old Roman maxim—"De mortuis nil nisi bonum"—"Of the dead (speak) nothing but what is good." To conclude; in submitting my "sketches" to public approval, I only ask, as regards my efforts as a writer, and the quality of what I have written—composition, style, and treatment of my subject generally—that they will be—

*"To my faults a little blind,
"To my virtues ever kind."*

JAMES GARLAND WOON.

WANGANUI,

December, 1901.

NOTE.—In order to obviate any misconception that may arise, I deem it only right, and in justice to myself, to explain that in the following pages I have not dealt with any of those who came to settle in Wanganui—town or district—subsequent to 1860, or, perhaps, 1861.

J. G. W.

January, 1902.

MR. JAMES ALEXANDER.

Wanganui Old Settlers.

ALEXANDER, James.—One of the very earliest settlers in Wanganui, arriving here in about 1840 or '41 quite a young man. Mr. Alexander struggled on hard under great difficulties, having to "rough it" in the true, old-fashioned style for many years. He reaped the reward of his industry and perseverance, however, in the long run, and became a large land-owner and a wealthy man. He took into partnership his nephew, Mr. David Peat, one of Wanganui's best known and most respected settlers at the present time. The firm's properties comprise farms at Kai Iwi and Kaikokopu (near the town), besides a large and valuable country property in the Upper Waitotara district. Mr. Alexander died in 1894 at a good old age, leaving a widow—his second wife—a son, and daughter. Their town residence situate in Ingestre St. and Victoria Avenue is one of the most substantial and beautiful in the town.

ALLISON, Dr. Jas.—This gentleman came from Edinburgh, N.B., in about 1849 or '50, took up land and brought up a family near Wanganui, calling his place Lambhill. Dr. Allison did not practise his profession, preferring farming pursuits. His wife was one of the Gilfillan family, some of whom were murdered by the Maoris during the disturbances in 1847-'48. Indeed, it was the massacre of the Gilfillans that led to the Maori War in Wanganui and up the Wanganui River in the years named. Dr. Allison left New Zealand for the Old Country in the pioneer steamer of the Panama route, the "Kaikoura," but succumbed to yellow fever after leaving the West Indies on the voyage Home, and was buried at sea. Dr. Allison was a Justice of the Peace, and

a Member of the Wellington Provincial Council. He was a most estimable man, and greatly respected by all who knew him. His death happened in about 1871 or '72.

BLYTH, James.—This gentleman was an early settler and resided at "Mary Bank" about four miles from the town on the No. 1 Line of road. Mr. Blyth was a Justice of the Peace and Member of the Provincial Council, and a staunch supporter of the late Dr. Featherston, Superintendent of the Wellington Province. He came to an untimely end, however, having been thrown from his horse whilst riding home after dark one evening, his body being picked up by the roadside afterwards by a search party. Mr. Blyth was much respected and his death deeply regretted.

BELL, David and Peter.—These two brothers came out from Scotland quite young men in 1851 or 1852. They both entered the employ of the late firm of Taylor and Watt—the elder brother, David, as master of their smart little schooner the "Tyne"; the younger, Peter, as an assistant in the firm's general store on Taupo Quay. Later on, the two brothers entered into partnership "on their own" and started business as general storekeepers in Victoria Avenue. They both married in Wanganui and brought up large families, who are well and favourably known in the town and surrounding districts. Mr. David Bell died some years ago, but his brother, the well-known, highly respected, and popular "Peter," is still alive and hearty. Mr. P. Bell, who retired from active business quite recently, has all along been a most useful, consistent, and prominent member and elder of St. Paul's Presbyterian Church here.

BROUGHTON, James.—This gentleman came to New Zealand with his family in the ship "William Hyde" to Lyttelton in 1850. They did not stay there, however, but came on to Wellington and from thence to Wanganui shortly afterwards. Mr Broughton engaged in business here as an auctioneer and commission agent, his two eldest sons, Charles William, and Edward, going on to land near Wanganui to learn farming. Mr. Broughton, senr., was an officer in His Majesty's Navy in the capacity of paymaster in several ships in the early years of the last century. Mr Broughton, who could spin many a good sailor's "yarn," lived to a good old age and died here about 24 years ago. His eldest son, Charles, was taken on as a native interpreter by the military authorities during the hostilities with the natives on this Coast in 1863-'64. He was most useful to the General Commanding and others, and plucky to the back bone! But he came to an untimely end, meeting his death at the hands of the natives at one of the *pahs* up the Coast when on an errand from the General, bearing despatches and a proclamation by the late Sir G. Grey, at that time Governor of New Zealand. He was treacherously and brutally murdered by the natives of the *pah*, decapitated, and his naked, headless body thrown down the cliff of the *pah* into a little stream below, where it was found many weeks afterwards. This occurred in October, 1865. His brother, Mr. Edward Broughton, entered the service of Messrs. Taylor and Watt in the early fifties and remained with them as manager of their business (the old firm) until 1894, when he died suddenly from an apoplectic fit. Mr. Edward Broughton, who was familiarly known as "the Duke," was very popular and much liked on account of his amiable, kindly disposition, and gentlemanly bearing.

CAMERON, Captain John.—One of the earliest settlers and in the employ for some time in the forties of the late New Zealand Company on their survey staff. Later on, Mr. Cameron, who belonged to one of the best and oldest Highland families in Scotland, bought land and settled down on his beautiful farm called Marangai about five miles from the town, skirting the great South Road to Wellington. Here Mr. Cameron resided many years and up to the time of his death in 1893, working hard on his farm and dispensing hospitality in true Highland fashion to all and sundry who had the pleasure of his acquaintance. Indeed, everyone loved and honored good, honest John Cameron of Marangai. During the disturbances in the sixties, Mr. Cameron organised, and was appointed Captain of, a cavalry corps styled the Wanganui Cavalry Volunteers, and right good and useful service they rendered under their plucky, respected Captain, John Cameron.

CAMPBELL, Captain Moses.—Another of the oldest settlers, a Highlander of the good old school, and at one time a Captain in the 73rd Highlanders. Captain Campbell saw a lot of service in the early years of the last century, and later on, having sold out, came to New Zealand with his family and settled in Taranaki. But he did not remain there long, preferring Wanganui, and settling here in about 1846. His farm at Wiritoa, named after a lovely little lake about four miles from town on the south side of the River Wanganui, is one of the best and most favourably known homesteads in the district. Here Captain Campbell and his family lived many years, and here the genial, kindly, hospitable old Highland gentleman died in 1861, aged 75 years—a Highland laird and gentleman of the old school, truly! Captain Campbell brought up a large family of sons and daughters, most of whom are "in the land of the living," some here, and some in other parts of the colony. His third son, Mr. Ewen Campbell, is in possession of Wiritoa farm; is Chairman of the Wanganui Meat Freezing Company, and a most useful, highly respected settler to "boot."

CHURTON, Henry.—One of the first settlers of Wanganui, a gentleman of considerable means at one time, but somewhat peculiar and eccentric in his ways and manners. He lived a secluded life to a great extent at his place at Mataongaonga, about four miles from town on the left bank of the river—a very pretty place. Mr. Churton had a fine orchard of the choicest fruit trees, and he was rather proud of it, taking great pains with his

trees and grafting them with the very best kinds. His great "hobby," however, was the Maoris, by whom he was surrounded; indeed, they made his place quite a resort and "at home" whenever they chose to visit him, whether from Putiki opposite the town, from Aramoho opposite his home, or from up-river, far and wide! But they must have cost him large sums of money from time to time, for it is no joke to entertain, feed, house, and clothe a lot of the aboriginals of New Zealand. Strange to narrate, Mr. Churton could never see any fault in his Maori friends, and would always take their part against Europeans, no matter how much in the wrong his dusky neighbours and friends might be! Indeed, Mr. Churton's fondness for, and the interest he took in the Maoris here, amounted to an infatuation. He was a martyr to gout for many years, and this did not improve his temper. He died quite poor, I believe, although at one time he was reputed to be a wealthy man. He built and endowed a very fine school for Maori girls just opposite his own place, which must have cost him a very considerable sum. It passed out of his hands several years ago, and is now used as an Old Men's Home.

DURIE, Major D. S. (R-M.)—This gentleman was one of the first settlers to Wellington in the early forties and was in business there for some time. Later on he and his family moved up to Waikanae on the West Coast, where he took up land from the N.Z. Company. When the disturbances broke out at the Hutt in '47 and '48, "Major" Durie was appointed a Police Magistrate and did good, useful service with his police. He was one of those instrumental in the capture of the celebrated fighting rebel chief, Rauparaha, who was seized by order of Sir George Grey and placed on board H.M.S. Herald or Hazard—I am not sure which. This was a masterstroke of policy and tended considerably towards the cessation of hostilities at the Hutt and on this Coast. Afterwards Major Durie was appointed Resident Magistrate here, which position he continued to hold until retired upon pension in '66 or '67. Major Durie's place, named "Glen Durie," just opposite the town, was a favourite resort for scores of Wanganui people in bye-gone days, civilian and military alike, and there Mrs. Durie, one of the kindest and best of ladies who ever left the Land o' Cakes for New Zealand, dispensed hospitality with a lavish hand, always with the kindest of smiles and cheerfully—a clear, much beloved lady! Major Durie in his young days served in the Peninsular War in the Spanish Legion against Don Carlos. He was wounded, and on that account and for his bravery was presented with a sword, medal, and clasp by the Spanish Government of the day. When hostilities against the natives broke out on this Coast in '63, '64 Major Durie was appointed to a command in the New Zealand Militia, but we did not "take the field" as his magisterial duties kept him in the town. He died in 1874, aged 70.

DEIGHTON, Samuel.—This gentleman, one of the best known and most popular of the early settlers, was for a time Clerk and Interpreter to the R.M. Court presided over by Major Durie, R.M. Mr. Deighton did not, however, continue long in this position, preferring a free-and-easy, unrestrained sort of life amongst his friends the officers of the Garrison,—65th Regiment,—the late Major Trafford, more especially, and others. Mr. Deighton was a great authority on horse racing, horses, and sport generally, and was much in evidence amongst all the sporting men at that time, at race meetings, etc. He was also a great authority on the culinary art, and no "mess" dinner or private dinner party was considered complete without the genial, obliging, good-natured "Sam" Deighton, who generally took charge of the kitchen for the time being and saw that everything to be placed on the table was "cooked to a turn" and served up in the very best style. Indeed, no one dreamt of interfering with "Sam" on such occasions, and his opinion and authority on all questions of cookery were never disputed. When all was ready and placed on the table, then "Sam," after hastily preparing himself as regards his toilet, etc., would take his place behind the principal dish at the head of the table and carve in the most approved fashion, passing remarks upon the various dishes and "laying down the law" on all questions connected with the culinary art. It is not too much to say that, in matters of gastronomy, viands of various kinds, flavouring essences and sauces, etc., "Sam" was regarded by all competent to express an opinion as being second only to the celebrated Soyer himself, of Crimean War fame! "Sam" Deighton for many years "floated" about the country—at one time in Wanganui, at another in Rangitikei, staying generally with his great friend and patron, Captain (afterwards Major) W. Rawson Trafford, who lived at a place called Korero-mai-waho in the Upper Rangitikei River, and who rented a big "run" from the Maoris on the south side of the Rangitikei River, known by the euphonious name of Mingiroa (the name of a pretty flowering native shrub). Mr. Deighton was elected Captain of the first Rifle Volunteer Corps formed in Wanganui in 1860 and was very popular with his men, although he never shown at drill or on parade. It was quite out of poor "Sam's" line! Some years afterwards, Captain Deighton was appointed by the Government of the day Resident Magistrate at the Chatham Islands, where he remained a considerable time until retired by the present Government only two or three years ago. Captain Deighton died quite recently in Canterbury at the ripe age of 80 years, if I recollect rightly. He was one of Nature's gentlemen, a favourite with everyone, and I don't think he had an enemy, not in these parts, at any rate. R.I.P.!

FIELD, Henry Claylands (architect and surveyor, etc.)—This gentleman came to Wanganui in 1850 or 1851 and settled at Aramoho, about two and a-half miles from the town of Wanganui, where he still resides—a hale, hearty old gentleman. Mr. Field, accompanied by his young wife and child, walked the whole distance from

Wellington to Wanganui, there being very little and uncertain communication, either by land or sea, between the two towns in those days. Mr. and Mrs. Field did the journey in about a week, sometimes travelling along the sea-beach, and sometimes inland following the native tracks, there being no road proper whatever then. It is related of Mr. and Mrs. Field that they carried most of their worldly possessions on their backs at the time, Mr. Field a heavy "swag," and Mrs. Field her baby and a pet parrot. They reached Wanganui without mishap after crossing numerous streams and rivers, wading through swamps, climbing steep hills, and camping out on sandhills near the sea shore. Mr. Field for many years lived an active life, and did much useful work in his profession here, and being a well educated man (he learnt his profession in one of the best establishments in London) and a great reader, his companionship was at all times agreeable and instructive. Besides carrying on his work in his profession for many years in Wanganui, Mr. Field took a deep and active interest in Church matters, being a staunch, consistent, good churchman of what is known as the Broad School; and being a lay-reader it frequently fell to his lot in bye-gone days to read the service in the Parish Church and sometimes a sermon as well. As a writer to the Press, too, Mr. Field excelled, his "style" being of the Addisonian stamp, and he always took care to write on subjects that he understood. His letters on various subjects have all along been instructive and well written. Of late years, Mr. Field's eyesight has failed considerably, but he can still read fairly well, and get about without difficulty. He is father of the member for Otaki, Mr. W. H. Field.

GARNER, John.—Mr Garner is called the "Father of Wanganui," it being generally allowed that he was the first, or if not the first, the second or third white man that set foot in this place. This was, I believe, in 1839. Mr. Garner was at first in the employ of the New Zealand Company, but his trade or calling was that of a butcher, and a first-class butcher and judge of kine of all kinds he was. For very many years Mr. Garner and two stalwart sons carried on the butchering business in Wanganui, doing their own slaughtering and supplying H.M. Commissariat for the troops stationed here. Old John Garner was well and favourably known by everyone in the place, from the Colonel Commanding down to the small boys and girls of the town. His cheery laugh, and sunny, happy disposition made him a favourite with all. He lived to a green old age, 80 I think, and lies at rest in the Wanganui Cemetery where many more of the old identities are buried.

GIBSON, John, of Kaikokopu, near the town, another of our oldest settlers who came out to Wellington in the "William Hyde" in 1850, and later on shifted with his large family of sons and daughters to Wanganui, taking up land at the above-named place. Mr. Gibson also purchased land in Wellington and for a considerable time owned some of the very best town properties in the Empire City. Although of Scotch descent, Mr. Gibson came from Devonshire, and a typical Devonian he was—vigorous, hard-working, fearless, outspoken, and as true as steel. He took an active part in politics, and was a consistent, sturdy opponent for several years of Provincialism and the late Dr. I. E. Featherston, Superintendent of the Wellington Province. He it was who got up a petition to the Governor, Sir George Grey, to obtain separation for Wanganui and Waitotara from Wellington. But nothing came of it; Dr. Featherston and the Provincialists were too strong for Mr. Gibson and those acting with him in the matter. In subsequent years Mr. Gibson's health gave way owing to disappointments, monetary losses, and family bereavements. He left for Sydney for the benefit of his health in a sailing vessel from Wanganui, but died before reaching Sydney and was buried at sea. This was about the year 1869 or '70.

GIBSON, Dr. G. H.—This gentleman, who arrived in Wanganui early in 1859 was, perhaps, the most

MR. EDWARD THOMAS BROUGHTON.

widely known, popular, and sought after of all those re-siding in Wanganui for several years. Dr. Gibson, or as he was familiarly known amongst his more intimate friends "little Gib.," came to Wellington from England as medical officer in charge of a number of immigrants. Previous to this he had seen a lot of life on the gold fields of Victoria—Ballarat, Bendigo, and other "diggings"—in the early fifties, and many a good story he could tell of them. But I don't think he made a "pile" whilst there, or if he did, he must have parted with it, for when he came to Wanganui he was what is called somewhat "hard up." Luckily for him at this time he met Captain Trafford in Wellington, and that gentleman, having taken quite a fancy to "little Gib.," persuaded him to go to Wanganui and enter into practice, there being a good opening just then for a medical man, Dr. George Rees, of whom I shall have something to say further on, having recently died. Acting upon the advice proffered by Captain Trafford, the little medico accompanied that gentleman to Wanganui, travelling on horseback and taking up his quarters at first with the Captain and other officers of the 65th Regiment. He soon made headway in his profession and became a great favourite with all and sundry—the ladies especially—as he was of a most genial, "taking" disposition, could sing a capital song, and possessing a beautiful voice was much sought after in social circles. He was also a great "sport" and very soon took a leading position at the race meetings, etc., etc. Taken altogether, Dr. Gibson was what might be termed a "good all-round man," and he was always much in

evidence in almost everything that went on in the place, saving politics, which he detested! He was not long in making the acquaintance of Dr. Featherston, Superintendent of the Province, which ripened into a close and warm friendship, and which remained unbroken to the end of his life. I might say much of Dr. Gibson and his career in Wanganui from 1859 to 1869, or thereabouts, but to do so would take, up altogether too much space. Suffice it to say that during the whole period, and until his health gave way, Dr. Gibson's kindness, goodness, liberality, and charity were boundless, and many a poor man and woman have had occasion to bless him for his kindness and large-hearted liberality. In 1868 Dr. Gibson took into partnership Dr. R. C. Earle, who is still here and in practice. Together, these two medical men secured a large and lucrative practice, but Dr. Gibson's health completely giving way later on, he went to England for advice and treatment, but he did not last long there. He died of consumption at Ramsgate in 1870, at the early age of 49,—Dr. Featherston, who was Agent-General for the colony at that time, looking after his old friend and frequently visiting him. Dr. Gibson was for many years Colonial, or Hospital, Surgeon for Wanganui, and was reckoned very skilful, having performed many difficult and critical operations at the hospital as well as in the course of his private practice. There is a handsome and very appropriate memorial stone of Dr. Gibson in the Wanganui Cemetery which for many years stood in front of the Old Hospital on the river bank (Taranaki Quay) but was removed to the cemetery four years ago. This memorial stone was subscribed for, and placed in its former and present position by Dr. Earle, Dr. Gibson's partner for several years, and a few of his more intimate and cherished friends. Dr. Gibson's name will long live in the memories of many in Wanganui and surrounding districts who benefitted by his professional services, participated in his boundless hospitality, and enjoyed his kindness, generosity, and intense good nature.

GOTTY, John.—Another of the very early settlers of Wanganui, arriving here sometime in the forties, if I am not mistaken. What business or calling he followed before coming to Wanganui, I cannot exactly say, but he must have been a man of some means. He was a native of Germany and a "Count" in his own right, and took charge of the Rutland Hotel, the principal, if not the only, hotel in Wanganui. This must have been in 1850 or '51. He continued in the hotel business for several years and then sold out to Mr. James Speed. The Rutland, named after the English County in which the 65th Regiment of Foot was raised, was the favourite resort for everybody who was anybody at all, in those "good old days." Here used to assemble the officers of the Garrison and all the young "sparks" and "sports" of the day, and many a pleasant evening and rousing time were spent within the walls of the Rutland Hotel during the proprietorship of jolly John Gotty, and subsequently. Mr. Gotty never, for reasons of his own, assumed the title of "Count" or even allowed himself to be addressed as "Herr" John Gotty, preferring to be known as plain John G. It was said that he had been engaged in more than one "affair of honour" in the Fatherland; whether this be true or not, I cannot say, but I can vouch for his courage, pluck, and determination, and I should be inclined to think he would have proved a dangerous customer to tackle! For energy, industry, and dogged pluck and perseverance it would have been hard to beat honest John Gotty. He married a native woman of rank belonging to a Rangitikei tribe, I believe, and by her had two sons who grew up to be very fine, tall, handsome young men. They were sent to England to be educated and afterwards returned to the colony and to Wanganui, but what has become of them now, I cannot say. Mr. Gotty died a year or two ago somewhere in the Rangitikei district, at a very advanced age.

HANDLEY, John.—One of Wanganui's best and most esteemed early settlers. Mr. Handley and his fine family of four sons and three daughters lived for many years at their beautiful farm, "Southern Grove," near Westmere, about six miles from town on the Taranaki or north side of Wanganui. Mr. Handley was a typical English farmer, and brought the knowledge and experience gained in the Old Country into play on his New Zealand property. "Southern Grove" was a model farm and a favourite resort of the officers of the Garrison and many more besides, where all were heartily welcomed and hospitably entertained. Mr. Handley was a member of the Provincial Council for his part of the district, and was all along a staunch and consistent supporter of the late Dr. Isaac Earl Featherston and provincialism in the fifties and sixties. He was also a Justice of the Peace and, as already stated, a man held in high esteem and of the kindest nature—in a word, as fine a specimen of a thorough good English farmer as ever left the shores of the Old Country to settle in New Zealand. Mr. Handley met with an untimely death in 1867 when, riding home one evening from town, his horse fell and rolled over him, crushing his chest. He was found in this condition by the roadside unconscious, and taken home, but he lingered for a few days only in great pain and then passed away at the comparatively early age of 56. Mr. Handley's sons are all, I believe, still in the district, one, Mr. John Handley, living on his property at Okehu, near Kai-iwi. The beautiful family home, "Southern Grove," passed into other hands after Mr. Handley's death.

HARRISON, Henry Shafto.—A Yorkshire gentleman of means, Mr. Harrison came to Wellington sometime in the forties and afterwards to Wanganui where he bought land and settled down with his wife and family—at first on St. John's Hill where he was burnt out just as his house was about finished, and afterwards at "Warrengate," a splendid property of considerable acreage about seven miles from town on the No. 2 Line of road, south side of the Wanganui River. Here Mr. Harrison and his family of one son, Mr. H. Nevin Harrison, and three daughters, lived many years. The first Mrs. Harrison died shortly after coming to New Zealand, and

Mr. Harrison's second wife was a Miss Fletcher of Wellington by whom he had a son and daughter. The latter married Mr. R. K. Chamberlain, who is a first cousin of the Rt. Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, Secretary of State for the Colonies. Mr. and Mrs. Chamberlain and their family live on the Estate, "Warrengate," and have done so for some time past. But to return to Mr. H. Shafto Harrison. He was M.H.R. for this district for several years and was a well known figure in the "House," remarkable for his courteous, gentlemanly bearing, and ready wit. Indeed, during all the time that he was a Member he was considered the wit of the House, and many queer sayings and funny anecdotes used to be related of him. Later on, Mr. Harrison gave way to Mr., afterwards, Hon. John Bryce. Mr. Harrison was also a Member of the Provincial Council and Executive, and a great political and personal friend of Dr. Featherston. Mr. Harrison, in addition to this and much more, was a most liberal man and spent much money in the place and upon improving his fine property. He was also a great patron and supporter of the turf, and for many years was President of the Wanganui Jockey Club. The "Harrison Memorial Stakes" still finds a place on the programme of the Wanganui Jockey Club. One good story illustrative of Mr Harrison's ready wit I must relate. It is too good to be overlooked in any account or "sketch" of the genial, kindly old gentleman. Coming into town one day from Warrengate, and jogging along the Quay, he happened to meet an old identity whom he had not seen for years, but who did not bear a very good reputation. This person stopped to speak to Mr. H. and accosted him thus—"Why, Mr. H., don't you remember me?" "No," said Mr. H., "I don't know you; who are you?" "Why," said the other, "I am——, don't you remember me?" "Oh, yes, yes, of course," replied Mr. H., "I remember you, but I thought you were hanged long ago. You ought to have been; good day!" Mr. Harrison, after lingering for some time on a sick bed, died at his town residence in 1891, aged 84.

HARPER, Thomas.—This gentleman with his wife and son arrived in Wanganui in 1863 or '54 from England and took up land at Wai-ora near West mere about five miles from town—a very beautiful spot. Before going on to their land, the Harpers stayed in town until about '57 whilst the house was being built and the place improved. Here they remained until hostilities with the Maoris broke out in '63, '64, and onwards. In about '67 they had to abandon their beautiful farm and come into town, seeking protection and safety under the very guns almost of the Garrison stationed in the old Rutland Stockade on the sand-hill of that name in the centre of the town. In 1868 Mr. and Mrs. Harper went to England principally for the benefit of Mr. H.'s health and surgical treatment, leaving their son in charge of Wai-ora and returning in 1869 or 1870. Hostilities having ceased with the natives after the capture of the Wereroa *Pah* by the Militia, Volunteers, and friendly natives (Kupapas) under the native chief, Major Kemp—Te Keepa Tanguru, or Rangihwhinui—and General Chute's celebrated expedition through the country at the back of Mt. Egmont to New Plymouth, the Harpers, in common with many other settlers, returned to their country property and settled down again. Mr. Harper's health, however, again broke down, and he eventually succumbed to the insidious disease that had clung to him for several years. He died in 1872 aged 73 years. Mr. Harper, junr., died also not long after, after lingering and suffering almost unspeakable torture for about two years from some spinal complaint Mr. Harper, senr., was at one time Sheriff for this district and for many years a Justice of the Peace—a genial, kindly English gentleman of the old school. It ought to be mentioned that in early life Mr. Harper was a "middy" on board H.M.S. "Northumberland," the ship in which the great, but conquered Napoleon Buonaparte was conveyed a prisoner to St. Helena. Afterwards he was in the Legacy Office at Somerset House for many years before coming to New Zealand. The beautiful Waiora Estate was, subsequent to the decease of the Harpers, sold. Several of Mr. and Mrs. Harper's grandchildren are now residing in Wanganui and other parts of the country.

HEWETT, Jas. Duff.—This well-known figure of Wanganui's early days, related on his mother's side to the Duff (Duke of Fife) family, came to the district in about 1854, and took up land near Kai-iwi, his property being named "Toe" farm. Mr. Hewett's father, the late Lt.-Col. Hewett, was an old Waterloo officer and saw a lot of service under the "Iron Duke." He retired from the Army many years ago, of course, and lived chiefly at Folkestone where he spent his declining years and where he died. He was a gentleman of means and kept his son "going" for several years and, I fancy, up to the time of his tragic death. Of this terrible affair I must give some account. Mr. Hewett's farm was dangerously situated on the outskirts of the settled district of Kai-Iwi, and he was almost surrounded by Maoris with whom he was (apparently) on friendly terms. Being a gentleman by birth and education, the natives looked upon him as a *rangatira* and thought much of him, calling him "Tiemi" (James) and their "pakeha." Unfortunately for Mr. Hewett, he trusted these natives too much, employing them to shear for him, etc., and letting them have the "free run," so to speak, of his place. This was absolute folly on his part as was afterwards proved; nor would poor Hewett listen to the warnings and entreaties of his numerous friends in town, many of whom knew the treacherous nature of the Maoris in time of war. Instead of leaving his farm—at night at any rate—and seeking safety in one of the blockhouses in the district, he persisted in remaining at his place, saying that he did not fear his Maori "friends," and that they would not injure or molest him. Of course, during the disturbances of 1863, '64, '65, Mr. Hewett in common with many other settlers sent his wife and family into town for safety but remained at "Toe" farm himself, saying to those who expostulated with him,

and warned him of his danger—"What's the good of a man without sheep?" The thing feared followed, for one day in February, 1865, the whole community was horrified and thrown into a great state of excitement by the news brought into town that James Duff Hewett had been treacherously murdered by some of the very natives whom he had employed as shearers. This occurred early one morning before the break of day. His almost naked and headless body was afterwards found by a party from the stockade lying in the middle of the dray road leading to town. Poor Hewett's head was taken away by his bloodthirsty, treacherous murderers and afterwards carried about the country on a pole by the fanatical Hauhaus; and thus tragically ended at a comparatively early age the career of James Duff Hewett—a brave, kindly, good-natured, though somewhat headstrong, gentleman. Mr. Hewett's widow resides at Marton, I believe, and her brother, Mr. J. W. Baker, at Brook-dale farm near Wanganui—a gentleman well known in the district, a good settler, and greatly respected.

HIGGIE, Thomas, the elder, one of the widest known names in the whole district, as well as in Rangitikei etc.—Mr. Higgle arrived in Wellington in 1841 or '42 in the "Olympus," the same ship of the New Zealand Company in which the late Dr. Isaac Earl Featherston, so frequently referred to in these "sketches," came to the colony. Dr. F. was in medical charge of the ship and, as a matter of course, was well acquainted with the Higgle family at that time and in after years both in Wellington and Wanganui. Shortly after arrival in Port Nicholson, Mr. Higgle went to the Hutt with Mr. Milne, late of Marton (deceased), cleared some land, and "chipped" the wheat into the soil with adzes—a primitive way of sowing wheat! After this they heard that the Maoris—hostile Maoris—were coming, so they went from Wellington in a boat to the Hutt. threshed all night, and then returned to Wellington taking the wheat with them. The Maoris came down after they left and destroyed everything they could lay their hands upon! After all this (dates not ascertained) Mr. Higgle built the Wellington blockhouse for the safety and security of the settlers against native attacks. Subsequently he went up to Manawatu with Mr. Kebble, a well-known Wellington settler and miller, and built a mill for that gentleman. While they were away a big fire broke out in Wellington. This was in 1844 or '45. Mrs. Higgle and their two young children had a narrow escape of being burnt to death; their little hut was burnt to the ground, and Mrs. H. and her children sought shelter all night under a boat. Mrs. Featherston came down next day to assist the family. In 1846 or '47 Mr. Higgle, who was a carpenter and shipwright by trade, built the Porirua blockhouse, a stone structure. The Maoris were fighting the Europeans in the Horokiwi Valley at this time. In 1848 the great earthquake took place, which knocked the village to pieces, and the Porirua blockhouse was so injured that it was condemned and abandoned. The Higgle family came to Wanganui in about 1849, and Mr. Higgle brought cattle up the Coast for the late Captain W. B. Rhodes. He afterwards bought land in the township of Wanganui where the New Zealand Clothing Factory now stands, right opposite the Rutland Hotel in Ridgway Street and Victoria Avenue. For this now most valuable section, upon which then stood a clay hut, Mr. Higgle paid £30. He built two houses on the section, and in after years sold it to the late Mr. J. A. Burnett for £1000! Mr Higgle built a mill also about this time for the Maoris at Putiki, where the family then resided. Later on Mr. H. built a house for the late Major Durie, R.M., at Glen Durie, right opposite the town. He also built the hospital and the barracks for the troops on the Rutland Hill; and formed the road under Shakespeare's Clift, so that it will be seen that Mr. Higgle did a great deal of useful work in Wanganui in those days. A brig of 400 tons named the "Tyra" that was stranded on Petone beach Wellington (date not ascertained) was purchased by Mr. Higgle for a trifle, launched, loaded with cattle, and taken to Lyttelton and Port Chalmers—a good "spec." In 1807 Mr. Higgle bought 3600 acres of land on the No. 2 Line of road, Wanganui, a very valuable property which he farmed succesfully. Subsequent to his death in 1884, this property was cut up and parcelled out amongst his

MR. CHAS. WILLIAM BROUGHTON.

six sons. Messrs. Thomas, junr., Alexander, and James Higgle are still in occupation of their farms; the other three sons parted with their portions. In 1864 a steamer named the "Prince Alfred" was stranded on the south beach near the entrance to the Wanganui River. Mr. Higgle purchased the abandoned vessel, launched her successfully seaward, got her safely into the river, repaired and refitted her, loaded her with cattle for the troops in Auckland at that time, and sold them to H.M. Commissariat. Afterwards he sold the vessel herself to the Commissariat as a transport for £4000—not a bad bargain! At another time (date not known) Mr. Higgle launched a stranded vessel named the "Yarra" from the South "Spit," Wanganui Heads, and sold her to Messrs. Taylor and Watt. [I recollect this circumstance, also the stranding and launching of the "Prince Alfred" (p.s.), well.] From all this it will be seen that the late Mr. Higgle was a most energetic, useful, and enterprising settler. Indeed he was never idle, but a tremendous worker and a man in "dead earnest." I knew him well, and can testify to his industry, enterprise, honesty, and integrity. He was a typical Scot of sterling qualities and the right sort. Born at Cupar, Fife, N.B., in 1817; died at his place, Okoia, near Wanganui, in 1884, aged 67. Mr. Higgle left a large and fine family of "stalwarts" behind him, the best known of them, probably, being Mr. Alexander

("Alec.") Higgin, a prominent member of the Wanganui Jockey Club, Judge at the race meetings, a good all-round "sport," a jolly good fellow, and a general favourite! Mr. "Alec." has quite recently returned from a trip to the Old Country and the Continent of Europe.

HOGG, Revd. David.—The first Presbyterian minister to Wanganui also arrived here from Scotland in the early fifties—about '53 or '54. Mr. Hogg continued in the discharge of his sacred vocation until about 1870, when his health failing he retired and lived with his family in Wanganui for some years. He was succeeded by the Revd. J.—now Dr.—Elmslie. Later on Mr. Hogg's health completely broke down and he was sent to Wellington for medical treatment where he died in 1880, aged 69. Mr. Hogg was, I suppose, personally known to every Scotsman,—Presbyterian, Free Kirk, or what not, in the district. He was greatly respected, and as scholar, theologian, and preacher, I fancy there were few in New Zealand in his time who could surpass him. He left a large family of sons and daughters, several of whom are resident in this town and neighbourhood. One, Mr. John Hogg, joined the First Contingent to South Africa, returned from thence for a short time, and quite recently went back to the seat of war.

IMLAY, Peter.—This Scotch gentleman came to Taranaki in the forties from Twofold Bay, New South Wales. He did not remain in Taranaki very long, however, and after making several overland journeys to Wanganui, often staying here several weeks at a time, finally removed with his family to this place and settled down on his fine property—Balgownie, originally named Bellhaven, close to the town and skirting the sea-coast, and extending nearly as far as Kai-iwi. This was in 1857. Here Mr. Imlay remained with his family until his death in 1881, cultivating a part of the estate, but not taking any active part in public affairs. Mr. Imlay, who was an excellent judge of stock, imported a number of blood horses and brood mares from Twofold Bay, and I should be inclined to say that there are numbers of first-class animals in the district to-day whose progenitors came from there. Mr. Imlay was a man of retiring habits and disposition, and only visited the town when business compelled him, preferring the quiet and serenity of his comfortable home at Balgownie to the bustle of a town and the hum of the "madding crowd." Since Mr. and Mrs. Imlay's death, the estate has been partially cut up and sold, and at the time of writing there is quite a pretty little township named "Gonville" standing on a portion of Balgownie, which originally must have comprised about 10,000 acres of land of various kinds and qualities. The late Mr. Imlay was a Justice of the Peace, but he rarely sat on the Bench, preferring the seclusion of his home. He attained to the extreme old age of 94.

JONES, Henry Ireson.—This much esteemed, highly-respected, warm-hearted English gentleman, the son of a Colonel in the British Army, came to the district in 1853, after residing a few months in Wellington. Mr. Jones came to the colony from Victoria, where he saw and experienced some of the ups and downs of life on the goldfields of Ballarat, Bendigo, etc., in 1850-51. Whilst on the goldfields, Mr. Jones fell in with Lord Robert Cecil, now the Marquis of Salisbury, Premier of England. They "chummed up," to use a digger's phrase, and voyaged together in a sailing vessel from Adelaide to Port Philip (Melbourne), and a warm friendship sprang up between them as a result of their experiences together on the "diggings" in the early days of Victoria. On arriving in Wanganui, Mr. Jones at once embarked in farming pursuits, taking up some land having a river frontage about eight miles from the, then, little village of Wanganui, right bank of the river. Here Mr. Jones, with his young wife and family, remained for several years, working hard on his land and improving his farm. But it was an up-hill struggle; times were bad, the price of produce low, and there was no market to speak of. At length Mr. Jones "sold out," abandoned the farm at Papaiti, and came to live in town, taking up a small holding near the present racecourse. This he farmed, working hard from "early morn to dewy eve," whilst his estimable, thrifty wife helped to keep things going for their rising family by starting a girl's school—an excellent school, truly, at which many now grown-up women and matrons were well taught and rendered fit for the battle of life and in their turn to become heads of families. Later on, Mr. Jones was advised by friends to start in business as a bookseller and stationer, there being no such thing as a stationer's shop in Wanganui in those days—1859-'60. Mr. Jones followed the advice proffered him, and opened a small shop on Taupo Quay next door to the Post Office and Customhouse. It turned out quite a success; and as the place increased in size and importance, so did Mr. Jones's business. Later on, Mr. Jones shifted into the Avenue and considerably enlarged his business, taking into partnership his second son, Mr. Leonard H. Jones, who succumbed to enteric fever in 1887, leaving a widow and child to mourn their loss. This was a great grief to Mr. Jones. He retired from an active participation in the business of H. I. Jones and Son some years ago, and has since been living in retirement at his pretty country place on No. 2 Line, about three miles from town. The business, started in a small way in 1860, has grown into quite a large "concern"—one of the largest and best-managed in the colony probably. Mr. Jones's eldest son, Lloyd, and his third son, Frederick Ireson, carry on the business assisted by a large staff of *employees*. Quite recently, the premises have been re-built in brick, and enlarged; and the building is now one of the most up-to-date, imposing business edifices in the town, as the representation of same in the special edition of the "Weekly Press" devoted to "Wanganui, Pretty, Prosperous and Progressive," recently published testifies. Mr. and Mrs. Jones celebrated their golden-wedding at their country home in November,

1898, when a large number of relatives from far and near assembled to congratulate the worth)', much-beloved couple on that occasion. Mr. Jones is now in his 79th year, and, I am happy to add, hale and hearty.

LETT, James.—This gentleman came to Wanganui in the early forties, but the exact year I cannot state. He was the first Postmaster of Wanganui, then called "Petre," after Lord Petre, a prominent Catholic nobleman of those days, and who, if I mistake not, was in some way connected with the Colonial Office and perhaps, the New Zealand Company. The business of the Post Office was then carried on in a small room off the verandah of Mr. and Mrs. Garner's house facing the Avenue, where Messrs. H. I. Jones's shop and other business premises now stand. Mr. Lett was a gentleman of the old school, a man of culture, and a great "sport." He had much to do with establishing horse-racing in Wanganui, and I think I am right in saying, "sported silk" himself on more than one occasion as a gentleman rider. If so, he was in good company in those days, for such gentlemen as the late Sir W. Fox, Sir E. W. Stafford, and others did the same. Mr. Lett died in 1854, at the early age of 37. He was succeeded as Postmaster by Mr. Charles C. Des Vœux—an aristocrat of the "first water," and at one time an officer in the Austrian Army. Mr. Lett left a widow and two sons, one of whom, Mr. James Lett, resides in Wanganui.

LEWIS, Edward.—A man well known in business circles, both in Wellington and Wanganui. In the early fifties Mr. Lewis was in the employ of Mr. Thomas Waters, of whom more anon, but returned to Wellington, where he remained till 1861, when he joined the

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old established firm of Taylor and Watt as junior partner here in Wanganui. As with many more partnerships, matters did not run quite smoothly, and eventually the partnership was dissolved, and Mr. Lewis embarked in business as a general merchant, importer, and auctioneer on his own account. Mr. Lewis did a large and, for a time, lucrative business, especially in partnership with the late Mr. Warwick Weston, brother of Mr. Thomas S. Weston, barrister, etc. Together, these two gentlemen had very large contracts with H.M. Commissariat during the war on this Coast (1863-'65), and they must have made money then. After the war, a re-action set in, and things did not look very "rosy" for Wanganui. Mr. Lewis about this time speculated heavily in wool and lost as heavily. In the end, he had to succumb, disposed of his business, and went to Auckland. This was about 1870 or '71. For several years past, Mr. Lewis and some of his family have been residing in Melbourne. Any "sketch" of Mr. Lewis's career in Wanganui would be incomplete without some reference to his unbounded hospitality and kindness to all and sundry during his sojourn in this town and whilst "Fortune smiled upon him." He kept open house, so to speak, and everybody who was anyone at all, was welcome at Mr. Lewis's comfortable home in Victoria Avenue, just opposite St. Paul's Presbyterian Church. This house has disappeared now; a vacant section marks the place where it once stood; shops of one kind and another have been erected close by; and I suppose that ere long the ground will be built upon where once stood the hospitable abode of Mr. and Mrs. Edward Lewis.—(Since writing this a fine building in brick has been erected on the section. It is owned by Dr. R. C. Earle). Many a pleasant evening have I and dozens besides spent there, and many fond memories cling to the spot where mirth, feast, and song caused the night hours to pass unheeded away, and when the first rays of the rising sun warned those assembled that dawn was breaking and that it was time to depart to their several abodes. We hear and read of all-night "sittings" of the House during the session of Parliament when wordy warfare too frequently prevails; but *our* all-night sittings were characterised by mirth, jollity, friendship and, I am pleased to add, courteous behaviour towards each other.

LOCKETT, Jonas.—One of the very first settlers who came to Wanganui in 1840 or '41. He was at that time in the employ of the late Mr. Henry Churton as a sort of "general useful," or something of the kind. Later on, Mr. Lockett was employed (on Sundays) as verger at the Anglican Church, and still later on in 1853, '54, as tide-waiter, locker, and messenger in H.M. Customs under Mr. C. C. Des Vœux, the late Captain Charles Sharp. Collector of Customs (1859), and myself, 1863 to 1878. Mr. Lockett was a staunch Churchman, and did yeoman's service for the Church in his various capacities of verger, vestryman, and churchwarden. Indeed, I firmly believe that Mr. Lockett never missed going to Church, wet or dry, summer or winter, unless he was seriously indisposed. He was a true staunch Churchman of the broad school; honest in his beliefs, consistent in his "daily walk and conversation," and living a blameless, exemplary life. Would to God there were more like simple, honest, Jonas Lockett in the Anglican Church as we know it now-a-days with its Ritualism, formalism, sacerdotalism, and Romanism. Mr. Lockett was "pensioned off" by the Government in 1879, and passed the rest of his days in Wanganui in peace and retirement. He died in 1884, leaving a widow and a grown-up son and daughter by his first wife. Mr. Lockett was a bit of a "character" in his way, and before closing this "sketch" I must narrate one very amusing anecdote of him. It was in the fifties, about 1853, let me say, and a well-known gentleman in business here as an auctioneer, etc.—the late Mr. Thomas Powell—requiring some

repairs to his business premises on Taupo Quay at that time, was recommended to Mr. Lockett as the "handy man" of Wanganui. Accordingly, Mr. Lockett was sent for and put in an appearance. Thus Mr. Powell—"Ah! well, Mr. L., I hear that you can turn your hand to almost anything; I want this door looked to; it does not open and shut properly. Can you make it all right?" "Certainly, sir," replied Mr. Lockett. "In point of fact, since I came to this colony I have to do all sorts of things. Indeed, sir," he added, "put me down in the middle of the Great Sahara Desert, sir, and I would make a living where another would starve!" "Oh! very well," replied Mr. Powell, "you are just the man I want." And he was engaged for the job on the spot!

MCGREGOR, Captain John, born at Perth, N.B., in 1813, was one of the very first Europeans who came to this part of New Zealand. He arrived in Wanganui in 1839 or 1840, and remained here, off and on, until his death in 1882. He had been a seafaring man in his early years, and was styled "Captain" McGregor, having been in command of vessels at various times, but he was familiarly known all over this district as plain "Jock" McGregor in contradistinction to the other Mc-Gregors, whose name was, and is, "legion" in and around Wanganui. Captain McGregor took up land on No. 3 Line, Wanganui, south side of the river,—a beautiful place of considerable acreage, which he named "Cherry Bank"; a very appropriate name, for McGregor's orchard was for many years famed for its fruit, and more especially cherries of the finest and choicest kinds. It need hardly be added here that, during the fruit season, "Captain" McGregor was favoured with many visitors from town and round about, who were always hospitably and generously entertained by the genial "skipper." During the disturbances in 1847-48-49, Captain McGregor stuck to Wanganui and did his share of fighting the Maoris in common with other settlers here in those stirring times. Some thrilling stories, still extant, used to be told of Captain McGregor's prowess; one in particular relates that he was chased by a number of bloodthirsty savages close to the river bank right opposite the town near the summit of Shakespeare's Cliff—an eminence about 150ft. high—and that in order to escape from his pursuers, the intrepid Captain literally took a "leap for life" right over the precipitous, frowning cliff, rolling over and over through the scrub and landing on his feet, very much shaken but not seriously injured! His dusky pursuers, no doubt considering "discretion the better part of valour," gave up pursuit of the intrepid Captain, who afterwards swam across the river to town and into safety under cover of a 10-pounder and musketry fire ("Brown Bess's" in those days) from the garrison on the Rutland Stockade—the hero of the day. "Captain" Mc-Gregor, who was a man of great energy and industry, worked on at his nice farm for many years and, I imagine, must have done very well, for he was frugal, sparing, and careful of his means. In about 1855 or '56 he re-visited his native country, Scotland, returning to New Zealand in 1857 in his own vessel, the "Ariel," a very handsome, smart topsail-schooner of about 90 tons register, which he safely navigated himself all the way from Glasgow to Wanganui. I recollect distinctly seeing the pretty schooner sailing up the river one beautiful summer evening and anchoring opposite the Rutland Stockade right under the shadow of Shakespeare's Cliff—the spot where a few years before he had taken his "leap for life." Perhaps he selected this particular part of the river where to anchor his vessel in order that he might calmly, and perhaps fondly, view from his vessel's deck the scene of his thrilling adventure and hairbreadth escape in 1848 or '49. The beautiful "Cherry Bank" farm, after the death of the Captain in 1882, passed into the possession of his son-in-law, also a John McGregor, who still resides there with his family.

MCWILLIAM, Thomas (senr.), Peter, and Thomas (junr.)—This sturdy Scotch family came to Wanganui in 1852, the elder McWilliam with his wife and younger children having lived in Wellington (Wade's Town) a short time before coming up to Wanganui, where they were joined later on (1852) by their two eldest sons, Peter and Thomas, from Victoria. The family took up land in the Matarawa Valley, near Wanganui, and established themselves there in farming pursuits, and naming their place "New Seat," a name it still retains. Thomas McWilliam, the elder, a grand specimen of the sturdy, honest, God-fearing Scotchman, died here in 1879 at the advanced age of 79, leaving behind him a large number of descendants and an honoured name. Mr. Thomas McWilliam left Wanganui some years ago and went to live at Winton, Otago, where he has done well, whilst Mr. Peter McWilliam is still here and living at his place, "Mars Hill," on the No. 2 Line of road. A younger son of Mr. Thomas McWilliam, senr., Mr. James McWilliam, joined the Anglican Church, was ordained as a missionary to the Maoris by the Bishop of Wellington, the Right Revd. Octavius Hadfield, and entered upon missionary work amongst the natives at Otaki and neighbouring settlements on the West Coast between Rangitikei and Wellington. The Revd. James McWilliam is still living at Otaki and carrying on his work amongst the natives, and Europeans also.

DR. G. H. GIBSON.

MORGAN, John.—One of the oldest and best known settlers, probably, that Wanganui can boast of, and still "in the land of the living," I am pleased to add—was born in the village of Gillingham, Dorsetshire, in 1829, and came out to New Zealand, in company with a younger brother, Mr. William Morgan, in the ship

"Berkshire" to Taranaki (New Plymouth) in 1850. The two brothers took up land from the New Zealand Company at Tatarai-maka, about 15 miles south of the town of New Plymouth, but did not remain there long, leaving Taranaki and coming down to Wanganui in 1853. Mr. John Morgan afterwards went back to New Plymouth, married, and returned to Wanganui in 1854, joining and working for the late Mr. John Treweek on his farm at Kai-iwi, about nine miles north of Wanganui town and skirting the sea-coast. Mrs. Morgan, it is interesting to state, came out to New Plymouth in 1841—then a young girl—in the ship "William Bryant," amongst the first batch of emigrants from the Old Country (Devonshire and Cornwall) to Taranaki. Later on, Mr. Morgan leased some land from, the late Mr. Peter Imlay—a portion of the fine Balgownie estate, previously known as "Seafield," and farmed it. Afterwards, in 1857, he leased some land from the late Dr. George Rees adjoining the Race-course close to the town, which he also successfully farmed, and in 1861 purchased the beautiful "Newtonlees" estate of about 700 acres, just four miles from town on the south side of the Wanganui River, and close to the pretty little Wiritoa and other lakes. Here Mr. Morgan brought up his large family of six sons and four daughters, working on, and improving his beautiful farm almost continuously until 1901, when he leased it to Mr. W. M. Ashton and came into town to reside, and where he still resides—in Mathieson Street. Mr. Morgan, during all these years, gained for himself the reputation of being a first-class, practical English farmer of the right stamp; and it is, perhaps, interesting to mention "right here"—to use an Americanism—that he was the first to introduce into New Zealand and use on his farm at "Newtonlees" a "Samuelson" mowing machine. Through Mr. Morgan's influence and interesting himself in this behalf, Mr. John Duthie, the well-known and much respected iron merchant of Wellington, was appointed agent for Samuelson's mowing-machines in this part of the colony.

(Mr Duthie at that time—about 1869—was in business in Wanganui where Thain and Co.'s fine shop now is). It should not be omitted to mention, also, that Mr. Morgan was the first farmer in this district to introduce the Hampshire Down breed of sheep. During his many years residence in Wanganui, Mr. Morgan until recently took an active and lively interest in politics, local, provincial, and colonial, and he was always a consistent and staunch supporter of the (so-called) Conservative Party under such leaders as Sir John Hall, the late Sir Harry Atkinson, the Hon. John Bryce, Captain Russell, and others. Mr. Morgan was member for Wangaehu in the Provincial Council at Wellington from 1868 to 1876 continuously, in which latter year the provinces were abolished by Act of Parliament and the county system substituted. This great, fundamental change in our system of government was brought about mainly through the instrumentality of the late Sir Julius Vogel, Premier and Colonial Treasurer at that time. The late Sir William Fitzherbert was Superintendent of the Province of Wellington when the change took place. Mr. Morgan was also a member of the first Harbour Board in Wanganui. This was in 1876, if I recollect rightly, and he did the port and district good and valuable service about this time in connection with a serious breach in the sand-ridge, or "dunes," between the Landguard Bluff and the mouth of the river, caused by the inroads of the sea which at high water washed across the ridge through the channel it cut into the river. This would have proved a serious matter for the navigation of the river and port, no doubt, had it not been checked. Mr. Morgan advised the placing of bags filled with sand, also fascines, in the breach so as to close it up and keep out the sea. This was successfully accomplished, although Mr. Morgan's scheme met with some opposition. Afterwards, when the late Sir John Coode, the eminent marine engineer, visited Wanganui with a view to inspecting and reporting upon the river and entrance to same, etc., he thoroughly approved of Mr. Morgan's plan, and warmly complimented him upon same, adding that the best, most experienced engineer could not have devised and carried out a better scheme! This was great praise, certainly, coming from such a high authority. I may just say in this connection that the work done was a complete success, and I fancy I am right in stating that the breach made by the sea above referred to has not given any trouble since it was closed up in 1877. Mr. Morgan was also instrumental, in conjunction with Mr. D. G. Poison, Mangawhero, farmer, in getting the tolls on the Wanganui Bridge abolished—a great boon to the town and district generally. This was in 1882. For several years past Mr. Morgan has lived in comparative retirement owing to failing health and having been for a considerable time a martyr, so to speak, to acute rheumatism and sciatica. Although he obtained temporary relief after visiting and using the sulphur springs at Te Aroha, he is now almost a cripple and gets about with difficulty with the aid of a crutch and stick. Mr. and Mrs. Morgan are spending the evening of their days together unaccompanied by any members of their large family, who are all grown up, settled in life, and scattered about the district in one place and another. That the worthy old couple's declining years may be peaceful, calm, and unclouded, is, I feel sure, the heartfelt wish of their numerous friends in this part of the colony as well as in Taranaki, where they also have many family connections and friends. Before taking leave, of Mr. John Morgan in these "sketches," I ought not to omit to mention the sad, untimely end that overtook his brother William, referred to above. This distressing (under the circumstances) event occurred in 1857 at Woodleigh, William Morgan's farm on the Brunswick Line near Wanganui Whilst engaged in ploughing one warm day in August of the year named, and feeling thirsty, he drank copiously from a pool of stagnant water close by. Shortly afterwards he was seized with violent spasms,

internal inflammation set in, and four days afterwards he expired, after enduring the greatest agony. Medical aid was, of course, obtained, but all that could be done for the poor fellow proved to be of no avail. William Morgan was a very fine, powerful, handsome young man of 26 years only, and a typical English farmer like his brother. He left a widow and three children to mourn their loss. Three or four years after this sad event, Mrs. Morgan married the late Mr. John Ivo Gerse, a native of Belgium, and the well-known veterinary surgeon in this town and district for many years. Mr. Gerse died about three years ago, so that Mrs. Gerse was left a widow for the second time.

NATHAN, Henry.—Another of the very early settlers, who came to Wanganui in 1841 and settled here, bringing up a large family of sons and daughters, most of whom are residing in or near this town. Mr. Nathan during his long career in Wanganui occupied various positions at one time and another, e.g.—on the first Town Board and later on in the Borough Council. He was also Mayor for one term, and took an active interest in all matters appertaining to the development and improvement of the town and suburbs. Mr. Nathan was born in London in 1816, and died in Wanganui, November 1893, aged 77. He acquired a considerable amount of landed property in and near Wanganui, and left his widow and family in easy circumstances.

NIXON, John.—One of the very first settlers of Wanganui, was born in Nottingham, England, June, 1817, arrived in Wanganui February, 1841, and died at his beautiful suburban residence, "Sedgebrook," Wanganui. May, 1884, aged 67 years. Mr. Nixon, who was a gentleman of a good English family, and one of the first Justices of the Peace for the colony, took up a large piece of land with a river frontage, almost opposite the town at that time, but immediately opposite now, the town having spread and grown considerably of late years in an up-river direction. "Sedgebrook" was the name given to the fine estate of about 900 acres, stretching back some distance from the river side and comprising land of various descriptions—flat, hilly, bush, swamp, etc., with one or two nice perennial streams running through it and joining the Wanganui River. Here Mr. Nixon and his family lived several years; but during the war in 1847-'48—he felt compelled to leave his place and the district and went to reside in Nelson, where he made many valued friends, e.g.—the late Sir, then Mr. E. W. Stafford; Sir, then Mr. Wm. Fox; Sir David Munro, Sir Charles Clifford, Mr. Duppa, the Redwoods, Charles and J. Elliott—proprietors of that splendid, ably-edited paper, the "Nelson Examiner"—, Mr. Henry Adams, Barrister, etc., Sir John Richardson, and many others—men distinguished in literature, politics, art, and sport, especially the turf. Mr. Nixon returned to Wanganui in the early fifties, and after staying in town for 2 or 3 years, living in his town house on Taupo Quay just about where Foster's splendid hotel now stands, resumed

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occupation of "Sedgbrook" in about 1856 or 1857. Here he remained with a portion of his family for the rest of his life, several of his daughters having married and scattered to various places—one to Calcutta, the wife of a barrister there; another to England the wife of an Army Surgeon, Dr. James Davis, whom she married here; and a third to Wellington, the wife of the late Major Butts, H.M. 57th Regiment. Mrs. Nixon, who survived her husband several years, died on the voyage Home in 1892. Mr. Nixon was for many years Provincial sub-Treasurer for this district in the days of Provincialism under the late Dr. Featherston, Superintendent of Wellington Province, and the late Mr. Jonas Woodward, Provincial Treasurer. Mr. Nixon discharged his duties in the above capacity until the abolition of the provinces in 1876, and he was, I am safe in saying, all along on the most cordial, friendly terms with the late Dr. Featherston and his Executive, giving every satisfaction to them and the public generally. Mr. Nixon was also a captain (afterwards Major) in the New Zealand Militia—a rank conferred upon him by his old friend and fellow colonist, the Hon. E. W. Stafford, for many years Premier of the Colony. But "Major" Nixon did not, if I recollect rightly, ever take active service in the field here during the disturbances in 1863-'64 and onwards, as his duties as Provincial sub-Treasurer kept him at home and at his office in this town. In closing my "sketch" of John Nixon. I must not omit to add that he was a gentleman of the highest honour and integrity: a man whose word in all matters was "as good as his bond"; strict in the observance of etiquette and the rules and amenities of polite society, and withal a man of great kindness of heart and generosity of mind. Mr. Nixon left behind him three sons, the eldest, Mr. H. J. Nixon, at the present time manager of the local branch of the Bank of New Zealand, well-known in racing circles on this coast, and in possession and occupation of the family homestead, "Sedgbrook"; Mr. Charles Stafford Nixon, an officer of many years' standing in H.M. Customs Department, in Dunedin just now; and Mr. Arthur E. T. Nixon, in business here as a land and commission agent. It is, perhaps, interesting to state that, under the will of the late Mrs. Nixon, "Sedgbrook" estate was cut up about 4 years ago into sections of various acreages and sold under the hammer by Messrs. F. R. Jackson and Co., the well-known auctioneers and cattle salesmen. High prices were realised for portions of the fine estate, and already several substantial residences erected thereon may be viewed from the town standing out in bold relief on commanding positions on the hills

near the river.

NICHOLLS, Rev. C. H. S.—Mr. Nicholls, who came from Leeds, arrived in Wanganui about 1852, and took charge of the Industrial School Estate situate in Victoria Avenue, and for several years past known as the Wanganui Collegiate School, one of the best and most flourishing educational establishments in the colony. At the time of the Rev. Mr. Nicholls's advent, the greater part of this fine estate—250 acres fronting Victoria Avenue, and within ten minutes' walk of the Post Office—was a wilderness of swamp, sandhills, scrub, fern, "foe-toe," and flax. It is now for the most part cultivated, divided into small holdings and paddocks upon which a number of residences, small and large, have been erected, the rentals of which must amount to a considerable sum. The property was made over by Crown grant by the late Sir George Grey when Governor of New Zealand in 1846, or thereabouts, to the late Bishop Selwyn, and his successors for ever. It was intended as a training school and educational establishment for the poor and indigent natives and half-castes of both races in New Zealand and the islands adjacent thereto, and at the time when Mr Nicholls took charge there might have been a dozen native lads (Maoris) and one or two half-castes. A few years afterwards this number dwindled down to *one* Maori lad—"Hamiora," Anglice Samuel—and a handful, so to speak, of European boys. At the present time it is a large school comprising several fine buildings, including a chapel, and attended by about 200 boys, all Europeans, from various parts of the colony, the sons, chiefly, of well-to-do and wealthy people. I don't suppose there is a single Maori, or even half-caste, amongst the lot. However, no one complains now about the way the original intention of the Trust has been set aside or ignored; indeed the people of Wanganui generally and surrounding districts are very proud of the Collegiate School. It is a splendid school, splendidly managed and governed by Mr. W. Empson, the head-master, and a large staff of masters under him. Mr Nicholls, who was Chaplain to the Garrison here in those days, and who also conducted services for the Anglicans as well, remained at the school until his dwelling-house was burnt down. I forget the year when this unfortunate event took place, but he lost nearly everything and was much crippled in consequence, more especially as he had a large family to support. Shifting his abode to another part of the town, he severed his connection with the school, and devoted himself to the discharge of his clerical duties as Chaplain to the troops and Incumbent of Christ Church, Wanganui, depending upon the voluntary contributions of the parishioners for his stipend, which was never at any time of vast dimensions. Indeed, poor Mr Nicholls, who was not blest with the best of tempers and suffered a good deal from a troublesome complaint (asthma), had not a very happy time of it in Wanganui, and to make matters worse for himself he got into terribly hot water with almost everyone in the place for refusing on one occasion to bury a female parishioner on a Sunday. She died on a Friday, under exceptionally distressing circumstances, but Mr Nicholls said that he made it a rule not to conduct burials on Sundays, and he was inexorable. A storm of indignation followed; the Bishop of the diocese was appealed to, with the result that poor Mr Nicholls was removed from Wanganui and provided with a "cure" at the Upper Hutt. In justice to him, it must be said that he was not generously treated by his parishioners; his stipend was always in arrears, and he was allowed to leave Wanganui with a considerable portion of it unpaid. Notwithstanding all that I have narrated, Mr Nicholls was a man of considerable ability, a splendid English, if not classical, scholar; a very good preacher when he chose, and one of the finest elocutionists that ever left England and came to New Zealand. Indeed, he was considered the finest *reader* and elocutionist in Leeds, and was a great favourite of the celebrated Dr. Farquhar Hook, Vicar of Leeds, who made Mr. Nicholls one of his curates. It was quite a treat to hear Mr. Nicholls give a reading from Dickens or Thackeray, of both whom he was a great admirer. Mr. Nicholls suffered many hard and bitter bereavements in his family, several of his children pining away and dying after growing up to manhood and womanhood, whilst he himself was a great martyr to asthma, sciatica, and rheumatic gout for several years before his death, which took place in Wellington about 12 or 14 years ago. It is said somewhere in Holy Writ—"Whom the Lord loveth, he chasteneth."—If this be true, then the Lord must have loved poor, unfortunate, suffering, afflicted C. H. S. Nicholls!

OWEN, William Thomas—Came to Wanganui in 1858 from Wellington or the Hutt, I am not quite sure which, and started in business as a chemist and druggist in a small shop at the upper end of Taupo Quay, near the corner of Bell street and just about where the Railway Hotel now stands. Here Mr. Owen carried on his business for a year or two until the death of his wife when he went back to Wellington for a short time, returning again to Wanganui and starting afresh in business in larger premises lower down the Quay close to the wharf, and a door or two from where the "Pier Hotel" now stands. Here Mr. Owen did a large and, I believe, profitable business, adding that of General Importer, Wine and Spirit Merchant, etc., to that of Chemist and Druggist. During the disturbances on this Coast—1864 to '68—Mr. Owen was elected or appointed to a lieutenancy in the Wanganui Cavalry, and good service he rendered, being an excellent horseman, most assiduous in attending to his drill and military duties generally, and as intrepid, fearless a man, perhaps, as ever bestrode a horse, wielded a sword, or handled a rifle. Besides all this, Mr. Owen was a keen sportsman and a "dead shot," so that he was admirably fitted for the position of an officer in a cavalry corps of any kind. Mr. Owen's business increased very largely during the war, and being in constant touch, and a great favourite with

many of the Imperial Officers, as well as the Militia and Volunteers, he did a brisk business by supplying Regimental "messes" as well as individual officers and others with all sorts of goods and requisites. Mr. Owen kept a sort of "open house" all this time; it was a favourite resort for a great many officers and civilians, and his hospitality and kindness were unbounded. After the war in 1869 or '70 Mr. Owen sold out his chemist and druggist business to the late Mr. Joseph Willcox, retired from mercantile life altogether, and joined Mr. George Yates Lethbridge as a farmer, stock breeder, and runholder at Turakina and Wangaehu. The firm

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about this time leased from the Maoris the large Ruatangata run of about 10,000 acres situated between the two streams, Wangaehu and Turakina, a few miles south of Wanganui. Here Mr. Owen remained for some years, working very hard and embarking in the somewhat risky enterprise of importing blood stock of one kind and another, from England more especially. In this venture he must have embarked many thousands of pounds (one prize pedigree bull that he imported cost him 400 guineas), but I fancy that in the end he must have lost considerably. It will thus be seen that Mr. W. T. Owen was a most enterprising settler; he has done a lot of good for the district, and has been in many ways associated with pretty nearly everything calculated to advance its interests as a sheep farmer and stock breeder, also horse racing, and other field sports. The partnership between Messrs Owen and Lethbridge was dissolved some years ago, and Mr. Owen has for a good while now been living on, and cultivating, his property about ten miles up the Wanganui River, left bank, a part of what used to be known as the Featherstone Estate. Mr. Owen, who is a widower twice over, visits the town once a week as a rule, attending the cattle sales and transacting business. He also is a regular visitor at the Wanganui Club, Victoria Avenue, where his genial, kindly face, and breezy manner render him a general favourite. Mr. Owen, although now getting up in years is, I am pleased to add, hale and hearty, and my sincere wish is that he may live many more years in the enjoyment of good health, prosperity and happiness.

PARKES, Frederick.—This well-known and greatly respected old settler, came out from England with his parents and brothers to Wellington in the barque "Aurora," amongst the first batch of emigrants under the New Zealand Company, and landed on Petone beach on 22nd January, 1840, a day well remembered by all Wellington old settlers, and the anniversary of the Colony. Auckland people, however, have all along disputed this Anniversary Day, maintaining that the true and correct Anniversary of the foundation of the Colony as a dependency of the British Crown is January 30th, because the first Governor, Captain William Hobson, R.N., hoisted the "Union Jack" at the Bay of Islands, and proclaimed the Queen's Sovereignty over the whole Colony, January 30th, 1840. [The famous Treaty of Waitangi, Bay of Islands, was signed by the Governor and Native Chiefs in the north on the 5th February, 1840. In connection with this very important event, I find the following entry in my late father's journals under date 12th February, 1840:—"A large assembly of natives from all parts of Hokianga gathered together to-day on the Mission Station (Mangungu) to meet the Governor to sign the Treaty ceding this country to the Queen of England, and much discussion ensued. The chiefs in general appeared willing to place themselves under the care of the British Queen, although there was a little opposition to the measure." This is a digression, but I deem it of sufficient interest to insert here what I have written about the Anniversary of the Colony, whether it should have been observed on the 22nd, or on the 30th January in each year subsequent to 1840.] To return to Mr. F. Parkes—He was at this time, January, 1840, nine years of age, and stayed in Wellington with the rest of the family eighteen months, i.e., until June, 1841, when he walked up to Wanganui with his brothers and a Mr. Bell (not the late Sir F. Dillon Bell, however) and his sons, who farmed "Bell Flat," nearly opposite the town of Wanganui, afterwards and now named "Sedge-brook." Mr. Parkes remained in Wanganui until 1847 when he returned to Wellington, remaining there fifteen months, and then came back to Wanganui, where he has remained continuously ever since—a period of fifty-three years! Mr. Parkes joined the first company of rifle volunteers formed in Wanganui in 1860 or 1861, of which he was captain, and to which he belonged seventeen years. He took a great interest in volunteering all this time, and was considered a very smart officer, well up in his drill, a strict disciplinarian, and securing the confidence and respect of those under his command. I have but little to add to this brief "sketch" of Captain Fred. Parkes. He married when comparatively young, and has brought up a family, residing on St. John's Hill on the outskirts of the town all these years, where his parents also lived many years, and where they died. Mr. Parkes, who has always been of a quiet, retiring disposition, never pushed himself forward, or took an active part in politics or other matters saving volunteering, as above mentioned. But he has for many years been, and still is, a prominent member of the Presbyterian Church in Wanganui, of which he is an elder; zealous, consistent, and most exemplary in his "daily walk and conversation," and held in high esteem by all those associated with him in church work and much respected by his fellow citizens generally.

PEAKE, John William, and Henry Lacey.—These two brothers, sons of a barrister of Worcester, England,

arrived in Wanganui in 1853, after some experiences on the goldfields in Victoria in 1851-'52. They took up land near the Kai-Iwi stream about 9 miles from Wanganui and embarked in farming pursuits, working hard and "roughing it" for many years in true colonial fashion until the war in 1863-'64 and onwards compelled them to abandon, if not altogether, at any rate partially, their place and come into town along with many others at that time. Mr. J. W. Peake, the elder of the two brothers, married the only daughter of Mr. John Garner, the "Father of Wanganui" as he was styled, and of whom a "sketch" is given *ante*. From this union there sprang a large family of sons and daughters, most of whom are resident in or near Wanganui at the present time. Mr. H. L. Peake went home to England after working on his farm for a good many years, married an English lady, and returned to Wanganui and settled on his property once more. Of late years, however, Mr. Peake has resided in town, leaving his country place in charge of a manager, whilst his brother, Mr. John Peake, has seen many ups and downs—parting at one time with a property, and buying another, building houses in town and letting them, etc., etc. I have little more to add respecting these two most estimable, highly-respected gentlemen. Both being of a modest, retiring disposition, neither of them, to my knowledge, ever took an active part in public affairs—politics, colonial or local, municipal matters, etc., etc.—but living a quiet, domestic sort of life and dispensing hospitality in true English fashion on occasions at their own homes. Mrs. J. W. Peake died here about 3 years ago after a lingering and painful illness, whilst Mr. and Mrs. H. L. Peake are both residing at their town house, and, I am pleased to add, well and hearty.

POWELL, Thomas.—Mr. Powell came to New Zealand and Wanganui from Calcutta in 1853, accompanied by a son and daughter, his wife, who belonged to the Eardley Wilmot family of Yorkshire, having succumbed to that deadly disease, cholera, a short time before the family left India for Victoria and New Zealand. Mr. Powell, who had been a merchant in Calcutta and was a man of some means, bought property in Wanganui and embarked in business as a general merchant and auctioneer. For a year or two he carried on business in a small building on Taupo Quay, close to where Foster's fine hotel now stands, but later on he leased or purchased premises in Victoria Avenue next to Mr. A. D. Willis's fine shop and factory, and still known as Powell's buildings. Here, the firm of Powell, Son and Co. carried on business for many years as auctioneers, shipping and commission agents, general merchants, etc. Mr. Powell's health failing, the business was carried on by his son, Mr. Wilmot Powell—a gentleman well and favourably known in Wanganui in social circles, of literary and artistic tastes, and the originator of the Wanganui Club. Mr. Powell, senr., who was a Justice of the Peace and for some years deputy Sheriff for Wanganui, died in 1876, aged 69 years. He married a second time in Wanganui and left a large grown-up family behind him, most of whom are resident in this district. He was a remarkably handsome man, of commanding presence, very tall, and dignified in his bearing. He was for many years the recognised chairman at all public meetings in Wanganui, political or otherwise, and he generally succeeded in maintaining order and "ruling" firmly even when party feeling ran high, or rowdily-disposed ones were inclined to break away and create a disturbance. Mr. Powell originally came from Leeds, where he was well known and respected, and where he presided at public meetings on many occasions, so that he was no novice in his capacity of chairman at our public meetings. Like Lord Wolseley, who for some years was regarded as being England's "only general," so the late Mr. Thomas Powell was recognised as being for many years and until his health failed, Wanganui's only chairman at public meetings, etc.

PAWSON, John.—This well-known citizen came to the place from Doncaster, in 1858. He was then quite a young married man and a butcher by trade. Bringing with him excellent letters of recommendation, he soon

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got employment and worked away at his trade, early and late, for several years, his jolly face, cheery laugh, and open-handed generosity rapidly gaining him many friends, more especially amongst the officers, non-commissioned officers and men of H.M. 65th Regiment of Foot stationed here at that time. Mr. Pawson did well in business, and in due course opened a butcher's shop on his own account in Victoria Avenue next door to where the Bank of New South Wales now stands. Later on, and during the disturbances on this coast in 1863-'64, and up to 1868 when a large number of Imperial troops were encamped in and near this town, Mr. Pawson had contracts with H.M. Commissariat for the supply of meat, hay, and other commodities for the troops, and he must have done remarkably well in those stirring times when the Commissariat expenditure at one period rose to the enormous sum of £100,000 per month, and when large fortunes were made by army contractors and others in this district as well as in Taranaki and Auckland. As time rolled on, however, and the war came to a close and the troops were withdrawn (this was in 1869-'70), a re-action set in and a great "change came o'er the spirit of the dream" here and elsewhere. Mr. Pawson, in common with others, suffered in consequence and he had to succumb. Outside his business as stated above, Mr. Pawson was well and favourably known throughout the district as an amateur actor and enthusiastic admirer of the drama, and for many years he

took an active and leading part in amateur theatricals, and frequently played his part creditably with professionals on the boards of the old Princess's Theatre and the Oddfellows' Hall. Amongst other plays in which he took part I may mention "The Loan of a Lover," "The Green Bushes," "The Corsican Brothers," "The Lady of Lyons" (as Claude Melnotte), "The Lancashire Lass," "Struck Oil"—and many more. Nor did our local actor confine himself to melodrama or comedy, but aspired to tragedy, taking the difficult character of Iago in "Othello." In all entertainments, plays and concerts, etc., got up for a deserving object, John Pawson was ever to the fore. And it must be added here that if there is anything in the doctrine of "heredity" as laid down by the great Charles Darwin, then it has been prominently exemplified in the Pawson family, for Mr. Pawson's son William, and charming youngest daughter Mary, have both proved themselves on many occasions to be worthy of their father on the boards of the theatre and in the concert hall. Miss, or as she is familiarly named "Toodey" Pawson would hold her own with many professionals, and in light opera and comic operas such as "Pinafore," "The Pirates of Penzance," "Iolanthe," "Princess Ida," "The Mikado," "Les Cloches de Cornville," "Rip Van Winkle," and others of the same class, she has "scored heavily," to use a sporting phrase, and delighted all who have listened to her singing and seen her acting in such parts, for example, as "Yum-Yum" in the "Mikado," which was produced by our local amateurs at the Opera-house here last July. Indeed, her acting and singing on that occasion would have done credit to most professionals, and fairly captivated those who had the pleasure of seeing and hearing her. Mr. William Pawson as "Rip" in "Rip Van Winkle" about 5 years ago quite surpassed all former efforts, and in this most difficult, trying character, surprised and delighted everybody who saw him. Mr. Pawson, senr., has been living in retirement for some years past with his unmarried son and daughter named above, and although no longer in the flower and bloom of youth or strength of vigorous manhood, is yet hale and hearty and dearly loves on occasions to recount the glories of the stage in Wanganui in the fifties, the sixties, and the seventies of the century just past.

REES, Dr. George.—Came to Wanganui in about 1851 or '52, and commenced the practice of his profession here, receiving the appointment of Colonial Surgeon from the Government of the day. This position carried with it that of medical officer for the natives as well as Hospital Surgeon. Dr. Rees, who was a gentleman of the strictest integrity and the very "pink of honour" in all his doings, was most painstaking and reliable during the whole course of his career. He acquired considerable landed property and accumulated a handsome fortune, for those days. He never left Wanganui for any length of time that I can call to mind, but stuck to his post as a Government official, and pursued his private practice right up to the day of his death. This took place on September 20th, 1858, suddenly one Sunday evening whilst he was sitting at dinner, heart disease being the cause. He lived in a comfortable house facing Bell Street, close to where Mr. C. H. Borlase now resides—at that time quite a suburban retreat, surrounded by native trees and brushwood. He was called the "little doctor" to distinguish him from his elder brother Joseph, the "big doctor." The date of his death is firmly fixed in my memory from the circumstance that he died just two days before my own father, whom he had been attending up to the very day of his (Dr. Rees's) death. My father died two days later from the same malady, but not so suddenly. Dr. Rees's name will be remembered in Wanganui for all time, so to speak, from the fact of the Rees Bequest of about £5000 for the establishment and endowment of good schools in this town. The money was vested in trustees, and although the validity of the Bequest was disputed by a relative of the "little doctor" and taken into the Supreme Court, it was not upset in any way but remained operative. Of course, the amount left by Dr. Rees accumulated as years went by and at the present time two or more of our educational establishments owe their existence to the doctor's handsome gift. These are the Girls' College in Campbell and Liverpool Streets—a magnificent property—and the Technical School, adjoining St. Paul's Church, Victoria Avenue.

RICHARDS, J. M.—I cannot say precisely when this well-known and somewhat eccentric "early settler" came to Wanganui, but it must have been during the forties. Mr. Richards lived in almost absolute seclusion during all the years that he resided in Wanganui, occupying a small sort of clay *whare* on Taupo Quay, where he carried on business as a soap and candle maker. But scarcely anyone, I fancy, was admitted inside it, or more especially a kind of "sanctum" attached thereto where Mr. Richards lived, ate, drank, smoked, and slept. But Mr. Richards, notwithstanding his peculiarities and eccentricities (he was in addition very hard of hearing) was a man of great intelligence and extensive knowledge, and if one could only get at him and "draw him out," much useful information and pleasant chat might result. What Mr. Richards was before he came to New Zealand I cannot say, but I think he came from London and must have been possessed of considerable means. In any event, he accumulated a large sum and died wealthy, leaving his four sons well off. One anecdote of Mr. Richards is so good that I must give it, although by so doing I shall considerably lengthen my "sketch" of this well-known Wanganui old identity. It was in 1856, and there was an election for the Provincial Council then sitting in Wellington. Mr. Richards came forward, published his political manifesto, and entered the lists against the late Mr. W. H. Watt, if I recollect rightly. The day of the election came round (those were the days of open voting), the Resident Magistrate was the Returning Officer, and there was a large and excited crowd in front of the old Rutland Hotel, then kept by John Gotty. On this momentous (for the candidate) occasion, Mr.

Richards opened his heart and his purse, too, and there were refreshments of various kinds, solid and liquid, without stint or limit. Mr. Richards took up his position on the balcony of the hotel and harangued the "free and independent" electors on the street below. But so great was the tumult and excitement amongst the two opposing parties, that not a single word of Mr. Richards's speech could be heard; all that could be *seen* was the candidate bareheaded, waving his hands, gesticulating and almost foaming at the mouth owing to his frantic efforts to make himself heard. Just here I must explain that, previous to polling-day he had announced to all his friends and supporters that, if elected, he would entertain all and sundry at dinner at the York Hotel in Wicksteed Place, kept at that time by one John Kells, a discharged sergeant of the 65th Regiment. But when the numbers at the close of the poll were announced, placing Mr. Richards in a minority, he sent off a message post haste to Kells to stop the dinner. At this period of Wanganui's early history the well-known newspaper writer and *literateur*, Thomas Moser, was residing here, and being a bit of a "wag" and a writer of verses on occasions, he thus described in rhyme Mr Richards's defeat:—

Richards *loq*:—

"The election's lost, as I'm a sinner;

"Run to Kells', and stop the dinner!—"

Poor Mr. Richards, in common with many more Wanganui well-known people, his fellow passengers, met with a watery grave when the ship "Avalanche" collided with an American homeward bound steamer named the "Forrest" in the English Channel and went down, 11th September, 1877—an awful catastrophe!

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Ross, Hugh, Barrister and Solicitor.—This fine English gentleman of the old school came to Wellington in the early forties from Hobart, Tasmania, where he held the position of Crown Prosecutor for some years. He experienced many vicissitudes, changes, and hardships in common with his fellow colonists during the disturbances with the natives at Wellington and the Hutt in 1846-'47-'48, and many a good story could Mr. Ross relate of bush fighting in those days, for, besides being a charming conversationalist, he was a great wit and full of fun and repartee. After the war, he left Wellington, and went to Rangitikei, where he took up land at a pretty place named Lake Alice. Here Mr. Ross and his family, three sons and one daughter, remained for some years, farming their land and putting up with all the hardships and inconveniences incidental to a settler's life in such a scattered district and rough country as the Rangitikei was then, surrounded by Maoris of all kinds—good, bad, and indifferent. In addition to working on his farm, Mr. Ross used to practice his profession, coming into Wanganui occasionally whenever engaged in an important case, and to see his Wanganui friends, the late Major Durie more especially, one of his companions in arms in Wellington during the disturbances above referred to. Later on, Mr. Ross sold or leased his farm at Lake Alice and came into town with his family and settled down to the practice of his profession, in which he stood high, plodding, punctilious, and scrupulously observant of the rules and etiquette of his profession. He worked up a very good practice and took into partnership the late Mr. Henry John Perham, solicitor. But this did not continue long; the partnership was dissolved, and not long after Mr. Perham died. Mr. Ross carried on his practice, assisted by his second son, Mr. Alfred (afterwards Captain, now Major Ross, N.Z. Militia) until his health broke down. He died in August 1869, aged 73 years. Mr Ross, during his long and chequered career, sustained many sore bereavements in his family. First of all, his wife died suddenly in Wanganui in 1854, or thereabouts, under distressing circumstances; then during the war on this coast in 1864-'68—his third son Frederick, a most promising young man and a lieutenant in the N.Z. Militia, was killed at *Turu-turu-mokai*, near Patea, the garrison of the redoubt of which he was in command having been completely surprised and surrounded by the rebel natives one very dark night. Lieutenant Ross was shot dead on the spot as he rushed out to see what was going on, and so were most of his small garrison of about 25 men, and the redoubt was "looted!" This sad affair was a terrible blow to old Mr. Ross—a blow from which he never fully recovered. Two very promising grandsons of Mr. Ross, Montagu and Augustus McDonough, died also about this time, one from brain fever, the other from consumption. The elder of the two, Montagu, who was a clerk in the Post Office, and afterwards joined the staff of the Bank of New Zealand, was a most estimable, gifted young gentleman, and gave promise of rising to a high position.

ROBERTS, George.—This widely-known, somewhat remarkable man came to settle in Wanganui in 1848, embarking in business as a storekeeper and auctioneer. In 1854, he gave up storekeeping and took over the "Ship Hotel" from "Andy" Green, an old Rangitikei settler. This hotel stood on Taupo Quay at the corner of Wilson Street, quite near where the present Railway Station is. Mr. Roberts was a most active, bustling, in-deed, restless kind of a man; he devoted all his time and energies strictly to business, except perhaps during an election or at race-meetings, for he was a great politician, and as a "stump-orator" it would have been

difficult to beat him in those days when party feeling—Provincialism v. Centralism—ran high. Indeed, he was a born orator and just the kind of man to lead and sway the populace, and had he had the advantages of a good education, I have not the slightest doubt that he could have taken a leading place amongst politicians at that time. But Roberts, being "wise in his generation," stuck to business and made lots of money. He did a "roaring trade" at his hotel, especially with the military (there were two companies of the 65th Regiment Foot stationed here then besides a few artillery-men, engineers etc.), and also the Maoris, although it was contrary to law in those days to sell them intoxicating liquors of any kind. But the police and administrators of the law were somewhat slack in upholding it in this matter; indeed, Magistrates and police alike, I fancy, winked and looked the other way whenever they saw a Maori in a public-house "bar," unless the aboriginal indulged too freely, got intoxicated, or kicked up a "row." Then he incurred the risk of being "run in" by one or the other of the two constables, one a Maori named Pirimona (Anglice Philemon) who constituted the guardians of the peace in those primitive, free-and-easy days when George Roberts flourished at the "Ship Hotel," Wanganui. Then, again, it was a risky thing to "run a Maori in" for anything. They were in the majority by a great number, and in the ascendant too, to a great extent, and consequently were tenderly dealt with by magistrates, police, and civilians alike. Nor had they a very great fear of the military, which was not greatly to be wondered at seeing what a poor display we made during the war with Heke at the Bay of Islands, etc., in 1845-'6; also with Rauparaha, Te Rangihaeata, Te Mamaku, Te Heu-Heu, and other warrior chiefs in the southern part of the North Island in '47 and '48. But I am getting away from my old friend, George Roberts, and must bring this little "sketch" of that worthy citizen of old Wanganui to a close. In 1858 Mr. Roberts took a trip to the Old Country, partly on business, partly "on pleasure bent." Just before leaving Wanganui he entertained his numerous friends and patrons, including the officers of the Garrison, at a banquet—at his own hotel, of course. There was a large gathering; everything was done in the very best style possible for those days, and feast, mirth, song and story were the order of the evening and up to a late hour of the night. Of course, upon the removal of the cloth, there were "toasts" to be drunk, many and varied. But the "toast" of the evening was when some leading guest (I think it was Dr. Featherston or Captain Trafford) rose to propose the health of our "host," and wish him *bon voyage* and a safe return to Wanganui. Roberts rose to reply and there was a burst of applause, of course. The departing "host" of the "Ship" waxed eloquent and poured out sentence after sentence with great fervour and rapidity, rising to lofty flights of eloquence that both astonished and delighted his audience. Then came the peroration which was a masterpiece of its kind. I was present, listened attentively as a young fellow should do, and can recollect even now every word that our eloquent "host" said. Here are his words, *verbatim et literatim*:—"Gentlemen, I should be guilty of the basest ingratitude if, after thanking you all for your kind wishes and flattering words, I neglected to return my most sincere, heartfelt thanks to the Wanganui River which flows close past this hotel, and which during all the years I have been in business here has honored all my draughts (drafts) upon it, and which has been as good to me as £3000!" Loud, long, and tremendous cheering. In due course, Mr. Roberts returned to Wanganui, bringing with him a large quantity of goods, drapery chiefly, and started in business as a draper, etc., in conjunction with the late Mr. William Kells. But I do not think he did quite as well in his new line of business as at the old "Ship Hotel" on Taupo Quay before he went Home. His health failed after this, and he died here in 1876, aged 60 years, leaving a widow and grown-up family behind him. Mrs. Roberts still carries on the business in a shop in Victoria Avenue. She is now an old lady but well and hearty, and much respected by all who know her.

SHERRIFF, Francis.—I now come to one of the best-known, most highly respected, and in some respects, most remarkable men that ever made Wanganui his home. Mr. Sherriff was born in Kent, in 1801, and died at his town house, Ingestre Street, Wanganui—"Carlton House,"—in August 1897, at the extreme old age of 96, exactly. As I was for a good many years intimately acquainted with the late Mr. Sherriff, I am, fortunately, in a position to narrate a good deal of him, but I will endeavour to be as brief as possible when dealing with such a prominent figure in the history of Wanganui. Mr. Sherriff arrived here for the first time in 1853 or '54, bringing his eldest surviving son, Bedford, with him. When the New Zealand Company was formed in London in 1839 or 1840, by such distinguished, well-known men as the late Lord Durham, Sir Charles Buller, the Wake-fields, and others, land was purchased by them from the natives (this was before New Zealand was made a Crown Colony by Governor Hobson's Proclamation in 1840) in Port Nicholson, Nelson, and Taranaki. The land was cut up into areas or blocks of—country land, 640 acres; suburban land, 5 acres, and town sections of ¼-acre each, and disposed of by "lottery" in London. There was considerable interest awakened in London respecting New Zealand at that time, 1840-'41-'42 and onwards. Mr. Sherriff, who was in a large way of business in the

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cotton trade both in London and Manchester in partnership with the great Richard Cobden, caught the land

fever in common with hundreds of others, and took a large number of shares or tickets in this lottery concern. A considerable area of land fell to him when the "drawing" took place, and he found himself the possessor of land in Wellington, Nelson, and Wanganui—the latter place chiefly. Mr Sherriff's Wanganui properties consisted of several town sections in Ridgway Street, etc., and the splendid "Rusthall" estate (named after his country place near Tunbridge Wells in Kent), about 3½ miles from the town on the No. 3 Line of road, and consisting of 640 acres of beautiful land—open, bush, undulating, and flat, with a lovely perennial stream running through it. Mr. Sherriff was so pleased with the general appearance of his property when he saw it for the first time that he decided to settle upon it, farm it, and make it his home for the rest of his life. Consequently, he entered into possession with his son and worked on it himself for a considerable time, visiting the town frequently, where he built a small house on one of his town sections, and living a free-and-easy, unrestrained sort of life, which seemed to suit him after the bustle, hurry-scurry, and worries of a large business in the City of London. Mr. Sherriff remained working away with his son and farm labourers on his beautiful place for 3 or 4 years. Then he returned to England, via Sydney, leaving his son in charge of "Rusthall." After his return to London, he dissolved partnership with Cobden and his junior partner, Jillett (the style of the firm was Cobden, Sherriff and Jillett), broke up his beautiful home near Tunbridge Wells, sold the property, also a fine house at Brighton, and returned to New Zealand in 1863, bringing with him the younger members of his family, viz:—3 sons and his youngest daughter, and a complete outfit for a well-furnished house as well as a large quantity of farming and agricultural implements purchased chiefly from the well-known firm of Ransomes and Sims. Mr. Sherriff and his family lived together at their charming country home, "Rusthall," for many years, working hard on, and improving it. He was reputed to be a wealthy man, and must have spent a considerable sum on his fine country property. As time went on, changes of course took place; his eldest son after the war settled in another part of the country, and his daughter married in Wanganui, but afterwards went to reside in Dunedin. About 1876 Mr Sherriff, senr., left his country property and came to reside at his town house, "Carlton House." Here he remained in retirement, receiving visitors on occasions and entertaining his many friends during his old age and up to within a few years of his death. The fine old English gentleman of whom I am writing was what might be aptly described as a "man of many parts." He had seen a deal of life—London life especially—in his time, and knew many prominent men in politics, business, literature, and art, amongst them the late Earl Russell, Richard Cobden, Sir James Duke, at one time Lord Mayor of London, and many more besides. Mr. Sherriff was for many years a prominent member of the Haberdashers' Company—one of the wealthiest of the City companies, and although often urged to submit himself for election as a member of the Corporation of the City of London, always declined the honour, his native modesty and retiring disposition prompting him to remain a simple citizen. During the many years that Mr. Sherriff was a resident of Wanganui, whether at Rusthall or Carlton House, he all along took a deep interest in church matters and was a most regular attendant at church and a consistent, upright, conscientious churchman (Anglican). He was also a great and ardent lover of music, and did all that lay in his power to cultivate and encourage a taste for good music in Wanganui. The many musical re-unions at his country house during the sixties will never be forgotten by the writer of this "sketch"; here, as well as in town afterwards, all those possessing a knowledge of, and taste for good music used to assemble and thoroughly enjoy the rich musical repasts provided by Mr. Sherriff and his talented daughter. Mr. Sherriff brought with him from London a very valuable, and carefully selected musical library, of which good use was made by the family and some of their musical friends; also a choice and well-selected general library of some hundreds of volumes. In closing this "sketch" of one of my greatest, most respected, and valued friends, I must remark that there are, I fear, all too few left now-a-days of his stamp; a man of the strictest integrity and honour; a man scrupulously regardful of truth and honesty in all his words and actions; an implacable enemy of humbug, sham, deceit, hypocrisy and fraud, and a lover of all that is good, true, noble, and right. He died here in Wanganui "full of years and honours," beloved and respected by all who had the privilege of knowing him, and of whom it may be truthfully said in the words of Solomon—"The memory of the just is blessed." In deference to Mr. Sherriff's expressed wish long before his death, his interment in the Wanganui Cemetery in August 1897 was strictly private; there was no public funeral, consequently the general public had not the opportunity afforded them of following the remains of the "G.O.M." of Wanganui to their last resting-place!

SPEED, James.—This well-known business man and Licensed Victualler came to Wanganui about the year 1854—originally from the United States of America, of which he was a citizen and continued so, for I do not think that he ever became naturalised as a British subject, whilst he was in Wanganui, at any rate. Mr. Speed started in business as an importer, etc., and later on took over the Rutland Hotel in succession to John Gotty. This was about 1856 or '57. Here Mr. Speed did a very good business; the "Rutland" was the favourite resort of almost everyone in those days—military officers, Government officials, farmers, business men, travellers from Wellington, Taranaki, Australia, etc., putting up there and meeting together in friendly intercourse. Mr. Speed was not long in discovering that the old "Rutland" was too small and inconvenient for the growing requirements of the town and surrounding districts; so he made considerable additions, and the new portion was a really fine,

substantially built, structure of the best materials procurable in those days. Although the frame-work was necessarily of timber the inner walls and ceilings, etc., were of cement and lath and plaster of the best kind, and a splendid piece of work it was. The billiard room, which abutted on both Victoria Avenue and Ridgway Street, was a very fine room indeed, and it was the principal resort of afternoons and evenings for several years for the officers of the garrison, Government officers, bankers, merchants, and the gentry of Wanganui generally at that time. Many a game of billiards and pool was played in this room on the splendid billiard-table there, and many a jolly evening, more especially on Saturdays, "put in" where besides the enticing games of the green cloth, mirth and jest, fun and frolic, reigned supreme. The hotel was burned to the ground on Xmas Day, 1865—a day never to be forgotten by old Wanganui residents and, more especially by those who were present at, and assisted to extinguish the fire there was no Fire Brigade then) which was supposed to have been the work of an incendiary! Mr. Speed did not remain very long in possession of the Rutland Hotel, but let it and left Wanganui altogether about 1861 and went to Picton, where he purchased a considerable quantity of land and built a large house as a family residence in the full expectation that Picton, at the head of Queen Charlotte's Sound, would be made the seat of Government of New Zealand. In this expectation Mr. Speed was disappointed, for the Commissioners appointed for the purpose of selecting a suitable place for the seat of Government, wisely fixed upon Wellington. This was in 1864. Mr. Speed may have visited Wanganui once or twice after going to Picton in order to look after his interests here, but he never made Wanganui his place of abode again. Besides his valuable town properties—the Rutland Hotel, afterwards sold, and the block at the corner of Victoria Avenue and Taupo Quay where Paul and Co.'s fine shops, Caxton Buildings (A. D. Willis's), the A.M.P. Insurance Offices, the "U.F.C.A.", and other premises now stand—Mr. Speed was the owner of a considerable area of splendid land in the Makiri-kiri Valley, now in the occupation of his son, Mr. Hugh Speed, sheep-farmer. As I have nothing further of interest to add respecting Mr. James Speed, I must close my "sketch" by stating that he died at Picton, when, I cannot exactly say, leaving a widow and several grown-up sons and daughters. Mrs. Speed was the daughter of Mr. Hugh Montgomery, a very old Wanganui settler from the Land o' Cakes in the early fifties, and Bailiff of the R.M. Court when the late Major D. S. Durie was the Resident, or Stipendiary Magistrate. As I had the pleasure of knowing Mrs. Speed well, and as my late father was the officiating minister when she was married to Mr. Speed in 1856, I can bear testimony to her many amiable qualities; she was a very handsome, attractive young woman, and a great favourite with all the "good sorts" who frequented, or made the old Rutland Hotel their home!

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SHIELDS, Thomas.—This gentleman, the son of an English squire (County Durham) came to Wanganui in the early fifties—about 1853 I fancy, and took up land near the banks of the Wangaehu stream, about nine miles east of Wanganui, which he named "Headlands," after the family estate in Durham, I imagine. Here Mr. Shields lived a secluded life for several years, improving his fine property and having as a companion and kind of "Man Friday" a Maori named *Henare* (Henry) *Tahau*—a sort of chief, a good fellow, and a devoted servant and friend of Mr Shields, whom he generally styled his *pakeha* (European) and *rungatira* (master). Mr. Shields, who was a gentleman in every sense of the word, occasionally came into town and always "put up" at the Rutland. Here of an evening his many friends used to gather round him and enjoy his company and conversation, for Mr. Shields was a man of culture and refinement. In addition to all this, he was a splendid musician, and as a flautist perhaps the best and most accomplished amateur that ever came to the colony in those days. It was a great treat to hear Mr. Shields play on his fine, rich-toned, box-wood flute, but it generally took a good deal of coaxing and persuasion to "draw him out," so to speak, and get him to play. I have often been present amongst a roomful of Wanganui people at the old Rutland and listened with mingled feelings of delight and admiration to Mr Shields' magnificent flute-playing. But, strange to say, he was always extremely modest over it all and seemed to think nothing of his performances and would say—"Bah! I can't play now; out of practice; lip too hard; can't produce a good *tone*," and so forth. He often used to talk of Richardson, the great English flautist, in his time, whom he knew personally; also several of the great violinists, Carrodus for example, and others. In 1857 Mr. Shields collaborated with the late Thomas Moser, and wrote a very clever, most amusing *brochure* entitled "Mahoe Leaves," which was widely read and afforded much amusement at the time. In this clever little book, Mr. Shields' "Man Friday," *Henare Tahau*, figures conspicuously. Mr Shields up to the time of his death, a somewhat sudden one, in 1864 I think, lived in almost complete retirement, and never took an active part in public affairs of any kind, preferring the quiet of his country life at "Headlands," but always pleased to receive and entertain visitors in a homely way. I cannot state for certain what Mr Shields' age was at the time of his death, but I should be inclined to say he was considerably under fifty. Mr. Shields, one of the masters at the Wanganui Collegiate School, is a nephew of the late Mr. Thomas Shields.

SCRIVENER, Thomas, senr.—This somewhat remarkable old settler and typical specimen of the English yeoman class came to Wanganui with his wife and family—a son and his wife—in 1857, if I recollect rightly, and resumed the occupation he had been engaged in in the Old Country, that of a market gardener. He purchased, or leased, for the purpose, a considerable piece of land in Victoria Avenue, immediately opposite the Industrial School Estate and set to work to improve it; no easy task at that time, for it was nothing else than a swamp or morass, fringed by a sand ridge and covered with fern, *toe-toe*, flax, clocks and other weeds which flourished there in great profusion and luxuriance. To drain, clear, and improve this piece of land (about ten acres) was no light task for anyone to undertake, and yet Mr. Scrivener, senr., then an old man, tackled it bravely and in a few years' time the wilderness was literally made to "blossom as the rose," and what was a bog or swamp was turned into a fruitful garden. In accomplishing this heavy task the old man was almost unassisted, except by the "partner of his joys and sorrows," for his son, who was a carpenter, found plenty to do in following his trade. By degrees the land was drained, cleared, sown, and cultivated, and being the very best soil for the purposes of a market garden and orchard the fruit trees grew apace and vegetables of various kinds were quickly raised; so that in a few short years Mr. Scrivener's industry and skill were rewarded by the profitable sale of the fruits of the earth—to numbers of Wanganui townspeople. But poor Mr. Scrivener's peace of mind was suddenly rudely disturbed, and his well-filled purse abstracted and carried away one Sunday evening while he and his wife were absent from their comfortable home at the Wesleyan Church, of which they were old, regular, and consistent members. Some scoundrel who knew where the old man kept his money, took advantage of Mr. and Mrs. Scrivener's absence at Divine service, made his way into their bedroom, and stole the little bag of sovereigns (about £60) out of a chest of drawers, and made off with it. It was a terrible blow to the good, honest, hard-working old man. During the many years he lived in Wanganui Mr. Scrivener took a great and active interest in local affairs and his great "hobby"—indeed the "ruling passion" with him—was to see the establishment of a local board of some kind for the management and control of local affairs, for in those days there was no such thing as a Town Board even, and the Municipal Corporations Act was not, I imagine, thought of then. It was a regular thing with old Mr. Scrivener, consequently, at all public meetings of any kind and for the purpose of discussing almost any subject whatever, to have something to say on his favourite, all-absorbing topic—"Local Boards," as he expressed it. The outcome of this was that the worthy old man earned for himself the *soubriquet* of "Local Boards" (sic), and the name stuck to him until the Great Leveller, Death, stepped in and translated him to that Haven of Rest, let us hope, where the absence of "Local Boards" or Borough Councils in little Wanganui would never more worry or disturb his righteous soul, and where the "wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest." I remember one occasion when the late Sir William, then Mr. Fox, who represented this district in Parliament, was addressing his constituents here in the old Oddfellows' Hall after the session held in Auckland at that time. I think it was 1861 or '62. At any rate, at the close of an eloquent, fervid address on the leading topics of the day—the war at Taranaki over the celebrated Waitara question, more especially—the chairman, as usual on such occasions, asked if any elector wished to ask the Honorable Member any questions before he declared the meeting closed. Upon this old Mr. Scrivener rose from his seat in the middle of the hall and asked with the greatest seriousness—"Is the honorable gentleman in favour of 'Local Boards'?" There was a titter for a moment or two and then profound silence as Mr. Fox with a winning smile on his genial face answered—"Well, I have not the pleasure of knowing who my questioner is, nor has the question anything to do with the subjects touched upon in my address; but the subject of Local Boards is, no doubt, an important one, and I may inform my friend that I think Local Boards very useful institutions, and if properly and honestly managed should be the means of doing much good in a community. I am, therefore, strongly in favour of Local Boards in such towns as Wanganui." Mr. Fox then sat down and Mr. Scrivener, rising once more, said—"Sir, I thank you for your answer. I am quite satisfied." (Great cheering). I cannot say just now when Mr. Scrivener, senr., died or what his age was, but he must have been close on to 80. He was a simple, industrious, well-meaning, good citizen. His son, Mr. Thomas Scrivener, now getting to be an old man, is still alive and hearty and may be seen trundling along on his "bike" as active and nimble as many a younger man. He has long since retired from business on a competency and is living with one of his sons, his wife having died several years ago.

STEVENSON, James L. and John.—These two brothers came to Wanganui quite little boys with their widowed mother in 1857 from Glasgow, N.B. They came out with, and under the charge of, Captain John McGregor, in his schooner, the "Ariel." It affords me considerable pleasure to give a "sketch" of the Stevensons, because their position in Wanganui furnishes an instance of success, prosperity, and influence in a community attending upon a career characterised in a marked degree by honesty, industry, perseverance, and honourable, upright conduct in their dealings and intercourse with their fellow citizens. These two well-conducted, religiously trained Scotch lads, after attending the Wanganui Board's school for a few years, and assisting their good, pious widowed mother in a little business that they started on Taupo Quay and corner of Wicksteed Place, where Messrs Cock and Co.'s fine store now stands, purchased the corner section in

Ridgway Street and Wicksteed Streets, a few yards above the Cosmopolitan Club. Here the Stevensons built a store, considerably enlarging it as time went on and circumstances demanded. Mr. J. L. Stevenson, the elder of the two brothers, looked after and attended to the business chiefly, the younger brother joining the Bank of New Zealand as a junior clerk through the influence of Mr. W. F. Russell, manager of the Bank in Wanganui for many years; commencing in 1863, I think. By degrees the Stevensons' business developed into quite an extensive one, necessitating the employment of several

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"hands" in the shop and store. I ought to mention that the business carried on was of a mixed kind—grocery, wines and spirits, provisions, crockery and glassware, etc., etc. In 1883 Mr. John Stevenson was appointed to the position of local manager of the N.Z.L. and M. Agency Company (Ltd.), in succession to Mr. W. F. Russell, who gave it up when certain fresh arrangements were effected between the Bank and the Company. This important, responsible position Mr. John Stevenson still fills with advantage to the Company and great credit to himself. The business done here and in this district generally is a very large one, and I suppose there must be about 15 *employèes* of the Company in their large building, Taupo Quay, under the control of Mr. John Stevenson. About two years ago Mr. J. L. Stevenson sold out his business and let his stores to Mr. M. Russell of Wellington, Mr. Stevenson retaining a portion of the premises for offices, some of which he has let to the Government Life Insurance Department, and others, retaining offices for himself as well. Mr. Stevenson is local agent for the Tyser line of steamers, and other companies and business concerns, so that I fancy I am safe in saying that both brothers have done well in Wanganui, securing competencies for themselves and families, thus proving what may develop from small, humble beginnings when combined with the qualities, characteristics, and good principles exhibited and practised during the whole of their career from mere childhood by the brothers Stevenson of Wanganui. I must not omit to mention that Mr. J. L. Stevenson was Mayor of Wanganui during the Diamond Jubilee year—1897. He is also a prominent member of the Wanganui Chamber of Commerce, chairman of the Heads Railway Company, and has besides, served on various Boards and taken a leading position for several years in the Presbyterian Church, of which he is a regular attendant, consistent supporter, and office-bearer.

TAYLOR, Thomas Ballardie.—The senior partner for many years of the old-established firm of Taylor and Watt, Wanganui, was born at Austruther, Scotland, in 1817; came to New Zealand in 1841, and was drowned at sea in Cook's Strait through being washed overboard from the firm's brig, the "Lady Denison," on 16th July, 1871, aged 54. The time and space at my disposal, now that I am approaching the close of these "sketches" of Wanganui Old Settlers, is altogether inadequate to enable me to deal with such a well-known, highly respected, and prominent figure in the history of Wanganui as I should like to do. I must, consequently, try and compress into as small a space as possible what I have to record of the late much-lamented "Skipper," as he was familiarly called. In partnership with the late Mr. Wm. Hogg Watt, Captain Taylor came to Wanganui in 1841 from Sydney. They were both seafaring men in Scotland, and agreed to share each other's fortunes upon meeting in Sydney. With their hard-earned savings they purchased and freighted a small cutter, of about 15 tons, named the "Catherine Johnson"; brought her safely to Wanganui Heads, crossed the "bar," and sailed up to where the town now stands, then, I imagine, scarcely entitled to be reckoned a little fishing village. I recollect being informed by the late Mr. W. H. Watt that, after purchasing their little cutter and freighting her for Wanganui, the two partners had just half-a-crown left between them. The partners did so well with their goods, that they returned to Sydney, increased their capital, made several trips, one of the partners staying behind in Wanganui to trade with the natives and handful of Europeans here in those early days, whilst the other navigated the little vessel to and from Sydney. In course of time the "Kitty Johnson" was found to be too small for the trade; she was therefore sold, and the partners purchased a smart little fore-and-aft schooner of about 30 tons, which they named the "Governor Grey" in honour of Sir George Grey who assumed the Governorship of New Zealand in 1845. As years rolled by the business carried on by Taylor and Watt so greatly increased that they built a large store facing Taupo Quay, bought a considerable area of land both in town and country, and added to their fleet of sailing vessels; so that in later years they owned no less than five vessels. Here are their names—"Venture" (brig); "Rosebud" (brigantine); "Sea Gull" (topsail schooner, 90 tons); "Tyne" (schooner, 34 tons), and "Lady Denison," a very handsome brig of about 250 tons. The "Governor Grey" was either sold or lost, I forget which, giving place to the "Tyne"; the "Sea Gull" was driven ashore at New Plymouth during a fierce nor'-wester; the "Tyne" was wrecked just inside Port Nicholson Heads, and I fancy both the "Venture" and "Rosebud" were sold in Sydney. The "Lady Denison," quite a new vessel from Sydney, was stranded at the Heads of the Wanganui River, abandoned by the underwriters, and purchased by Taylor and Watt for a trifling sum. They succeeded in launching their purchase across the "Spit" into the river, very little the worse for the

mishap, brought her up to the town, refitted her, and placed her in the Sydney trade. This was in or about 1867. What became of her afterwards I cannot exactly say, but I think she was re-sold in Sydney. During all the years that Captain Taylor was in Wanganui in partnership with the late W. H. Watt—1841 to 1871—a period of 30 years, he did not take a very active part in the firm's general business, preferring a seafaring life, looking after their ships in which he always took great pride and a deep interest, and their beautiful farm, Westmere, about 5 miles from the town just off the great northern road. Captain Taylor, who was a man of gentle manners and most amiable disposition, was universally loved and respected by all classes. He was a Justice of the Peace, a consistent supporter of the late Dr. Featherston, Superintendent of the Wellington Province, and his patty, and an elder of the Presbyterian Church for many years. His untimely end was universally deplored, and quite a gloom was cast over the place for some time when the sad news reached Wanganui. Mr Taylor left a widow and large family behind him to mourn his loss, most of whom are still resident in or near Wanganui. A very handsome monument to the memory of the late Captain T. B. Taylor is to be seen in front of St. Paul's Presbyterian Church, Victoria Avenue, on which is inscribed the date of his birth, arrival in New Zealand, date of his untimely death by drowning, and other particulars. On the reverse side of the same monument is recorded the death, also by drowning, of his eldest daughter, Miss Annie Taylor, through the collision of the ship "Avalanche" with the American steamship "Forrest" in the English Channel, September 1877, when a number of Wanganui people (about 25) were returning to New Zealand, and who ail perished on that melancholy occasion.

TAYLOR, Rev. Richard, M.A., F.G.S.—This gentleman, one of the early missionaries sent out by the London Church Missionary Society, arrived in New Zealand in 1838, and joined the Church Mission at Paihia, Bay of Islands. He was at first stationed at the Waimate, not many miles distant inland from the Bay, and took charge of the school there, a mixed one for European and Maori boys. Here Mr. Taylor laboured for several years in conjunction with the noble band of missionaries, both of the Anglican and Wesleyan Methodist Church Missionary Societies stationed in various parts of the North Island at the time, but chiefly at the "Bay," as it was always called, and at Hokianga on the opposite, or West, Coast. In about 1846 Mr. Taylor was sent to this place as Missionary, and took up his quarters and established his Mission at Putiki-wharanui, a native settlement of considerable importance then, nearly opposite the town of Wanganui. From this centre, Mr Taylor paid periodical and frequent visits to the natives scattered up and down this river right away up to Taupo, and up and down the Coast, north and south of Wanganui. Travelling in those days had to be accomplished either in canoes up and down this river, or on foot or horseback—chiefly on foot—up and down the coast and to the inland *pahs* and villages. Mr. Taylor, at that time a very active, energetic missionary, travelled great distances, and visited many places, the native population then being considerable. It would be quite out of place for me here to discuss the results of missionary labour in this, or indeed any, part of New Zealand; suffice it to say that Mr. Taylor, in common with most of the missionaries at that time, laboured hard, travelled much, and experienced privations, trials, dangers and difficulties that the bulk of Europeans now living in the colony have but a faint conception of. In or about 1851, he went to England for the purpose, chiefly, of publishing his book on New Zealand—"Te Ika a Maui"—*Anglice*, the "Fish of Maui" (name of a Maori chief). He took with him a chief and catechist, *Hoani Wiremu* (John Williams) *Hipango*. Returning to New Zealand in about 1857, Mr. Taylor took up his quarters at the Mission Station, Putiki, once more, and resumed his mission work, occasionally visiting the town, mingling with his many European friends, and sometimes officiating at the services in the Anglican Church situate in Victoria Avenue. Mr. Taylor, I am pleased to state, belonged to what is

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known as the Broad or Evangelical branch of the Anglican Church; there was nothing of the Puseyite or Ritualist about him; he was always pleased to meet and associate with ministers of the Nonconformist Churches, and would have been glad to exchange pulpits with them but for fear of his Bishop,—the great, masterful, modern St. Paul—George Augustus Selwyn. Mr. Taylor visited England again in 1867, returned to the colony in 1870, lived on at the new mission house, Putiki, in somewhat feeble health, and died at his town residence, "Sandown," Campbell Street, 10th October, 1874, aged 67 years. He was an English gentleman in the true sense, most kind, friendly, and "given to hospitality," and a man of considerable scientific attainments. He was an excellent geologist and enthusiastic botanist, taking a great interest in the cultivation of his beautiful flower garden and orchard at Putiki. He was a Master of Arts of Cambridge University and a Fellow of the Geological Society of England. Mr. Taylor was interred in the Wanganui Cemetery on a mound occupying a commanding position in that final resting place of many more old Wanganui Settlers, and I need scarcely add that his obsequies were attended by a very large number of people,—Maoris from Putiki and elsewhere, as well as Europeans. It should be added that the Revd. R. Taylor's remains were interred on the mound referred to

above in deference to the express wish of the Putiki natives, so that they might view from Putiki, just opposite, the last resting place of their much-loved *minita* (minister), *Te Teira* (the Taylor).

TRAFFORD, Major Benjamin William Rawson, at one time a Captain in H.M. 65th Regiment of Foot, and widely known throughout this and the surrounding districts, belonged to an old Warwickshire family, Castle Trafford. He resided in this, and the neighbouring district of Rangitikei; and although, strictly speaking, he was a Rangitikei settler more than a Wanganui one, yet he visited this town so often, living in a cottage he rented, and identified himself so closely with much that was going on here—horse-racing more especially—that I should not be justified in passing him over. Captain Trafford rented from the natives in the Rangitikei—Manawatu district a large "run" between the two rivers, the Rangitikei and the Manawatu, named "Te Rakihou," also "Mingiroa," and a splendid property of several thousand acres of rich land it was. This big "run" was in charge of a manager, Mr. William Ferguson, who resided on the place, Major Trafford himself being very little there, spending most of his time at his place in the Upper Rangitikei not far from Bulls, which was quite a *rendezvous* for friends and acquaintances in the fifties and early sixties. He also stayed months at a time in this town amongst his old comrades of the 65th and the few civilians of leisure here in those days, taking a leading place, especially in all matters appertaining to the Turf and sports generally. Indeed Major Trafford, or, as he was dubbed by the Maoris, *Karu-tahi* ("one eye" because of his wearing an eye-glass), was for years looked up to and considered the greatest authority on horse-racing, and the best judge of horse-flesh in this part of the Colony, including Wellington and Wairarapa. For several years in succession he run in his own or John Walker's name a thoroughbred mare named "Sybil." She was a beauty, truly, and as docile and gentle as a domestic tabby. I don't think she ever lost a race for which she ran, and John Walker, now an old man of 80, always bestrode the favourite mare at the Wanganui Race Meeting in the "good old days," when the "Produce Stakes" amounted to Sixty Pounds! "Sybil" was always the favourite, and when she came back to scale after the race—the winner, of course—the "Major" would chuck his eye-glass up to his "weather-eye" and view his beautiful bay mare with a look of pride and satisfaction on his aristocratic, finely-cut features. I have little to add respecting Major William Rawson Trafford, a man who, although a great sufferer from neuralgia and a complication of complaints which made him a bit of a cynic, perhaps, was always looked up to as a gentleman and born aristocrat. When the Manawatu-Rangitikei block was purchased for the Government by the late Dr. Isaac Earl Featherston, Superintendent of the province of Wellington, and Chief Land Purchase Commissioner, of course Major Trafford had perforce to part with his "run." This was in 1865. But prior to this, in 1863, owing to a complete break-down of his health, Major Trafford left New Zealand and went to England in the ship "Electra" from Wellington in medical charge of Dr. Tuke, now Sir John Batty Tuke, of Edinburgh. The "Electra" made a quick passage (for a sailing vessel) of 73 days to Plymouth, and Major Trafford upon arrival in London was handed over by Dr. Tuke to Sir William Ferguson, the eminent surgeon at that time, who made a new man of him, so to speak. A bit of romance attaches to the subject of this "sketch," for after being restored to health by the eminent surgeon just named, he married a daughter of his old Colonel, Lieut.-Col. Wyatt, H.M. 65th Regiment. Major Trafford, I should add, was never married before. What became of the gallant Major afterwards I cannot exactly say, but I think he went and lived in retirement in Jersey, Channel Islands. Whether he is still in the "land of the living," I do not know; if so, he must be somewhere near 80 years of age.

TREWEEK, John.—A "cousin John" to the backbone, and one of the right sort, too, well-known, and one of the very best settlers that Wanganui ever possessed, came out to Taranaki from Cornwall in 1840 or '41 in one of the N.Z. Company's ships along with a number of immigrants from Devonshire and Cornwall in charge of the late Mr. John Tylston Wicksteed. Mr. Treweek, a first-class West of England farmer, laboured away with the assistance of his wife and some of his family on his farm in Taranaki until about 1850 or '51, when he was persuaded to shift to Wanganui, the inducement being, I imagine, that he could get a much larger area of land here than in Taranaki, the settlers there being much hampered and circumscribed at that time owing to the hostile attitude of the natives and their obstinate unwillingness to sell any more of their land to the Government. (The purchase of land from the natives by private individuals or companies was, at that time, absolutely prohibited). Mr. Treweek was fortunate enough to meet with a Wellington gentleman, Mr. Ashton St. Hill, brother of the late Mr. Henry St. Hill, for many years Stipendiary Magistrate for Wellington, who was willing to sell his splendid property of about 1500 acres at Kai-iwi, nine miles from Wanganui, and skirting the coast—a most valuable property and consisting for the most part of rich arable land. The bargain was struck, and Mr. Treweek became the fortunate owner of this splendid estate for a very moderate sum, about £2000 or £3000. In connection with this trans- action, it is worth mentioning that Mr. Henry St. Hill, upon hearing that his brother had parted with this fine property was very wroth; but it was too late; the bargain was completed and the purchase money handed over. To resume—Mr. Treweek was not long in getting to work on his new place, which in the course of a few years he greatly improved, making it one of the best farms, if not the best farm, in this district, for Mr. T. was a thoroughly practical farmer and knew exactly how to till the splendid land—clear, plough, plant, sow, reap and store the fruits of the earth; raise stock of the best kinds, and generally

turn to good advantage all that was at his command. All went well with Mr. Treweek, his wife, and fine stalwart sons and one daughter until the war broke out in Taranaki in 1860, and subsequently, when military operations were carried on in this district and quite close to Mr. Treweek's farm at Kai-iwi. Mr. Treweek stuck to his place like a true Britisher for some time, risking his life on several occasions, and proving the stern stuff that he and his sons, then fine, strong young men, were made of. But his wife (very naturally, no doubt) got alarmed, indeed panic-stricken, and at length prevailed upon her husband to leave the place and come into town for safety. They did so; but poor, honest, hard-working John Treweek was almost brokenhearted over it all, and in the end he sold his beautiful property to Peat and Alexander, of this place, for £10,500, equal to £7 per acre including stock, buildings, farm implements, etc. Soon after this poor John Treweek left Wanganui and went to Otago, and speculated a good deal, I fancy. Disaster seemed to pursue him for, in addition to money losses, etc., two of his fine sons were carried off, one by drowning, the other by fever contracted on the Otago Goldfields. After some years, with broken fortunes and broken health, John Treweek returned to this district and got on to a small piece of land somewhere near Hawera, and died about three years ago at a good old age, about 80, I imagine. Poor old John Treweek! Behind a somewhat rugged exterior there was the kind heart, bursting, so to speak, with good nature, generosity, and native goodness; ever ready to assist, a man of boundless hospitality, good humour and joviality, whose ringing, cheerful laugh it did one good to hear; in a word, a true Englishman and typical Cornishman.

WATERS, Thomas.—No historical account or sketch of Wanganui would be complete without a line or two respecting Mr. Thomas Waters, one of the most experienced, shrewdest men of business that ever took up his abode either in Wellington or Wanganui. Mr. Waters, who had received his mercantile training in the City of London, came out to Wellington some time during the forties, if I am not mistaken, and after engaging in business there for some years, left his partner, Mr. James J. Taine, and came to Wanganui, in about 1851, starting a store at the corner of Taupo Quay and Victoria Avenue, still known as Waters' Corner, and where Messrs J. Thain and Co.'s large ironmongery (formerly Duthie's) establishment now stands, one of the best business "stands" in Wanganui, as it is quite close to the bridge and has a double frontage to the streets above named. Here Mr. Waters carried on his business in a quiet, unpretentious way for many years—before, during, and after the War of 1863-'68. Mr. Waters, who was a man of the simplest habits, shrewd, saving, and cautious, must have accumulated a handsome fortune, and it is known that he died wealthy, leaving the bulk of his fortune to his two sons, Thomas and Alfred. In addition to the qualities just mentioned, Mr. Waters was a man of ready wit and a splendid mimic. When in the humour, he could keep one in a simmer of laughter with his funny, comical stories and anecdotes of odd or eccentric people, or imitating peculiarities of voice, manner, or appearance. Some of his reminiscences of Wellington and the "Old Identities" there in the forties were most entertaining and amusing. He seemed to know everyone and could tell you all about them. But there was nothing spiteful or offensive in it all; it was all genuine good humour and fun. Mr. Waters was all through his career here and in Wellington a staunch and consistent supporter of the late Dr. Featherston and the Provincial Party, and a "tower of strength" to them he was, although he never took an active or prominent part in politics, and never sought or took office. When the Stafford-Richmond Government was defeated in Auckland over the Waitara War question by the Featherston-Fox-Fitzherbert Party in 1861, one of Mr. Fox's first acts as regards Wanganui was to create Mr. Waters a Justice of the Peace—a position for which he was eminently fitted. A shrewder, more impartial, fearless, right-thinking magistrate I do not suppose ever sat on the Bench in Wanganui and heard a "case" than the late Thomas Waters. I cannot say exactly when Mr. Waters died, or whether he died here or in Wellington, for I was stationed at Greymouth, West Coast, at the time of his death. But he lived to a ripe old age, perhaps 75 or 80. To sum up.—The late Thomas Waters was, no doubt, a "character" in his way; he had hard and fast notions on many subjects, and as a commercial man his standard was a high one; a man, in fine, of the strictest integrity, who had a great down upon fraud, humbug, lying and cheating, of all which kind of things he was unsparing in his denunciations.

WATT, William Hogg.—The junior partner of the original firm of Taylor and Watt, merchants, importers, ship-owners, landed proprietors, etc., Wanganui. Intimately associated for more than 30 years with his partner, Thomas Ballardie Taylor, of whom I have given a somewhat lengthy "sketch" *ante*, little remains to be recorded of the late Mr. W. H. Watt, except as regards the many public positions he occupied during the long period that he "filled the public eye"—to use a colloquialism—in the town of Wanganui and district. The late Mr. Watt was a native of Dundee, N.B., and like his partner, a seafaring man. Having already described the firm's early experiences, it only remains for me now to say that the late Mr. Watt, besides being the more active partner of the two, as regards their general business, took a prominent place in public affairs—local, municipal, and colonial. Mr. Watt was the first chairman of the Wanganui Town Board—a local body constituted years before the first Municipal Corporations Act was passed. In this position he did yeoman's service; as also, later on, as chairman of the Harbour Board (1876), School Committee, etc. During the days of "Provincialism" he represented Wanganui for many years in the Provincial Council in Wellington, and was ever a staunch

supporter and constant personal friend of Dr. Featherston, Superintendent of the Province. Mr. Watt also represented Wanganui for some years in the House of Representatives in succession to Mr. H. Shafto Harrison. He opposed the late Hon. John Ballance at two general elections, defeating him at one by the narrow majority of three, and being defeated in turn by a considerable majority by Mr. Ballance at a subsequent general election. But all this is ancient (Wanganui) history, and does not demand any further remark. It may be truly said of the late Mr. Watt that he was always a "busy man." "Willy Watt," as he was familiarly called by his more intimate friends, was at all times ready and willing to listen to, advise, and assist those who came to him; and of him and his firm it may be truthfully said that many a "lame dog has he or his firm helped over the stile!" Indeed, it is not too strong an assertion to make here, that through the kindness and over-trustfulness of the old firm of Taylor and Watt many thousands of pounds owing to them, as shown by their books, were "written off" and never sued for or recovered. The old firm, after Captain Taylor's melancholy death by drowning, broke up, and the new firm, consisting of Mr. T. C. Taylor and Mr. J. P. Watt, eldest sons of Captain Taylor and W. H. Watt respectively, was started. Mr. Watt, senior, retired from business altogether later on, merely winding up the old firm's affairs with the assistance and advice of the late Mr. Edward Broughton, their confidential clerk and manager. Besides taking an active and lively interest in local and colonial affairs, the late Mr. Watt was a Justice of the Peace and an Elder of the Presbyterian Church, of which he was a warm supporter and consistent member. Indeed, Mr. Watt loved his Church intensely, and was rarely absent from its services during all the years he lived in Wanganui so long as circumstances and the state of his health permitted. He died at the family residence, "Sandridge Hall," situate in Victoria Avenue and Wicksteed Street, in March, 1894, surrounded by several members of the family. A very melancholy occurrence, and a heavy blow to Mr. Watt's peace of mind and happiness, was the awfully sudden death by drowning of his eldest daughter Margaret, through the collision in the English Channel referred to *ante*. Mr. Watt's fatal illness was a short one, and his age at time of his decease 76. I omitted to mention above that, when the question of a water supply for the town was taken up, Mr. Watt most generously made a free gift of the water from Westmere Lake—the property of the firm—for the use of the inhabitants of Wanganui in perpetuity. I need scarcely add that the magnificent gift was accepted, and the town has for many years been supplied with water from Westmere Lake as a "feeder" to Virginia Lake on St. John's Hill, close to the town. In recognition of Mr. Watt's generous gift, a handsome fountain, with a suitable inscription thereon, was erected in the centre of Victoria Avenue mid-way between the Post Office and the Rutland Hotel.

WICKSTEED, John Tylston.—I have already referred to this gentleman in my "sketch" of the late John Treweek, and what I have now to relate of him will be short and, I trust, of interest, to members of the Fourth Estate, more especially. Mr. Wicksteed, before coming to New Zealand as one of the agents of the New Zealand Company under their distinguished leader, Col. Wakefield, was for several years one of the Sub-editors of the London "Spectator"—at that time and now, considered one of the leading and most influential journals of the Great Metropolis. It goes without saying, therefore, that Mr. Wicksteed was a man of culture and literary attainments or he could not have occupied so honourable a position in the Republic of Letters as that just described. Mr. and Mrs. Wicksteed with their two young boys, John T., and Arthur, landed in the first instance at Wellington. This was in 1841 or '42, I think. And here it is interesting to mention that many years after, Mrs. Wicksteed, a lady of culture and refinement, wrote a very interesting little book giving an account of the family and their experiences in Wellington, at that time a village at the Thorndon end of the settlement composed chiefly of Maori *whares* and log huts. Later on, about '43, I fancy, the Wicksteeds were sent on to New Plymouth in charge of a batch of immigrants for that settlement. Mr. Wicksteed took up land at Omata, a few miles from the village of New Plymouth (south) under the very shadow of the majestic, lovely snow-capped Mt. Egmont. Here they lived for several years, farming their land, and Mr. Wicksteed himself looking after the little colony from the West of England. In course of time, Mr. Wicksteed severed his connection with the N.Z. Company and engaged in the work of his old profession or calling, becoming Editor of the 'Taranaki Herald,' a weekly paper established, printed, and published by my late brother, Mr. Garland Woon. Mr. Wicksteed used to ride in from his farm once a week, pick up whatever news was floating about, scan the Auckland and other papers, and then write his article and in other ways supply "copy" for the little paper, and a well-conducted, well printed, ably edited little paper it was. Some of Mr. Wicksteed's "leaders" were very clever and ably written; others were very funny and used to cause a great deal of mirth and amusement. Much depended upon the humour the worthy Editor was in at the time of writing, but at all times, and under all circumstances, Mr. Wicksteed was invariably the courteous, polite, cultured English gentleman. In the early fifties (the 'Taranaki Herald' was started in 1850)—about '53, I fancy, Mr. Wicksteed and his family moved from Taranaki to this district, taking up and farming a splendid piece of land about nine miles north of Wanganui near the Kai Iwi, named Otamatea. In about 1856, when the 'Wanganui Chronicle and Rangitikei Messenger' was started by an Irish gentleman, Mr. Henry Stokes, Mr. Wicksteed was the first Editor. The paper was published once a week, and as in the case of the 'Taranaki Herald,' Mr. Wicksteed used to come into town, with his articles and other

matter for the paper, always putting up at the old "Rutland Hotel," where he used to meet his friends. It was a pleasure to hear Mr. Wicksteed converse; he had a rich store of knowledge and information to draw upon, and as he knew many of the leading men in the literary world of London, it was quite a treat to listen to him relate his experiences and anecdotes of notable men whom he knew and with whom he had been associated. The fortunes of the 'Chronicle,' as well as its proprietary having as time went on, languished, Mr. Wicksteed severed his connection with the paper as Editor, and he very rarely came into town thereafter. He died at his place, Otamatea, about 1865, and was there interred, his widow coming into town and living here after that event. One of the streets of Wanganui is named after the late Mr. John Tylston Wicksteed.

WOON, Revd. William.—My late father, Wesleyan Methodist Missionary, one of the first missionaries to the South Sea Islands and New Zealand also, in company with two other missionaries—the Revds. J. Watkin (father of the Revd. Dr. Watkin, of Melbourne) and Turner—left London in the ship "Lloyds," August, 1830, arrived at the Bay of Islands January, 1831, and after staying there and at Hokianga a few weeks to recruit, proceeded on to their destination Tongatabu, Friendly Islands, where they arrived in March following, and took up their abode and missionary work at Nukualofa, the principal settlement of the group and the headquarters of "King" George. Here my father remained and laboured in the mission field, assisting in the translation of the Scriptures into the Tonguese language and printing of same, until 1834 when, owing to my mother's health failing, he was compelled to leave Tonga and return to New Zealand and its more bracing, salubrious climate. Landing at the Bay of Islands again, my father went across to Hokianga, the headquarters at that time of the Wesleyan Mission in New Zealand. From there he was sent to Kawhia, in the Waikato Country, to take charge of the mission, and where he remained until 1836, when he was moved back again to Hokianga and stationed at Mangungu, near the head waters of the Hokianga Estuary, and where he remained continuously until 1846, and where several of the family, including myself, were born. In January, 1846, owing to the war with Heke at the Bay and surrounding country, the family, in company with a considerable number of Hokianga settlers, were taken round to Auckland for safety by order of Sir George Grey, the Governor, who feared a general massacre of the Europeans at that critical time in the history of New Zealand. After remaining in Auckland several weeks, my father was ordered by the Committee of Management to take charge of the mission in the Ngatiruanui Country, Taranaki South, where he arrived in May, 1846, settling down at the Mission Station at Heretoga (Waimate) quite close to where the village of Manaia now is, and within a mile of the sea-coast. Here my father remained and laboured amongst the natives—the *very worst tribe in New Zealand*—until 1853, when his health having completely broken down, he was compelled to resign, abandon the Mission Station, and go to New Plymouth. Here he remained as a supernumerary minister until 1854, when he and my brother came here to Wanganui and joined the little home provided by two of his sons—Richard Watson and Edwin Turner Woon. Although shattered in health through his long career as a missionary amongst the Tonguese and New Zealanders, yet my father was able to do a minister's work occasionally amongst the Europeans here, military and civilian, and the Government of the day, then in Auckland, under Acting-Governor, Lieut-Colonel Wynyard, H.M. 58th Regiment, kindly conferred upon him the appointment of Postmaster of Wanganui in succession to James Lett, Esq., deceased. This was a position for which my father was well suited, and I am proud to say that he discharged his duties to the satisfaction of the authorities and the public until his health, which completely broke down in 1858, compelled him to give up his work which I, then a lad not long from school in Auckland, was able to do. My father died in September, 1858, at the comparatively early age of 54 years and 9 months. He was a native of Truro, Cornwall, and was born December, 1803.

WOON, Garland William.—Eldest son of the foregoing, was born at Nukualofa, Tongatabu, in 1831, and came to New Zealand with his parents in 1834. When old enough he was sent to the Waimate, near the Bay of Islands, to school, at that time under the charge of the late Revd. R. Taylor, M.A., of whom I have written a "sketch," *ante*. When the family went to Auckland in 1846, my brother was apprenticed to Messrs. Williamson and Wilson, proprietors of the "New Zealander" newspaper, Shortland Crescent, to learn the printing business. Here he remained until 1849, when he rejoined the family at Waimate, Taranaki South, and afterwards was started in business in New Plymouth (1850) by my father. Later on he, in conjunction with a Mr. Collins, also a printer and compositor, started the "Taranaki Herald" under the style or title of Woon and Collins, but the partnership did not continue long, Mr. Collins leaving New Plymouth and going to Canterbury, at that time a newly-founded settlement, and where he did well as a farmer and landed proprietor. My brother carried on his splendid little paper successfully up to, and during the war in 1860-'61 and onwards. Its circulation largely increased, and it was edited at various periods of its career by such able, distinguished writers as J. T. Wicksteed, Esq., C. W. (afterwards Judge) Richmond, J. C. Richmond,—afterwards Native Minister in Sir E. W. Stafford's Ministry,—Arthur Atkinson, brother of the late Sir Harry Atkinson, and lastly by the late Richard Pheeny, who died only two or three years ago. My late brother, owing to his perfect knowledge of the Maori language and intimate acquaintance with a large number of the natives in and near Taranaki, including the celebrated Waitara (Ngatiawa) chief, *Wiremu Kingi* (Anglice, William King) *te Rangitake*, was often able to

obtain and impart valuable information to the military authorities during the War at the Waitara, etc., and he was on intimate and most friendly terms with such officers of the Imperial troops as Colonel Warre, 57th Regiment, Colonel Wyatt, 65th, and many others. But his most intimate acquaintance and personal friend during those critical times (1860-'64) was Commodore Sir H. Beauchamp Seymour, of H.M.S. "Pelorus," flagship in New Zealand waters at that time, and who years afterwards was created Lord Alcester in recognition of his distinguished services during the disturbances in Egypt at the time of Arabi Pasha's rebellion, and more especially for the bombardment of Alexandria by our ships. Indeed, years after Sir Beauchamp Seymour left New Zealand and returned to England, he kept up a correspondence with my late brother—Garland William Woon. After the cessation of hostilities with the natives in Taranaki in 1866, the state of things in New Plymouth changed greatly for the worse as regards business, owing chiefly to the withdrawal of the troops, and my brother suffered in common with many others, with the result that he was compelled to succumb to the inevitable, make great sacrifices, sell out his business to the Westons of New Plymouth, and come to live in Wanganui. This was in December, 1866. Here he remained earning a precarious living for himself and family (wife and three sons) as a licensed interpreter and native lands purchase agent, etc. But it was a "poor game" in those days, and after struggling on for two years, he was advised to return to the home of his early youth, Auckland. This was in 1868 when the Thames Goldfields were all the rage and the gold fever had "caught on" to thousands! My brother and his family went on to the goldfields at the Thames and literally worked hard, digging and delving for the precious metal at the "Hokianga Claim" there, but I don't think either he or those associated with him in the exciting work of gold-digging even got the "colour" of, much less "struck," gold rich! Things went from bad to worse with my poor brother and his family, and at length he abandoned the delusive search for gold and returned to Auckland, where he was taken by the hand by his old friend and master, John Williamson, Esq., at that time Superintendent of Auckland Province. He gave him a billet as clerk in the Works Department of the Provincial Government Service, which after Mr. Williamson's retirement was continued to him by Sir G. Grey, who became Superintendent. In this position my late brother continued until 1874, when the appointment to the office of clerk and interpreter to the R.M. Court at Rangitikei becoming vacant, he was advised to apply for it. In this he succeeded, and shortly afterwards came to Wanganui again. But he did not take up his duties at Rangitikei for the reason that a similar position became vacant here in Wanganui through the transfer of Mr. F. South, Clerk of Courts, to another district. My brother, consequently, applied for the Wanganui billet and fortunately got it, largely through the influence of another brother, the late Mr. Richard W. Woon, of whom I shall have something to say in my next "sketch." My late brother, G. W. Woon, continued in the discharge of his duties here as Clerk of the R.M. and District Courts, Registrar of Births, Deaths and Marriages, Registration and Returning Officer—also Deputy-Sheriff and Registrar of the Supreme Court—until 1892, when he was "retrenched" out of the service by the late Hon. John Ballance, Premier, etc., at that time. He then embarked in business once more as a native interpreter and land agent, etc., at the same time visiting and working on his farm in conjunction with his two elder sons at Raorikia, about 15 miles up the River Wanganui from this town. So occupied, going up to his place from town by boat once a week and returning every Monday, my late brother continued until 1895, when on the 6th June of that year he died in an awfully sudden manner from failure of the heart's action. He was apparently in the best of health on that self-same day when I met and spoke to him at about 1 p.m. At 5 the same afternoon, whilst on his way to his home on the River Bank Road, he must have been suddenly seized with a fit (so the medical evidence disclosed at the inquest afterwards) whilst doing something to his boat which was lying under the River Bank within a few yards of his own door! His body was found about 22 hours afterwards near the boat in about 8 feet of water. It was an awfully sudden death and, I need scarcely add, a terrible shock to his family as well as to myself. This sad, sudden event caused quite a sensation throughout the town and neighbourhood at the time, for my late brother was widely known, respected, and much liked because of his amiable, kindly, gentle, and obliging disposition. He was just 64 when the sad event here narrated occurred.

WOON, Richard Watson.—Second son of the late Rev. William Woon, was born at the Mission Station, Mangungu, Hokianga, in 1834; educated in Auckland, first at the late Mr.—afterwards Rev.—John Gorrie's Academy, Vulcan Lane and High street, and afterwards at the Wesleyan College and Seminary, now the Albert College, Upper Queen street, and after leaving school in 1852 went from Hokianga to Hobartown (now called Hobart) in company with the late Rev. John Hobbs and his son. Richards Hobbs, Esq., late M.H.R. Here my brother remained in the employ of Waterhouse Brothers, who were in a large way of business at that time as drapers, etc. My brother was engaged as bookkeeper and accountant to the firm, but finding the work hard, and the hours of business very long (there were no "Shops and Shops' Assistant Bills" in existence in those days), he gave up his employment after about nine months, and getting home-sick as well, took passage to Nelson in a little steamer named the "Ann," arriving there in 1853 and going into the employ of Messrs C. and J. Elliott, proprietors of the "Nelson Examiner," at that time one of the best and certainly the most ably edited journal in the Colony. Here my brother got on well and was much liked and thought of by the firm named—gentlemen in

every sense of the word, and men of culture. In 1854 my brother came to Wanganui and joined the family circle here, it being my parents' wish that he should do so. The position of clerk and interpreter to the R.M. Court was about this time likely to become vacant through the contemplated retirement of the late Samuel Deighton, Esq., of whom I have written *ante*; so my brother resolved to qualify himself for the position by furbishing up his Maori and making a study of the language, his knowledge of it then being meagre as compared with others of the family. Consequently, he placed himself under the tuition and guidance of the late Revd. George Stannard, then missionary stationed at the Ihupuku, Waitotara. Here my brother remained until 1855, studying and reading hard under Mr. Stannard and going about amongst the natives in order to improve himself in speaking the language. This he accomplished, and in due time was appointed clerk and interpreter to the R.M. Court here *vice* Mr. S. Deighton—a position my brother continued to occupy until about 1871, I think, when he was promoted by the late Sir Donald McLean, Native Minister, to the important position of Magistrate for the Upper Wanganui (Native) District. In this position he remained until about 1882, when he was compulsorily retired upon pension by the Hon. John Bryce, at that time Native Minister, for some occult reason of his own, my brother being anxious and willing to complete his 30 years' service, viz.—from 1855 to 1885, inclusive. There is so much of a tender nature respecting my late brother, Richard Watson Woon, owing to his physical disability (Nature had not been too kind to him) that I feel it difficult to write much of him. I will just say, however, that whilst being heavily handicapped in the way indicated, he was compensated, so to speak, by the superior qualities of his heart, head, and mind. I prefer that others should write or speak of my late brother's mental qualities; I will only just say here that men in high positions such as the late Sir G. Grey, Sir Donald McLean and others, thought much of him, and the first two named showed their confidence in him by placing him in positions of great importance and trust amongst the natives of this district—the up-river and Putiki natives, more especially—a confidence which was not misplaced as I know full well, having been informed so by Sir George Grey himself when in London in 1896, six years after my brother's death, when I called upon the old ex-Governor and veteran statesman at his lodgings, Stanhope Gardens, Kensington. His words to me were:—"Ah! I was very grieved to hear of your little brother's death; I always thought much of him, especially as regards his influence with the Wanganui natives, and when I gave him that position many years ago I knew I had not made a mistake. He did great good for the country, and his influence with the natives had much to do with keeping the peace in Wanganui during those anxious times"—meaning during the disturbances here in 1864-'65-'66 and onwards. After being compulsorily retired from the Government service, my late brother lived in retirement here, doing some business, however, with the natives, and with Europeans in quest of land, as an interpreter and native lands' agent, and having a small office on the River Bank near his own residence in Mathieson Street. In 1890 his health completely broke down, and he became both physically and mentally a wreck of humanity! This did not continue long, however, for in August of the above year he passed quietly away at the hospital here in the midst of some of his family and surrounded by numbers of friends. I was at Greymouth, West Coast, at the time. There was a very large concourse of people, Native and European, at his funeral obsequies, and I can truthfully record of my late brother that he was loved, respected, and honoured by all who knew him. Amongst the Maoris here there was much lamentation over the death of their *Matua* (father), *Rihari Wunu*—Richard Woon. My late brother at the time of his decease was 56 years of age. He left behind him a widow and three sons, all now grown up, his eldest child and only daughter dying in 1873 at the early age of 7½ years, inflicting a blow upon my late brother's happiness from which he never fully recovered!

WOON, Edwin Turner.—Third son of the Revd. William Woon. Was born at Mangungu, Hokianga, in 1836. I have but little to record of this brother, as he was not, owing to circumstances in which he was placed, so prominently before the public as either of the rest of us—I mean, of course, the male members of the Woon family in New Zealand. He went to school in Auckland at the same establishments as his brother, Richard Watson, and myself. After leaving school, he went to New Plymouth to assist our eldest brother, Garland, above-mentioned, in his business. There he stayed until 1853, when he came here to Wanganui, and was taken into the employ of Taylor and Watt as a salesman, etc., and living at the little family home in Wilson Street. In 1855 he entered into partnership with the late Mr. George Beaven, of this town, trading under the style or firm of Beaven and Woon. They built a store at the upper end of Taupo Quay, and did a good business for several years—with the natives especially; for, like his elder brothers, but unlike myself, Edwin Woon was an excellent Maori linguist, and well-liked by the natives up and down the Wanganui River generally. The partnership with Mr. Beaver, continued until about 1864, when it was dissolved—my late brother starting on his own account and taking over the drapery business on Taupo Quay, carried on by the late Mr. W. C. Hylton. In 1865 or '66 my brother "launched out," so to speak, still more, and took a large shop adjoining Taylor and Watt's premises, where Mr. Sinclair's establishment (Nursery and Seedsman) now is. This turned out a bad move; times changed after the war of 1865-'66, business fell off, and my brother had in the end to succumb to the inevitable. He sold out to Taylor and Watt, gave up the business for which by early training and family instincts he was quite unfitted, and started again as a licensed interpreter, etc., in the Native Land Courts, and moved about the

country in that capacity with various Lands Court Judges, e.g., the late Henry Monro, John Rogan and others at Auckland, Kaipara and Hokianga, at Otaki and Waikanae on this coast, and lastly at Gisborne, Poverty Bay, where he died in Nov, 1887, having been paralysed for a considerable time previously, at the comparatively early age of 52 years. It would ill-become me to say much more of my late poor, unfortunate brother, Edwin Turner Woon. Suffice to record the fact that whilst he lacked firmness of purpose, perhaps, he was amiable, good-natured, affectionate and kindy-dispositioned to a fault, and, I must add, allowed himself to be imposed upon by others rather than make a disturbance, or what is commonly called, "kick up a row." Although my late brother married when young (21), he had no family—a great disappointment to a man of his affectionate disposition. Peace to his ashes!

Of myself I shall say nothing, preferring to let those who know me, friends or foes, say or write of me what they please.

In bringing to a close the above somewhat hurriedly written "sketches" of Wanganui Old Settlers, I cannot do better than adopt (and adapt) the lofty language employed by the great historian, Edward Gibbon, in the closing passage of his colossal work—"The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire":—"Of these pilgrims, and of every reader, the attention may be excited by an history of"—not the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire—but of many of the oldest and best known settlers of this part of New Zealand, from the early forties of the last century down to the early sixties.

I sincerely hope and believe that in all I have written there will not be found one sentence, or word even, respecting those dealt with that would give pain or offence to any surviving relative or friend. If by any inadvertence or want of sufficient care I have been so unfortunate as to wound any of my readers' feelings, all I ask is that they will forgive me and put it down to an error of judgment, rather than to a fault of heart, on my part.

SPECIAL AND CONCLUDING REMARKS.—It has occurred to me since the foregoing "Sketches" of Wanganui Old Settlers were written and handed to the publishers, that I may have omitted all mention of one or more who, it may be considered, should have found a place in my little book. If so, I wish it to be clearly understood—and I cannot emphasize the remark too forcibly—that any such omission was quite unintentional: it was a lapse of memory at the time, and nothing more. Therefore, I crave the forgiveness of those I have thus forgotten who are still in the "land of the living," and who may consider themselves entitled to a place in my book; and in the case of those who have "crossed the Bar" and "joined the great majority" on the other side, I ask the forgiveness of any of their surviving relatives or friends remaining behind! Just one word more. I take it for granted that no sensible or reasonable person would expect me, or any other chronicler, to write "sketches," or record the doings, of people of no special prominence in the community, or who, to use a common every day expression, did not "fill the public eye" in any marked or notable manner. It would have been "from the purpose" and almost absurd to do so. With this last remark I take my leave of my readers, hoping and confidently believing that they will give me credit for singleness of purpose in this regard, and an honest endeavour to do my best.

J. G. WOON.

WANGANUI,

February, 1902.

Errata and Addenda.

Page 12.—DEIGHTON, Samuel.—

Line 16 from bottom of page, end of line, "in the Upper Rangitikei River," should be "On the Upper Rangitikei River."

Line 13—beginning of line—delete word "River," and after Rangitikei add—"Te Rakihou"—also known by the euphonious name of "Mingiroa" (a pretty flowering native shrub).

Page 48.—ROBERTS, George.—

Line 15 from bottom . . . "and had he had the advantages of a good education, I have not the slightest doubt" etc., etc., etc.

Since my "sketch" of Mr. George Roberts was put into type and printed off, I have learnt from one of his daughters here that I am in error as regards her late father's early education. She informs me that he received an excellent education at a first-class boarding-school up to the age of 18 in London where he was born and bred,

and that whilst residing in this district was at one time engaged in teaching in private families. I gladly make this correction now, and have no doubt whatever that, had Mr. Roberts made politics his pursuit or profession, he could, and most likely would, have taken a leading place amongst New Zealand politicians in shaping the destinies of his adopted country. Again, further on in my "sketch" where I relate the incident of the farewell banquet given just before Mr. Roberts went Home to England, and what he said of the Wanganui River when returning thanks for the "toast" of his health, etc. Mr. Roberts was a man of ready wit and brimming over with humour, and when he referred to the river as having been as good as £3000 (*sic*) to him whilst in business at the "Ship Hotel," he no doubt meant to imply how frequently he had been compelled to draw his water supply from it, as most people were compelled to do in those days when there was no water supply from either Virginia or Westmere Lake; when well water was quite unfit for use, being brackish and foul, and impregnated with iron, and when, as frequently happened in dry weather, water-butts and tanks ran dry. The front part of the hotel was only a few yards—perhaps 12 or 15—distant from the river in those days, so that water could easily be conveyed in buckets or barrels from it on to the premises which was used for all sorts of domestic purposes.

H. I. Jones & Son. Booksellers, Stationers, Printers, Bookbinders and Publishers, Victoria Avenue, Wanganui.