

Preface

To the Third Edition.

IN the preface to the second edition, I have described myself as resisting the temptation to amplify, which the occasion raised. Seasons have since arisen for yielding to the desire which I then felt to add justifications of the scheme set forth.

The immediate cause for this change of resolve, has been the publication of several objections by Prof. Bain in his *Logic*. Permanently embodied, as these objections are, in a work intended for the use of students, they demand more attention than such as have been made in the course of ordinary criticism; since, if they remain unanswered, their prejudicial effects will be more continuous.

While to dispose of these I seize the opportunity afforded by a break in my ordinary work, I have thought it well at the same time to strengthen my own argument, by a re-statement from a changed point of view.

Feb., 1871.

Preface

To the Second Edition.

THE first edition of this Essay is not yet out of print. But a proposal to translate it into French having been made by Professor Réthoré, I have decided to prepare a new edition free from the imperfections which criticism and further thought have disclosed, rather than allow these imperfections to be reproduced.

The occasion has almost tempted me into some amplification. Further arguments against the classification of M. Comte, and further arguments in support of the classification here set forth, have pleaded for utterance. But reconsideration has convinced me that it is both needless and useless to say more—needless because those who are not committed will think the case sufficiently strong as it stands, and useless because to those who are committed additional reasons will seem as inadequate as the original ones.

This last conclusion is thrust on me by seeing how little M. Littré, the leading expositor of M. Comte, is influenced by fundamental objections the force of which he admits. After quoting one of these, he says, with a candour equally rare and admirable, that he has vainly searched M. Comte's works and his own mind for an answer. Nevertheless, he adds—"j'éi réussi, je crois, à écarter l'attaque de M. Herbert Spencer, et à sauver le fond par des sacrifices indispensables mais accessoires." The sacrifices are these. He abandons M. Comte's division of Inorganic Science into Celestial Physics and Terrestrial Physics—a division which, in M. Comte's scheme, takes precedence of all the rest; and he admits that neither logically nor historically does Astronomy come before Physics, as M. Comte alleges. After making these sacrifices, which most will think too lightly described as "sacrifices indispensables mais accessoires," M. Littré proceeds to rehabilitate the Comtean classification in a way which he considers satisfactory, but which I do not understand. In short, the proof of these incongruities affects his faith in the Positivist theory of the sciences, no more than the faith of a Christian is affected by proof that the Gospels contradict one another.

Here in England I have seen no attempt to meet the criticisms with which M. Littré thus deals. There has been no reply to the allegation, based on examples, that the several sciences do not develop in the order of their decreasing generality; nor to the allegation, based on M. Comte's own admissions, that within each science the progress is not, as he says it is, from the general to the special; nor to the allegation that the seeming historical precedence of Astronomy over Physics in M. Comte's pages, is based on a verbal ambiguity—a mere sleight of words; nor to the allegation, abundantly illustrated, that a progression in an ordre the reverse of that asserted by M. Comte may be as well substantiated; nor to various minor allegations equally irreconcilable with his scheme. I have met with nothing more than iteration of the statement that the sciences *do* conform, logically and historically, to the order in which M. Comte places them; regardless of the assigned evidence that they *do not*.

Under these circumstances it is unnecessary for me to say more; and I think I am warranted in continuing to hold that the Comtean classification of the sciences is demonstrably untenable.

While, however, I have not entered further into the controversy, as I thought of doing, I have added at the close an already-published discussion, no longer easily accessible, which indirectly enforces the general argument.

The Classification of the Sciences.

IN an essay on "The Genesis of Science," originally published in 1854, I endeavoured to show that the Sciences cannot be rationally arranged in serial order. Proof was given that neither the succession in which the Sciences are placed by M. Comte (to a criticism of whose scheme the essay was in part devoted), nor any other succession in which the Sciences can be placed, represents either their logical dependence or their historical dependence. To the question—How may their relations be rightly expressed? I did not then attempt any answer. This question I propose now to consider.

A true classification includes in each class, those objects which have more characteristics in common with one another, than any of them have in common with any objects excluded from the class. Further, the characteristics possessed in common by the colligated objects, and not possessed by other objects, are more radical than any characteristics possessed in common with other objects—involve more numerous dependent characteristics. These are two sides of the same definition. For things possessing the greatest number of attributes in common, are things that possess in common those essential attributes on which the rest depend; and, conversely, the possession in common of the essential attributes, implies the possession in common of the greatest number of attributes. Hence, either test may be used as convenience dictates.

If, then, the Sciences admit of classification at all, it must be by grouping together the like and separating the unlike, as thus defined. Let us proceed to do this.

The broadest natural division among the Sciences, is the division between those which deal with the abstract relations under which phenomena are presented to us, and those which deal with the phenomena themselves. Relations of whatever orders, are nearer akin to one another than they are to any objects. Objects of whatever orders, are nearer akin to one another than they are to any relations. Whether, as some hold, Space and Time are forms of Thought; or whether, as I hold myself, they are forms of Things, that have become forms of Thought through organized and inherited experience of Things; it is equally true that Space and Time are contrasted absolutely with the existences disclosed to us in Space and Time; and that the Sciences which deal exclusively with Space and Time, are separated by the profoundest of all distinctions from the Sciences which deal with the existences that Space and Time contain. Space is the abstract of all relations of co-existence. Time is the abstract of all relations of sequence. And dealing as they do entirely with relations of co-existence and sequence, in their general or special forms, Logic and Mathematics form a class of the Sciences more widely unlike the rest, than any of the rest can be from one another.

The Sciences which deal with existences themselves, instead of the blank forms in which existences are presented to us, admit of a sub-division less profound than the division above made, but more profound than any of the divisions among the Sciences individually considered. They fall into two classes, having quite different aspects, aims, and methods. Every phenomenon is more or less composite—is a manifestation of force under several distinct modes. Hence result two objects of inquiry. We may study the component modes of force separately; or we may study them in their relations, as co-operative factors in this composite phenomenon. On the one hand, neglecting all the incidents of particular cases, we may aim to educe the laws of each mode of force, when it is uninterfered with. On the other hand, the incidents of the particular case being given, we may seek to interpret the entire phenomenon, as a product of the several forces simultaneously in action. The truths reached through the first kind of inquiry, though concrete inasmuch as they have actual existences for their subject-matters, are abstract inasmuch, as they refer to the modes of existence apart from one another; while the truths reached by the second kind of inquiry are properly concrete, inasmuch as they formulate the facts in their combined order, as they occur in Nature.

The Sciences, then, in their main divisions, stand thus:—

Science definition and classification diagram

It is needful to define the words *abstract* and *concrete* as thus used; since they are sometimes used with other meanings. M. Comte divides Science into abstract and concrete; but the divisions which he distinguishes by these names are quite unlike those above made. Instead of regarding some Sciences as wholly abstract, and others as wholly concrete, he regards each Science as having an abstract part, and a concrete part. There is, according to him, an abstract mathematics and a concrete mathematics—an abstract biology and concrete biology. He says:—"It faut distinguer, par rapport à tous les ordres de phénomènes, deux genres de sciences

naturelles: les unes abstraites, générales, ont pour objet la découverte des lois qui régissent les diverses classes de phénomènes, en considérant tous les cas qu'on peut concevoir; les autres concrètes, particulières, descriptives, et qu'on désigne quelquefois sous le nom de sciences naturelles proprement dites, consistent dans l'application de ces lois à l'histoire effective de différens êtres existans." And to illustrate the distinction, he names general physiology as abstract, and zoology and botany as concrete. Here it is manifest that the words *abstract* and *general* are used as synonymous. They have, however, different meanings; and confusion results from not distinguishing their meanings. Abstractness means *detachment from* the incidents of particular cases. Generality means *manifestation in* numerous cases. On the one hand, the essential nature of some phenomenon is considered, apart from disguising phenomena. On the other hand, the frequency of the phenomenon, with or without disguising phenomena, is the thing considered. Among the ideal relations of numbers the two coincide; but, excluding these, an abstract truth is not realizable to perception in any case of which it is asserted, whereas a general truth is realizable to perception in every case of which it is asserted. Some illustrations will make the distinction clear. Thus it is an abstract truth that the angle contained in a semi-circle is a right angle—abstract in the sense that though it does not hold in actually-constructed semi-circles and angles, which are always inexact, it holds in the ideal semi-circles and angles abstracted from real ones; but this is not a general truth, either in the sense that it is commonly manifested in Nature, or in the sense that it is a space-relation that comprehends many minor space-relations: it is a quite special space-relation. Again, that the momentum of a body causes it to move in a straight line at a uniform velocity, is an abstract-concrete truth—a truth abstracted from certain experiences of concrete phenomena; but it is by no means a general truth: so little generality has it, that no one fact in Nature displays it. Conversely, surrounding things supply us with hosts of general truths that are not in the least abstract. It is a general truth that the planets go round the Sun from West to East—a truth which holds good in something like a hundred cases (including the cases of the planetoids); but this truth is not at all abstract, since it is perfectly realized as a concrete fact in every one of these cases. Every vertebrate animal whatever, has a double nervous system; all birds and all mammals are warm-blooded—these are general truths, but they are concrete truths: that is to say, every vertebrate animal individually presents an entire and unqualified manifestation of this duality of the nervous system; every living bird exemplifies absolutely or completely the warm-bloodedness of birds. What we here call, and rightly call, a general truth, is simply a proposition which *sums up* a number of our actual experiences; and not the expression of a truth *drawn from* our actual experiences, but never presented to us in any of them. In other words, a general truth colligates a number of particular truths; while an abstract truth colligates no particular truths, but formulates a truth which certain phenomena all involve, though it is actually seen in none of them.

Limiting the words to their proper meanings as thus defined, it becomes manifest that the three classes of Sciences above separated, are not distinguishable at all by differences in their degrees of generality. They are all equally general; or rather they are all, considered as groups, universal. Every object whatever presents at once the subject-matter for each of them. In the smallest particle of substance we have simultaneously illustrated the abstract truths of relation in Time and Space; the abstract-concrete truths in conformity with which the particle manifests its several modes of force; and the concrete truths which are the laws of the joint manifestation of these modes of force. Thus these three classes of Sciences severally formulate different, but co-extensive, classes of facts. Within each group there are truths of greater and less generality: there are general abstract truths, and special abstract truths; general abstract-concrete truths, and special abstract-concrete truths; general concrete truths, and special concrete truths. But while within each class there are groups and sub-groups and sub-sub-groups which differ in their degrees of generality, the classes themselves differ only in their degrees of abstractness.

Some propositions laid down by M. Littré, in his lately-published book—*Auguste Comte et la Philosophie Positive*, may fitly be dealt with here. In the candid and courteous reply he makes to my strictures on the Comtean classification in "The Genesis of Science," he endeavours to clear up some of the inconsistencies I pointed out; and he does this by drawing a distinction between objective generality and subjective generality. He says—"qu'il existe deux ordres de généralité, l'une objective et dans les choses, l'autre subjective, abstraite et dans l'esprit." This sentence, in which M. Littré makes subjective generality synonymous with abstractness, led me at first to conclude that he had in view the same distinction as that which I have above explained between generality and abstractness. On re-reading the paragraph, however, I found this was not the case. In a previous sentence he says—"La biologie a passé de la considération des organes à celles des tissus, plus généraux que les organes, et de la considération des tissus à celle des éléments anatomiques, plus généraux que les tissus. Mais cette généralité croissante est subjective non objective, abstraite non concrète." Here it is manifest that abstract and concrete, are used in senses analogous to those in which they are used by M. Comte; who, as we have seen, regards general physiology as abstract and zoology and botany as concrete. And it is further manifest that the word abstract, as thus used, is not used in its proper sense. For, as above shown, no such facts as those of anatomical structure can be abstract facts; but can only be more or less general facts. Nor

do I understand M Littré's point of view when he regards these more general facts of anatomical structure, as *subjectively* general and not *objectively* general. The structural phenomena presented by any tissue, such as mucous membrane, are more general than the phenomena presented by any of the organs which mucous membrane goes to form, simply in the sense that the phenomena peculiar to the membrane are repeated in a greater number of instances than the phenomena peculiar to any organ into the composition of which the membrane enters. And, similarly, such facts as have been established respecting the anatomical elements of tissues, are more general than the facts established respecting any particular tissue, in the sense that they are facts which organic bodies exhibit in a greater number of cases—they are *objectively* more general; and they can be called *subjectively* more general only in the sense that the conception corresponds with the phenomena.

Let me endeavour to clear up this point:—There is, as M. Littré truly says, a decreasing generality that is objective. If we omit the phenomena of Dissolution, which are changes from the special to the general, all changes which matter undergoes are from the general to the special—are changes involving a decreasing generality in the united groups of attributes. This is the progress of *things*. The progress of *thought*, is not only in the same direction, but also in the opposite direction. The investigation of Nature discloses an increasing number of specialities; but it simultaneously discloses more and more the generalities within which these specialities fall. Take a case. Zoology, while it goes on multiplying the number of its species, and getting a more complete knowledge of each species (decreasing generality); also goes on discovering the common characters by which species are united into larger groups (increasing generality). Both these are subjective processes; and in this case, both orders of truths reached are concrete—formulate the phenomena as actually manifested.

M. Littré, recognizing the necessity for some modification of the hierarchy of the Sciences, as enunciated by M. Comte, still regards it as substantially true; and for proof of its validity, he appeals mainly to the essential *constitutions* of the Sciences. It is unnecessary for me here to meet, in detail, the arguments by which he supports the proposition, that the essential constitutions of the Sciences, justify the order in which M. Comte places them. It will suffice to refer to the foregoing pages, and to the pages which are to follow, as containing the definitions of those fundamental characteristics which demand the grouping of the Sciences in the way pointed out. As already shown, and as will be shown still more clearly by and bye, the radical differences of constitution among the Sciences, necessitate the colligation of them into the three classes—Abstract, Abstract-Concrete, and Concrete. how irreconcilable is M. Comte's classification with these groups, will be at once apparent on inspection. It stands thus :—

Passing to the sub-divisions of these classes, we find that the first class is separable into two parts—the one containing universal truths, the other non-universal truths. Dealing wholly with relations apart from related things, Abstract Science considers first, that which is common to all relations whatever; and second, that which is common to each order of relations. Besides the indefinite and variable connexions which exist among phenomena, as occurring together in Space and Time, we find that there are also definite and invariable connexions—that between each kind of phenomenon and certain other kinds of phenomena, there exist uniform relations. This is a universal abstract truth—that there is an unchanging order among things in Space and Time. We come next to the several kinds of unchanging order, which, taken together, form the subjects of the second division of Abstract Science. Of this second division, the most general sub-division is that which deals with the natures of the connexions in Space and Time, irrespective of the terms connected. The conditions under which we may predicate a relation of coincidence or proximity in Space and Time (or of non-coincidence or non-proximity) form the subject-matter of Logic. Here the natures and amounts of the terms between which the relations are asserted (or denied) are of no moment: the propositions of Logic are independent of any qualitative or quantitative specification of the related things. The other sub-division has for its subject-matter, the relations between terms which are specified quantitatively but not qualitatively. The amounts of the related terms, irrespective of their natures, are here dealt with; and Mathematics is a statement of the laws of quantity considered apart from reality. Quantity considered apart from reality, is occupancy of Space or Time; and occupancy of Space or Time is measured by the number of coexistent or sequent positions occupied. That is to say, quantities can be compared and the relations between them established, only by some direct or indirect enumeration of their component units; and the ultimate units into which all others are decomposable, are such occupied positions in Space as can, by making impressions on consciousness, produce occupied positions in Time. Among units that are unspecified in their natures (extensive, protensive, or intensive), but are ideally endowed with existence considered apart from attributes, the quantitative relations that arise, are those most general relations expressed by numbers. Such relations fall into either of two orders, according as the units are considered simply as capable of filling separate places in consciousness, or according as they are considered as filling places that are not only separate, but equal. In the one case, we have that indefinite calculus by which numbers of abstract existences, but not sums of abstract existence, are predicable. In the other case, we have that definite calculus by which both numbers of abstract existences and sums of abstract existence are

predicable. Next comes that division of Mathematics which deals with the quantitative relations of magnitudes (or aggregates of units) considered as coexistent, or as occupying Space—the division called Geometry. And then we arrive at relations, the terms of which include both quantities of Time and quantities of Space—those in which times are estimated by the units of space traversed at a uniform velocity, and those in which equal units of time being given, the spaces traversed with uniform or variable velocities are estimated. These Abstract Sciences, which are concerned exclusively with relations and with the relations of relations, may be grouped as shown in Table I.

Passing from the Sciences that treat of the ideal or unoccupied forms of relations, and turning to the Sciences that treat of real relations, or the relations among realities, we come first to those Sciences which deal with realities, not as they are habitually manifested to us, but with realities as manifested in their different modes, when these are artificially separated from one another. In the same way that the Abstract Sciences are ideal, relatively to the Abstract-Concrete and Concrete Sciences; so the Abstract-Concrete Sciences are ideal, relatively to the Concrete Sciences. Just as Logic and Mathematics have for their object to generalize the laws of relation, qualitative and quantitative, apart from related things; so, Mechanics, Physics, Chemistry, etc., have for their object to generalize the laws of relation which different modes of Matter and Motion conform to, when severally disentangled from those actual phenomena in which they are mutually modified. Just as the geometrician formulates the properties of lines and surfaces, independently of the irregularities and thicknesses of lines and surfaces as they really exist; so the physicist and the chemist formulate the mani-

Table I.

ABSTRACT SCIENCE. Universal law of relation—an expression of the truth that uniformities of connexion obtain among modes of Being, irrespective of any specification of the natures of the uniformities of connexion. Laws of relations that are qualitative; or that are specified in their natures as relations of coincidence or proximity in Time and Space, but not necessarily in their terms: the natures and amount of which are indifferent. (Logic.) * that are quantitative -(Mathematics) negatively: the terms of the relations being definitely-related sets of positions in space; and the facts predicated being the absences of certain quantities. (Geometry of Position.***) positively : the terms being magnitudes composed of units that are equal only as having independent existences. (Indefinite Calculus, †) equal units ' the equality of which is not defined as extensive, protensive, or intensive (Definite Calculus) when their numbers are completely specified, (Arithmetic.) when their numbers are specified only in their relations. (Algebra.) in the relations of their relations. (Calculus of Operations.) the equality of which is that of extension considered in their relations of coexistence. (Geometry.) considered as traversed in Time that is wholly indefinite (Kinematics.) that is divided into equal units. (Geometry of Motion, ‡) * This definition includes the laws of relations called necessary, but not those of relations called contingent. These last, in which the probability of an inferred connexion varies with the number of times such connexion has occurred in experience, are rightly dealt with mathematically. ** Here, by way of explanation of the terra negatively-quantitative, it will suffice to instance the proposition that certain three lines will meet in a point, as a negatively-quantitative proposition; since it asserts the absence or any quantity of space between their intersections. Similarly, the assertion that certain three points will always fall in a straight line, is negatively-quantitative; since the conception of a straight line implies the negation of any lateral quantity, or deviation. † Lest the meaning of this division should not be understood, it may be well to name, in illustration, the estimates of the statistician. Calculations respecting population, crime, disease, etc., have results which are correct only numerically, and not in respect of the totalities of being or action represented by the numbers. ‡ Perhaps it will be asked—How can there be a Geometry of Motion into which the conception of Force does not enter? The reply is, that the time-relations and space-relations of Motion may be considered apart from those of Force, in the same way that the space-relations of Matter may be considered apart from Matter.

festations of each mode of force, independently of the disturbances in its manifestations which other modes of force cause in every actual case. In works on Mechanics, the laws of motion are expressed without reference to friction and resistance of the medium. Not what motion ever really is, but what it would be if retarding forces were absent, is asserted. If any retarding force is taken into account, then the effect of this retarding force is alone contemplated: neglecting the other retarding forces. Consider, again, the generalizations of the physicist respecting molecular motion. The law that light varies inversely as the square of the distance, is absolutely true only when the radiation goes on from a point without dimensions, which it never does; and it also assumes that the rays are perfectly straight, which they cannot be unless the medium differs from all actual media in being perfectly homogeneous. If the disturbing effects of changes of media are investigated, the formulæ expressing the refractions take for granted that the new media entered are homogeneous; which they never really are. Even

when a compound disturbance is allowed for, as when the refraction undergone by light in traversing a medium of increasing density, like the atmosphere, is calculated, the calculation still supposes conditions that are unnaturally simple—it supposes that the atmosphere is not pervaded by heterogeneous currents, which it always is. Similarly with the inquiries of the chemist. He does not take his substances as Nature supplies them. Before he proceeds to specify their respective properties, he purifies them—separates from each all trace of every other. Before ascertaining the specific gravity of a gas, he has to free this gas from the vapour of water, usually mixed with it. Before describing the properties of a salt, he guards against any error that may arise from the presence of an uncombined portion of the acid or base. And when he alleges of any element that it has a certain atomic weight, and unites with such and such equivalents of other elements, he does not mean that the results thus expressed are exactly the results of any one experiment; but that they are the results which, after averaging many trials, he concludes would be realized if absolute purity could be obtained, and if the experiments could be conducted without loss. His problem is to ascertain the laws of combination of molecules, not as they are actually displayed, but as they would be displayed in the absence of those minute interferences which cannot be altogether avoided. Thus all these Abstract-Concrete Sciences have for their object, *analytical interpretation*. In every case it is the aim to decompose the phenomenon, and formulate its components apart from one another; or some two or three apart from the rest. Wherever, throughout these Sciences, synthesis is employed, it is for the verification of analysis.

I am indebted to Prof. Frankland for reminding me of an objection that may be made to this statement. The production of new compounds by synthesis, has of late become an important branch of chemistry. According to certain known laws of composition, complex substances, which never before existed, are formed, and fulfil anticipations both as to their general properties and as to the proportions of their constituents—as proved by analysis. Here it may be said with truth, that analysis is used to verify synthesis. Nevertheless, the exception to the above statement is apparent only—not real. In so far as the production of new compounds is carried on merely for the obtainment of such new compounds, it is not Science but Art—the application of pre-established knowledge to the achievement of ends. The proceeding is a part of Science, only in so far as it is a means to the better interpretation of the order of Nature. And how does it aid the interpretation? It does it only by verifying the pre-established conclusions respecting the laws of molecular combination; or by serving further to explain them. That is to say, these syntheses, considered on their scientific side, have simply the purpose of *forwarding the analysis of the laws of chemical combination*.

The truths elaborated are severally asserted, not as truths exhibited by this or that particular object; but as truths universally holding of Matter and Motion in their more general or more special forms, considered apart from particular objects, and particular places in space.

The sub-divisions of this group of Sciences, may be drawn on the same principle as that on which the sub-divisions of the preceding group were drawn. Phenomena, considered as more or less involved manifestations of force, yield on analysis, certain laws of manifestation that are universal, and other laws of manifestation, which, being dependent on conditions, are not universal. Hence the Abstract-Concrete Sciences are primarily divisible into—the laws of force considered apart from its separate modes, and laws of force considered under each of its separate modes. And this second division of the Abstract-Concrete group, is sub-divisible after a manner essentially analogous. It is needless to occupy space by defining these several orders and genera of Sciences. Table II. will sufficiently explain their relations.

We come now to the third great group. We have done with the Sciences which are concerned only with the blank forms of relations under which Being is manifested to us. We have left behind the Sciences which, dealing with Being under its universal mode, and its several non-universal modes regarded as independent, treats the terms of its relations as simple and heterogeneous, which they never are in Nature. There remain the Sciences which, taking these modes of Being as they are connected with one another, have for the terms of their relations, those heterogeneous combinations of forces that constitute actual phenomena. The subject-matter of these Concrete-Sciences is the real, as contrasted with the wholly or partially ideal. It is their aim, not to separate and generalize apart the components of all phenomena; but to explain each phenomenon as a product of these components. Their relations are not, like those of the simplest Abstract-Concrete Sciences, relations between one antecedent and one consequent; nor are they, like those of the more involved Abstract-Concrete Sciences, relations between some few antecedents cut off in imagination from all others, and some few consequents similarly cut off; but they are relations each of which has for its terms a complete plexus of antecedents and a complete plexus of consequents. This is manifest in the

Table II.

ABSTRACT-CONCRETE Universal laws of forces (tensions and pressures), as deducible from the

persistence of force; the theorems of resolution and composition of forces. Laws of forces as manifested by matter in masses (Mechanics) that are in equilibrium relatively to other masses and are solid. (Statics.) and are fluid. (Hydrostatics.) that are not in equilibrium relatively to other masses and are solid. (Dynamics.) and are fluid. (Hydrodynamics.) in molecules (Molecular Mechanics) when in equilibrium: (Molecular Statics) giving statical properties of matter general, as impenetrability or space-occupancy. special, as the forms resulting from molecular equilibrium. giving statico-dynamical properties of matter (cohesion, elasticity, etc.) when solid, when liquid. when gaseous. when not in equilibrium: (Molecular Dynamics) as resulting in a changed distribution of molecules which alters their relative positions heterogeneously causing increase of volume (expansion, liquefaction, evaporation). causing decrease of volume (condensation, solidification, contraction). which alters their relative positions heterogeneously (Chemistry) producing new relations of molecules (new compounds). producing new relations of forces (new affinities). as resulting in a changed distribution of molecular motion, which, by integration, generates sensible motion. which, by disintegration, generates insensible motion, under the forms of Heat. Light. Electricity. Magnetism.

least involved Concrete Sciences. The astronomer seeks to explain the Solar System. He does not stop short after generalizing the laws of planetary movement, such as planetary movement would be did only a single planet exist; but he solves this abstract-concrete problem, as a step towards solving the concrete problem of the planetary movements as affecting one another. In astronomical language, "the theory of the Moon" means an interpretation of the Moon's motions, not as determined simply by centripetal and centrifugal forces, but as perpetually modified by gravitation towards the Earth's equatorial protuberance, towards the Sun, and even towards Venus—forces daily varying in their amounts and combinations. Nor does the astronomer leave off when he has calculated what will be the position of a given body at a given time, allowing for all perturbing influences; but he goes on to consider the effects produced by reactions on the perturbing masses. And he further goes on to consider how these mutual perturbations of the planets cause, during a long period, increasing deviations from a mean state; and then how compensating perturbations cause continuous decrease in the deviations. That is, the goal towards which he ever strives, is a complete explanation of these complex planetary motions in their totality. Similarly with the geologist. He does not take for his problem only those irregularities of the Earth's crust that are worked by denudation; or only those which igneous action causes. He does not seek simply to understand how sedimentary strata were formed; or how faults were produced; or how moraines originated; or how the beds of Alpine lakes were scooped out. But taking into account all agencies co-operating in endless and ever-varying combinations, he aims to interpret the entire structure of the Earth's crust. If he studies separately the actions of rain, rivers, glaciers, icebergs, tides, waves, volcanoes, earthquakes, etc.; he does so that he may be better able to comprehend their joint actions as factors in geological phenomena: the object of his science being to generalize these phenomena in all their involved connections, as parts of one whole. In like manner Biology is the elaboration of a complete theory of Life, in each and all of its involved manifestations. If different aspects of its phenomena are investigated apart—if one observer busies himself in classing organisms, another in dissecting them, another in ascertaining their chemical compositions, another in studying functions, another in tracing laws of modification; they are all, consciously or unconsciously, helping to work out a solution of vital phenomena in their entirety, both as displayed by individual organisms and by organisms at large. Thus, in these Concrete Sciences, the object is the converse of that which the Abstract-Concrete Sciences propose to themselves. In the one case we have *analytical interpretation*; while in the other case we have *synthetical interpretation*. Instead of synthesis being used merely to verify analysis; analysis is here used only to aid synthesis. Not to formulate the factors of phenomena is now the object; but to formulate the phenomena resulting from these factors, under the various conditions which the Universe presents.

This third class of Sciences, like the other classes, is divisible into the universal and the non-universal. As there are truths which hold of all phenomena in their elements; so there are truths which hold of all phenomena in their totalities. As force has certain ultimate laws common to its separate modes of manifestation, so in those combinations of its modes which constitute actual phenomena, we find certain ultimate laws that are conformed to in every case. These are the laws of the re-distribution of force. Since we can become conscious of a phenomenon only by some change wrought in us, every phenomenon necessarily implies re-distribution of force—change in the arrangements of matter and motion. Alike in molecular movements and the movements of masses, one great uniformity may be traced. A decreasing quantity of motion, sensible or insensible, always has for its concomitant an increasing aggregation of matter; and, conversely, an increasing quantity of motion, sensible or insensible, has for its concomitant a decreasing aggregation of matter. Give to the molecules of any mass, more of that insensible motion which we call heat, and the parts of the mass become somewhat less closely aggregated. Add a further quantity of insensible motion, and the mass so far disintegrates as to become liquid. Add still more insensible motion, and the mass disintegrates so completely as to become gas; which occupies a greater space with every extra quantity of insensible motion given to it. On the other hand, every

loss of insensible motion by a mass, gaseous, liquid, or solid, is accompanied by a progressing integration of the mass. Similarly with sensible motions, be the bodies moved large or small. Augment the velocities of the planets, and their orbits will enlarge—the Solar System would occupy a wider space. Diminish their velocities, and their orbits will lessen—the Solar System will contract, or become more integrated. And in like manner we see that every sensible motion on the Earth's surface involves a partial disintegration of the moving body from the Earth; while the loss of its motion is accompanied by the body's re-integration with the Earth. In all phenomena we have either an integration of matter and concomitant dissipation of motion; or an absorption of motion and concomitant disintegration of matter. And where, as in living bodies, these processes are going on simultaneously, there is an integration of matter proportioned to the dissipation of motion, and an absorption of motion proportioned to the disintegration of matter. Such, then, are the universal laws of that re-distribution of matter and motion everywhere going on—a redistribution which results in Evolution so long as the aggregation of matter and dispersion of motion predominate; but which results in Dissolution where there is a predominant aggregation of motion and dispersion of matter. Hence we have a division of Concrete Science which bears towards the other Concrete Sciences, a relation like that which Universal Law of Evolution bears to Mathematics, and like that which Universal Mechanics (composition and resolution of forces) bears to Physics. We have a division of Concrete Science which generalizes those concomitants of this re-distribution that hold good among all orders of concrete objects—a division which explains why, along with a predominating integration of matter and dissipation of motion, there goes a change from an indefinite, incoherent heterogeneity, to a definite, coherent heterogeneity; and why a reverse re-distribution of matter and motion, is accompanied by a reverse structural change. Passing from this universal Concrete Science, to the non-universal Concrete Sciences; we find that these are primarily divisible into the science which deals with the re-distributions of matter and motion among the masses in space, consequent on their mutual actions as wholes; and the science which deals with the re-distributions of matter and motion consequent on the mutual actions of the molecules in each mass. And of these equally general Sciences, this last is re-divisible into the Science which is limited to the concomitants of re-distribution among the molecules of each mass when regarded as independent, and the Science which takes into account the molecular motion received by radiation from other masses. But these sub-divisions, and their sub-subdivisions, will be best seen in the annexed Table III.

That these great groups of Sciences and their respective sub-groups, fulfil the definition of a true classification given at the outset, is, I think, tolerably manifest. The subjects of inquiry included in each primary division, have essential attributes in common with one another, which they have not in common with any of the subjects contained in the other primary divisions; and they have, by consequence, a greater number of common attributes in which they severally agree with the colligated subjects, and disagree with the subjects otherwise colligated. Between Sciences which deal with relations apart from realities, and Sciences which deal with realities, the distinction is the widest possible; since Being, in some or all of its attributes, is common to all Sciences of the second class, and excluded from all Sciences of the first class. The distinction between the empty forms of things and the things themselves, is a distinction which cannot be exceeded in degree. And when we divide the Sciences which treat of realities, into those which deal with their separate components and those which deal with their components as united, we make a profounder distinction than can exist between the Sciences which deal with one or other order

Table III.

CONCRETE SCIENCE. Universal laws of the continuous re-distribution of Matter and Motion; which results in Evolution where there is a predominant integration of Matter and dissipation of Motion, and which results in Dissolution where there is a predominant absorption of Motion and disintegration of Matter. Laws of the redistributions of Matter and Motion actually going on among the celestial bodies in their relations to one another as masses: comprehending (Astronomy) the dynamics of our stellar universe. (Sidereal Astronomy.) the dynamics of our solar system. (Planetary Astronomy.) among the molecules of any celestial mass; as caused by the actions of these molecules on one another (Astrogeny) resulting in the formation of compound molecules. (Solar Mineralogy.) resulting in molecular motions and genesis of radiant forces.* resulting in movements of gases and liquids. (Solar Meteorology. † the actions of these molecules on one another, joined with the actions on them of forces radiated by the (molecules of other masses: (Geogeny) as exhibited in the planets generally. as exhibited in the Earth causing composition and decomposition of inorganic matters. (Mineral causing re-distributions of gases and liquids. (Meteorology.) causing re-distributions of solids. (Geology.) causing organic phenomena; which are (Biology) those of structure (Morphology) general, special. those of function in their internal relations (Physiology) general, special. in their external relations (Psychology) general special separated combine (Sociology) * This must not be supposed to mean chemically-produced forces. The molecular

motion here referred to as dissipated in radiations, is the equivalent of that sensible motion lost during the integration of the mass of molecules, consequent on their mutual gravitation. † Embracing the interpretation of such phenomena as the solar spots, the faculæ and the coronal flames. ‡ Want of space prevents anything beyond the briefest indication of these subdivisions.

of the components, or than can exist between the Sciences which deal with one or other order of the things composed. The three groups of Sciences maybe briefly defined as—laws of the *forms*; laws of the *factors*; laws of the *products*. And when thus defined, it becomes manifest that the groups are so radically unlike in their natures, that there can be no transitions between them; and that any Science belonging to one of the groups must be quite incongruous with the Sciences belonging to either of the other groups, if transferred. how fundamental are the differences between them, will be further seen on considering their functions. The first, or abstract group, is *instrumental* with respect to both the others; and the second, or abstract-concrete group, is *instrumental* with respect to the third or concrete group. An endeavour to invert these functions will at once show how essential is the difference of character. The second and third groups supply subject-matter to the first, and the third supplies subject-matter to the second; but none of the truths which constitute the third group are of any use as solvents of the problems presented by the second group; and none of the truths which the second group formulates can act as solvents of problems contained in the first group. Concerning the subdivisions of these great groups, little remains to be added. That each of the groups, being co-extensive with all phenomena, contains truths that are universal and others that are not universal, and that these must be classed apart, is obvious. And that the subdivisions of the non-universal truths, are to be made in something like the manner shown in the tables, is proved by the fact that when the descriptive words are read from the root to the extremity of any branch, they form a definition of the Science constituting that branch. That the minor divisions might be otherwise arranged, and that better definitions of them might be given, is highly probable. They are here set down merely for the purpose of showing how this method of classification works out.

I will only further remark, that the relations of the Sciences as thus represented, are still but imperfectly represented: their relations cannot be truly shown on a plane, but only in space of three dimensions. The three groups cannot rightly be put in linear order as they have here been. Since the first stands related to the third, not only indirectly through the second, but also directly—it is directly instrumental with respect to the third, and the third supplies it directly with subject-matter. Their relations can thus only be truly shown by a divergence from a common root on different sides, in such a way that each stands in juxtaposition to the other two. And only by the like mode of arrangement, can the relations among the sub-divisions of each group be correctly represented.

Postscript, Replying to Criticisms.

AMONG objections made to any doctrine, those which come from avowed supporters of an adverse doctrine must be considered, other things equal, as of less weight than those which come from men uncommitted to an adverse doctrine, or but partially committed to it. The element of prepossession, distinctly present in the one case and in the other case mainly or quite absent, is a well-recognized cause of difference in the values of the judgments: supposing the judgments to be otherwise fairly comparable. Hence, when it is needful to bring the replies within a restricted space, a fit course is that of dealing rather with independent criticisms than with criticisms which are really indirect arguments for an opposite view, previously espoused.

For this reason I propose here to confine myself substantially, though not absolutely, to the demurrers entered against the foregoing classification by Prof. Bain, in his recent work on Logic. Before dealing with the more important of these, let me clear the ground by disposing of the less important.

Incidentally, while commenting on the view I take respecting the position of Logic, Prof. Bain points out that this, which is the most abstract of the sciences, owes much to Psychology, which I place among the Concrete Sciences; and he alleges an incongruity between this fact and my statement that the Concrete Sciences are not instrumental in disclosing the truths of the Abstract Sciences. Subsequently he re-raises this apparent anomaly when saying—

"Nor is it possible to justify the placing of Psychology wholly among Concrete Sciences. It is a highly analytic science, as Mr. Spencer thoroughly knows."

For a full reply, given by implication, I must refer Prof. Bain to § 56 of *The Principles of Psychology*, where I have contended that "while, under its objective aspect, Psychology is to be classed as one of the Concrete Sciences which successively decrease in scope as they increase in speciality; under its subjective aspect, Psychology is a totally unique science, independent of, and antithetically opposed to, all other sciences whatever." A pure idealist will not, I suppose, recognize this distinction; but to every one else it must, I should think, be obvious that the science of subjective existences is the correlative of all the sciences of objective existences; and is as absolutely marked off from them as subject is from object. Objective Psychology, which I

class among the Concrete Sciences, is purely synthetic, so long as it is limited, like the other sciences, to objective data; though great aid in the interpretation of these data is derived from the observed correspondence between the phenomena of Objective Psychology as presented in other beings and the phenomena of Subjective Psychology as presented in one's own consciousness. Now it is Subjective Psychology only which is analytic, and which affords aid in the development of Logic. This being explained, the apparent incongruity disappears.

A difficulty raised respecting the manner in which I have expressed the nature of Mathematics, may next be dealt with. Prof. Bain writes :—

"In the first place, objection may be taken to his language, in discussing the extreme Abstract Sciences, when he speaks of the empty forms therein considered. To call Space and Time empty forms, must mean that they can be thought of without any concrete embodiment whatsoever; that one can think of Time, as a pure abstraction, without having in one's mind any concrete succession. Now, this doctrine is in the last degree questionable."

I quite agree with Prof. Bain that "this doctrine is in the last degree questionable;" but I do not admit that this doctrine is implied by the definition of Abstract Science which I have given. I speak of Space and Time as they are dealt with by mathematicians, and as it is alone possible for pure Mathematics to deal with them. While Mathematics habitually uses in its points, lines, and surfaces, certain existences, it habitually deals with these as representing points, lines, and surfaces that are ideal; and *its conclusions are true only on condition that it does this*. Points having dimensions, lines having breadths, planes having thicknesses, are negated by its definitions. Using, though it does, material representatives of extension, linear, superficial, or solid, Geometry deliberately ignores their materiality; and attends only to the truths of relation they present. Holding with Prof. Bain, as I do, that our consciousness of Space is disclosed by our experiences of Matter—arguing, as I have done in *The Principles of Psychology*, that it is a consolidated aggregate of all relations of co-existence that have been severally presented by Matter; I nevertheless contend that it is possible to dissociate these relations from Matter to the extent required for formulating them as abstract truths. I contend, too, that this separation is of the kind habitually made in other cases; as, for instance, when the general laws of motion are formulated (as M. Comte's system, among others, formulates them) in such way as to ignore all properties of the bodies dealt with save their powers of taking up, and retaining, and giving out, quantities of motion; though these powers are inconceivable apart from the attribute of extension, which is intentionally disregarded.

Taking other of Prof. Bain's objections, not in the order in which they stand but in the order in which they may be most conveniently dealt with, I quote as follows:—

"The law of the radiation of light (the inverse square of the distance) is said by Sir. Spencer to be Abstract-Concrete, while the disturbing changes in the medium are not to be mentioned except in a Concrete Science of Optics. We need not remark that such a separate handling is unknown to science."

It is perfectly true that "such a separate handling is unknown to science." But, unfortunately for the objection, it is also perfectly true that no such separate handling is proposed by me, or is implied by my classification. How Prof. Bain can have so missed the meaning of the word "concrete," as I have used it, I do not understand. After pointing out that "no one ever drew the line," between the Abstract-Concrete and the Concrete Sciences, "as I have done it," he alleges an anomaly which exists only supposing that I have drawn it where it is ordinarily drawn. He appears inadvertently to have carried with him M. Comte's conception of Optics as a Concrete Science, and, importing it into my classification, debits me with the incongruity. If he will re-read the definition of the Abstract-Concrete Sciences, or study their sub-divisions as shown in Table II., he will, I think, see that the most special laws of the redistribution of light, equally with its most general laws, are included. And if he will pass to the definition and the tabulation of the Concrete Sciences, he will, I think, see no less clearly that Optics cannot be included among them.

Prof. Bain considers that I am not justified in classing Chemistry as an Abstract-Concrete Science, and excluding from it all consideration of the crude forms of the various substances dealt with; and he enforces his dissent by saying that chemists habitually describe the ores and impure mixtures in which the elements, etc., are naturally found. Undoubtedly chemists do this. But do they therefore intend to include an account of the ores of a substance, *as a part of the science* which formulates its molecular constitution and the constitutions of all the definite compounds it enters into? I shall be very much surprised if I find that they do. Chemists habitually prefix to their works a division treating of Molecular Physics; but they do not therefore claim Molecular Physics as a part of Chemistry. If they similarly prefix to the chemistry of each substance an outline of its mineralogy, I do not think they therefore mean to assert that the last belongs to the first. Chemistry proper, embraces nothing beyond an account of the constitutions and modes of action and combining proportions of substances that are taken as absolutely pure; and its truths no more recognize impure substances than the truths of Geometry recognize crooked lines.

Immediately after, in criticizing the fundamental distinction I have made between Chemistry and Biology, as Abstract-Concrete and Concrete respectively, Prof. Bain says:—

"But the objects of Chemistry and the objects of Biology are equally concrete, so far as they go; the simple bodies of chemistry, and their several compounds, are viewed by the Chemist as concrete wholes, and are described by him, not with reference to one factor, but to all their factors."

Issue is here raised in a form convenient for elucidation of the general question. It is true that, *for purposes of identification*, a chemist gives an account of all the sensible characters of a substance. He sets down its crystalline form, its specific gravity, its power of refracting light, its behaviour as magnetic or diamagnetic. But does he thereby include these phenomena as part of the Science of Chemistry? It seems to me that the relation between the weight of any portion of matter and its bulk, which is ascertained on measuring its specific gravity, is a physical and not a chemical fact. I think, too, that the physicist will claim, as part of his science, all investigations touching the refraction of light: be the substance producing this refraction what it may. And the circumstance that the chemist may test the magnetic or diamagnetic property of a body, as a means of ascertaining what it is, or as a means of helping other chemists to determine whether they have got before them the same body, will neither be held by the chemist, nor allowed by the physicist, to imply a transfer of magnetic phenomena from the domain of the one to that of the other. In brief, though the chemist, in his account of an element or a compound, may refer to certain physical traits associated with its molecular constitution and affinities, he does not by so doing change these into chemical traits. Whatever chemists may put into their books, Chemistry, considered as a science, includes only the phenomena of molecular structures and changes—of compositions and decompositions.

Perhaps some will say that such incidental phenomena as those of the heat and light evolved during chemical changes, are to be included among chemical phenomena. I think, however, the physicist will hold that all phenomena of re-distributed molecular motion, no matter how arising, come within the range of Physics. But whatever difficulty there may be in drawing the line between Physics and Chemistry (and, as I have incidentally pointed out in *The Principles of Psychology*, § 55, the two are closely linked by the phenomena of allotropy and isomerism), applies equally to the Comtean classification, or to any other. And I may further point out that no obstacle hence arises to the classification I am defending. Physics and Chemistry being both grouped by me as Abstract-Concrete Sciences, no difficulty in satisfactorily dividing them in the least affects the satisfactoriness of the division of the great group to which they both belong, from the other two great groups.

I contend, then, that Chemistry does *not* give an account of anything as a concrete whole, in the same way that Biology gives an account of an organism as a concrete whole. This will become even more manifest on observing the character of the biological account. All the attributes of an organism are comprehended, from the most general to the most special—from its conspicuous structural traits to its hidden and faint ones; from its outer actions that thrust themselves on the attention, to the minutest sub-divisions of its multitudinous internal functions; from its character as a germ, through the many changes of size, form, organization, and habit, it goes through until death; from the physical characters of it as a whole, to the physical characters of its microscopic cells, and vessels, and fibres; from the chemical characters of its substance in general to the chemical characters of each tissue and each secretion—all these, with many others. And not only so, but there is comprehended as the ideal goal of the science, the *consensus* of all these phenomena in their co-existences and successions, as constituting a coherent individualized group definitely combined in space and in time. It is this recognition of *individuality* in its subject-matter, that gives its concreteness to Biology, as to every other Concrete Science. As Astronomy deals with bodies that have their several proper names, or (as with the smaller stars) are registered by their positions, and considers each of them as a distinct individual—as Geology, while dimly perceiving in the Moon and nearest planets other groups of geological phenomena (which it would deal with as independent wholes, did not distance forbid), occupies itself with that individualized group presented by the Earth; so Biology treats either of an individual distinguished from all others, or of parts or products belonging to such an individual, or of structural or functional traits common to many such individuals that have been observed, and supposed to be common to others that are like them in most or all of their attributes. Every biological truth connotes a specifically individualized object, or a number of specifically individualized objects of the same kind, or numbers of different kinds that are severally specific. See, then, the contrast. The truths of the Abstract-Concrete Sciences do not imply specific individuality. Neither Molar Physics, nor Molecular Physics, nor Chemistry, concerns itself with this. The laws of motion are expressed without any reference whatever to the sizes or shapes of the moving masses; which may be taken indifferently to be suns or atoms. The relations between contraction and the escape of molecular motion, and between expansion and the absorption of molecular motion, are expressed in their general forms without reference to the kind of matter; and, if the degree of either that occurs in a particular kind of matter is formulated, no note is taken of the quantity of that matter, much less of its individuality. Similarly with Chemistry. When it inquires into the atomic weight, the molecular structure, the atomicity, the combining proportions, etc., of a substance, it is indifferent whether a grain or a ton be thought of—the conception of amount is absolutely irrelevant. And so with more special

attributes. Sulphur, considered chemically, is not sulphur under its crystalline form, or under its allotropic viscid form, or as a liquid, or as a gas; but it is sulphur considered apart from those attributes of quantity, and shape, and state, that give individuality.

Prof. Bain objects to the division I have drawn between the Concrete Science of Astronomy and that Abstract-Concrete Science which deals with the mutually-modified motions of hypothetical masses in space, as "not a little arbitrary." He says:—

"We can suppose a science to confine itself solely to the 'factors,' or the separated elements, and never, on any occasion, to combine two into a composite third. This position is intelligible, and possibly defensible. For example, in Astronomy, the Law of Persistence of Motion in a straight line might be discussed in pure ideal separation; and so, the Law of Gravity might be discussed in equally pure separation—both under the Abstract-Concrete department of Mechanics. It might then be reserved to a concrete department to unite these in the explanation of a projectile or of a planet. Such, however, is not Mr. Spencer's boundary line. He allows Theoretical Mechanics to make this particular combination, and to arrive at the laws of planetary movement, in the case of a single planet. What he does not allow is, to proceed to the case of two planets, mutually disturbing one another, or a planet and a satellite, commonly called the 'problem of the Three Bodies.'"

If I held what Prof. Bain supposes me to hold, my position would be an absurd one; but he misapprehends me. The misapprehension results in part from his having here, as before, used the word "concrete" with the Comtean meaning, as though it were my meaning; and in part from the inadequacy of my explanation. I did not in the least mean to imply that the Abstract-Concrete Science of Mechanics, when dealing with the motions of bodies in space, is limited to the interpretation of planetary movement such as it would be did only a single planet exist. It never occurred to me that my words (see p. 19) might be so construed. Abstract-Concrete problems admit, in fact, of being complicated indefinitely, without going in the least beyond the definition. I do not draw the line, as Prof. Bain alleges, between the combination of two factors and the combination of three, or between the combination of any number and any greater number. I draw the line between the science which deals with the theory of the factors, taken singly and in combinations of two, three, four, or more, and the science which, *giving to these factors the values derived from observations of actual objects, uses the theory to explain actual phenomena.*

It is true that, in these departments of science, no radical distinction is consistently recognized between theory and the applications of theory. As Prof. Bain says:—

"Newton, in the First Book of the Principia, took up the problem of the Three Bodies, as applied to the Moon, and worked it to exhaustion. So writers on Theoretical Mechanics continue to include the Three Bodies, Precession, and the Tides."

But, supreme though the authority, of Newton may be as a mathematician and astronomer, and weighty as are the names of Laplace and Herschel, who in their works have similarly mingled theorems and the explanations yielded by them, it does not seem to me that these facts go for much; unless it can be shown that these writers intended thus to enunciate the views at which they had arrived respecting the classification of the sciences. Such a union as that presented in their works, adopted merely for the sake of convenience, is, in fact, the indication of incomplete development; and has been paralleled in simpler sciences which have afterwards outgrown it. Two conclusive illustrations are at hand. The name Geometry, utterly inapplicable by its meaning to the science as it now exists, was applicable in that first stage when its few truths were taught in preparation for land-measuring and the setting-out of buildings; but, at a comparatively early date, these comparatively simple truths became separated from their applications, and were embodied by the Greek geometers into systems of theory.

It may be said that the mingling of problems and theorems in Euclid is not quite consistent with this statement; and it is true that we have, in this mingling, a trace of the earlier form of the science. But it is to be remarked that these problems are all purely abstract, and, further, that each of them admits of being expressed as a theorem.

A like purification is now taking place in another division of the science. In the *Géométric Descriptive* of Monge, theorems were mixed with their applications to projection and plan-drawing. But, since his time, the science and the art have been segregating; and Descriptive Geometry, or, as it may be better termed, the Geometry of Position, is now recognized by mathematicians as a far-reaching system of truths, parts of which are already embodied in books that make no reference to derived methods available by the architect or the engineer. To meet a counter-illustration that will be cited, I may remark that though, in works on Algebra intended for beginners, the theories of quantitative relations, as treated algebraically, are accompanied by groups of problems to be solved, the subject-matters of these problems are not thereby made parts of the Science of Algebra. To say that they are, is to say that Algebra includes the conceptions of distances and relative speeds and times, or of weights and bulks and specific gravities, or of areas ploughed and days and wages; since these, and endless others, may be the terms of its equations. And just in the same way that these

concrete problems, solved by its aid, cannot by any possibility be incorporated with the Abstract Science of Algebra; so I contend that the concrete problems of Astronomy, cannot by any possibility be incorporated with that division of Abstract-Concrete Science which develops the theory of the interactions of free bodies that attract one another.

On this point I find myself at issue, not only with Prof. Bain, but also with Mr. Mill, who contends that:—

"There is an abstract science of astronomy, namely, the theory of gravitation, which would equally agree with and explain the facts of a totally different solar system from the one of which our earth forms a part. The actual facts of our own system, the dimensions, distances, velocities, temperatures, physical constitution, etc., of the sun, earth, and planets, are properly the subject of a concrete science, similar to natural history; but the concrete is more inseparably united to the abstract science than in any other case, since the few celestial facts really accessible to us are nearly all required for discovering and proving the law of gravitation as an universal property of bodies, and have therefore an indispensable place in the abstract science as its fundamental data."—Auguste Comte and Positivism, p. 43.

In this explanation, Mr. Mill recognizes the fundamental distinction between the Concrete Science of Astronomy, dealing with the bodies actually distributed in space, and a science dealing with hypothetical bodies hypothetically distributed in space. Nevertheless, he regards these sciences as not separable; because the second derives from the first the data whence the law of inter-action is derived. But the truth of this premiss, and the legitimacy of this inference, may alike be questioned. The discovery of the law of inter-action was not due primarily, but only secondarily, to observation of the heavenly bodies. The conception of an inter-acting force that varies inversely as the square of the distance, is an *a priori* conception rationally deducible from mechanical and geometrical considerations. Though unlike in derivation to the many empirical hypotheses of Kepler respecting planetary orbits and planetary motions, yet it was like the successful among these in its relation to astronomical phenomena: it was one of many possible hypotheses, which admitted of having their consequences worked out and tested; and one which, on having its implications compared with the results of observation, was found to explain them. In short, the theory of gravitation grew out of experiences of terrestrial phenomena; but the verification of it was reached through experiences of celestial phenomena. Passing now from premiss to inference, I do not see that, even were the alleged parentage substantiated, it would necessitate the supposed inseparability; any more than the descent of Geometry from land-measuring necessitates a persistent union of the two. In the case of Algebra, as above indicated, the disclosed laws of quantitative relations hold throughout multitudinous orders of phenomena that are extremely heterogeneous; and this makes conspicuous the distinction between the theory and its applications. Here the laws of quantitative relations among masses, distances, velocities, and momenta, being applied mainly (though not exclusively) to the concrete cases presented by Astronomy, the distinction between the theory and its applications is less conspicuous. But, intrinsically, it is as great in the one case as in the other.

How great it is, we shall see on taking an analogy. This is a living man, of whom we may know little more than that he is a visible, tangible person; or of whom we may know enough to form a voluminous biography. Again, this book tells of a fictitious hero, who, like the heroes of old romance, may be an impersonated virtue or vice, or, like a modern hero, one of mixed nature, whose various motives and consequent actions are elaborated into a semblance of reality. But no accuracy and completeness of the picture makes this fictitious personage an actual personage, or brings him any nearer to one. Nor does any meagreness in our knowledge of a real man reduce him any nearer to the imaginary being of a novel. To the last, the division between fiction and biography remains an impassable gulf. So, too, remains the division between the Science dealing with the inter-actions of hypothetical bodies in space, and the Science dealing with the inter-actions of existing bodies in space. We may elaborate the first to any degree whatever by the introduction of three, four, or any greater number of factors under any number of assumed conditions, until we symbolize a solar system; but to the last an account of our symbolic solar system is as far from an account of the actual solar system as fiction is from biography.

Even more obvious, if it be possible, does the radical character of this distinction become, on observing that from the simplest proposition of General Mechanics we may pass to the most complex proposition of Celestial Mechanics, without a break. We take a body moving at a uniform velocity, and commence with the proposition that it will continue so to move for ever. Next, we state the law of its accelerated motion in the same line, when subject to a uniform force. We further complicate the proposition by supposing the force to increase in consequence of approach towards an attracting body; and we may formulate a series of laws of acceleration, resulting from so many assumed laws of increasing attraction (of which the law of gravitation is one). Another factor may now be added by supposing the body to have motion in a direction other than that of the attracting body; and we may determine, according to the ratios of the supposed forces, whether its course will be hyperbolic, parabolic, elliptical, or circular—we may begin with this hypothetical additional force as infinitesimal, and formulate the varying results as it is little by little increased. The problem is complicated a

degree more by taking into account the effects of a third force, acting in some other direction; and beginning with an infinitesimal amount of this force we may reach any amount. Similarly, by introducing factor after factor, each at first insensible in proportion to the rest, we arrive, through an infinity of gradations, at a combination of any complexity.

Thus, then, the Science which deals with the inter-action of hypothetical bodies in space, is *absolutely continuous* with General Mechanics. We have already seen that it is *absolutely discontinuous* with that account of the heavenly bodies which has been called Astronomy from the beginning. When these facts are recognized, it seems to me that there cannot remain a doubt respecting its true place in a classification of the Sciences.

Passing over minor criticisms, either as met by implication or as demanding space that cannot be here afforded, let me say something by way of enforcing the general argument. I will re-state the case in two ways: the first of them adapted only to those who accept the general doctrine of Evolution.

We set out with concentrating nebulous matter. Tracing the re-distributions of this as the rotating contracting spheroid leaves behind successive annuli, and as these severally breaking up eventually form secondary rotating spheroids, we come at length to planets in their early stages. Thus far we consider the phenomena dealt with purely astronomical; and so long as our Earth, regarded as one of these spheroids, was made up of gaseous and molten matters only, it presented no definite data for any more complex Concrete Science. In the lapse of cosmical time a solid film forms, which, in the course of millions of years, thickens, and, in the course of further millions of years, becomes cool enough to permit the precipitation, first of various other gaseous compounds, and finally of water. Presently, the varying exposure of different parts of the spheroid to the Sun's rays, begins to produce appreciable effects; until at length there have arisen meteorological actions, and consequent geological actions, such as those we now know: determined partly by the Sun's heat, partly by the still-retained internal heat of the Earth, and partly by the action of the Moon on the ocean? how have we reached these geological phenomena? When did the astronomical changes end and the geological begin? It needs but to ask this question to see that there is no real division between the two. Putting pre-conceptions aside, we find nothing more than a group of phenomena continually complicating under the influence of the same original factors; and we see that our conventional division is defensible only on grounds of convenience. Let us advance a stage. As the Earth's surface continues to cool, passing through all degrees of temperature by infinitesimal gradations, the formation of more and more complex inorganic compounds becomes possible; later its surface sinks to that heat at which the less complex compounds of the kinds called organic can exist; and finally the formation of the more complex organic compounds becomes possible. Chemists now show us that these compounds may be built up synthetically in the laboratory—each stage in ascending complexity making possible the next higher stage. Hence it is inferable that, in the myriads of laboratories, endlessly diversified in their materials and conditions, which the Earth's surface furnished during the myriads of years occupied in passing through these stages of temperature, such successive syntheses were effected; and that the highly complex unstable substance out of which all organisms are composed, was eventually formed in microscopic portions: from which, by continuous integrations and differentiations, the evolution of all organisms has proceeded. Where then shall we draw the line between Geology and Biology? The synthesis of this most complex compound, is but a continuation of the syntheses by which all simpler compounds were formed. The same primary factors have been co-operating with those secondary factors, meteorologic and geologic, previously derived from them. Nowhere do we find a break in the ever-complicating series; for there is a manifest connexion between those movements which various complex compounds undergo during their isomeric transformations, and those changes of form undergone by the protoplasm which we distinguish as living. Strongly contrasted as they eventually become, biological phenomena are at their root inseparable from geological phenomena—inseparable from the aggregate of transformations continually wrought in the matters forming the Earth's surface by the physical forces to which they are exposed. Further stages I need not particularize. The gradual development out of the biological group of phenomena, of the more specialized group we class as psychological, needs no illustration. And when we come to the highest psychological phenomena, it is clear that since aggregations of human beings may be traced upwards from single wandering families to tribes and nations of all sizes and complexities, we pass insensibly from the phenomena of individual human action to those of corporate human action. To resume, then, is it not manifest that in the group of sciences—Astronomy, Geology, Biology, Psychology, Sociology, we have a natural group that admits neither of disruption nor change of order? Here there is both a genetic dependence, and a dependence of interpretations. The phenomena have arisen in this succession in cosmical time; and complete scientific interpretation of each group depends on scientific interpretation of the preceding groups. No other science can be thrust in anywhere without destroying the continuity. To insert Physics between Astronomy and Geology, would be to make a break in the history of a continuous series of changes; and a like break would be produced by inserting Chemistry between Geology and Biology. It is true that Physics and Chemistry are needful as interpreters of these successive assemblages of facts; but it does not therefore follow

that they are themselves to be placed among these assemblages.

Concrete Science, made up of these five concrete sub-sciences, being thus coherent within itself, and separated from all other science, there comes the question—Is all other science similarly coherent within itself? or is it traversed by some second division that is equally decided? It is thus traversed. A statical or dynamical theorem, however simple, has always for its subject-matter something that is conceived as extended, and as displaying force or forces—as being a seat of resistance, or of tension, or of both, and as capable of possessing more or less of *vis viva*. If we examine the simplest proposition of Statics, we see that the conception of Force must be joined with the conception of Space, before the proposition can be framed in thought; and if we similarly examine the simplest proposition in Dynamics, we see that Force, Space, and Time, are its essential elements. The amounts of the terms are indifferent; and, by reduction of its terms beyond the limits of perception, they are applied to molecules: Molar Mechanics and Molecular Mechanics are continuous. From questions concerning the relative motions of two or more molecules, Molecular Mechanics passes to changes of aggregation among many molecules, to changes in the amounts and kinds of the motions possessed by them as members of an aggregate, and to changes of the motions transferred through aggregates of them (as those constituting light). Daily extending its range of interpretations, it is coming to deal even with the components of each compound molecule on the same principles. And the unions and disunions of such more or less compound molecules, which constitute the phenomena of Chemistry, are also being conceived as resultant phenomena of essentially kindred natures—the affinities of molecules for one another, and their reactions in relation to light, heat, and other modes of force, being regarded as consequent on the combinations of the various mechanically-determined motions of their various components. Without at all out-running, however, this progress in the mechanical interpretation of molecular phenomena, it suffices to point out that the indispensable elements in any chemical conception are units occupying places in space, and exerting forces on one another. This, then, is the common character of all these sciences which we at present group under the names of Mechanics, Physics, Chemistry. Leaving undiscussed the question whether it is possible to conceive of force apart from extended somethings exerting it, we may assert, as beyond dispute, that if the conception of force be expelled, no science of Mechanics, Physics, or Chemistry remains. Made coherent, as these sciences are, by this bond of union, it is impossible to thrust among them any other science without breaking their continuity. We cannot place Logic between Molar Mechanics and Molecular Mechanics. We cannot place Mathematics between the group of propositions concerning the behaviour of homogeneous molecules to one another, and the group of propositions concerning the behaviour of heterogeneous molecules to one another (which we call Chemistry). Clearly these two sciences lie outside the coherent whole we have contemplated: separated from it in some radical way.

By what are they radically separated? By the absence of the conception of force. However true it may be that so long as Logic and Mathematics have any terms at all, these must be capable of affecting consciousness, and, by implication, of exerting force; yet it is the distinctive trait of these sciences that not only do their propositions make no reference to such force, but, as far as possible, they deliberately ignore it. Instead of being, as in all the other sciences, an element that is not only recognized but vital; in Mathematics and Logic, force is an element that is not only not vital, but is studiously not recognized. The terms in which Logic expresses its propositions, are symbols that do not profess to represent things, properties, or powers, of one kind more than another; and may equally well stand for the attributes belonging to members of some connected series of ideal curves which have never been drawn, as for so many real objects. And the theorems of Geometry, so far from contemplating perceptible lines and surfaces as elements in the truths enunciated, consider these truths as becoming absolute only when such lines and surfaces become ideal—only when the conception of something exercising force is extruded.

Let me now make a second re-statement, not implying acceptance of the doctrine of Evolution, but exhibiting with a clearness almost if not quite as great, these fundamental distinctions.

The concrete sciences, taken together or separately, contemplate as their subject-matters, *aggregates*—either the entire aggregate of sensible existences, or some secondary aggregate separable from this entire aggregate, or some tertiary aggregate separable from this, and so on. Sidereal Astronomy occupies itself with the totality of visible masses distributed through space; which it deals with as made up of identifiable individuals occupying specified places, and severally standing towards one another, towards sub-groups, and towards the entire group, in defined ways. Planetary Astronomy, cutting out of this all-including aggregate that relatively minute part constituting the Solar System, deals with this as a whole—observes, measures, and calculates the sizes, shapes, distances, motions, of its primary, secondary, and tertiary members; and, taking for its larger inquiries the mutual actions of all these members as parts of a coordinated assemblage, takes for its smaller inquiries the actions of each member considered as an individual, having a set of intrinsic activities that are modified by a set of extrinsic activities. Restricting itself to one of these aggregates, which admits of close examination, Geology (using this word in its comprehensive meaning) gives an account of terrestrial actions

and terrestrial structures, past and present; and, taking for its narrower problems local formations and the agencies to which they are due, takes for its larger problems the serial transformations undergone by the entire Earth. The geologist being occupied with this cosmically small, but otherwise vast, aggregate, the biologist occupies himself with small aggregates formed out of parts of the Earth's superficial substance, and treats each of these as a coordinated whole in its structures and functions; or, when he treats of any particular organ, considers this as a whole made up of parts held in a sub-coordination that refers to the coordination of the entire organism. To the psychologist he leaves those specialized aggregates of functions which adjust the actions of organisms to the complex activities surrounding them: doing this, not simply because they are a stage higher in speciality, but because they are the counterparts of those aggregated states of consciousness dealt with by the science of Subjective Psychology, which stands entirely apart from all other sciences. Finally, the sociologist considers each tribe and nation as an aggregate presenting multitudinous phenomena, simultaneous and successive, that are held together as parts of one combination. Thus, in every case, a concrete science deals with a real aggregate (or a plurality of such aggregates); and it includes as its subject-matter whatever is to be known of this aggregate in respect of its size, shape, motions, density, texture, general arrangement of parts, minute structure, chemical composition, temperature, etc., together with all the multitudinous changes, material and dynamical, gone through by it from the time it begins to exist as an aggregate to the time it ceases to exist as an aggregate.

No abstract-concrete science makes the remotest attempt to do anything of this sort. Taken together, the abstract-concrete sciences give an account of the various kinds of properties which aggregates display; and each abstract-concrete science concerns itself with a certain order of these properties. By this, the properties common to all aggregates are studied and formulated; by that, the properties of aggregates having special forms, special states of aggregation, etc.; and by others, the properties of particular components of aggregates when dissociated from other components. But by all these sciences the aggregate, considered as an individual object, is tacitly ignored; and a property, or a connected set of properties, exclusively occupies attention. It matters not to Mechanics whether the moving mass it considers is a planet or a molecule, a dead stick thrown into the river or the living dog that leaps after it: in any case the curve described by the moving mass conforms to the same laws. Similarly when the physicist takes for his subject the relation between the changing bulk of matter and the changing quantity of molecular motion it contains. Dealing with the subject generally, he leaves out of consideration the kind of matter; and dealing with the subject specially in relation to this or that kind of matter, he ignores the attributes of size and form: save in the still more special cases where the effect on form is considered, and even then size is ignored. So, too, is it with the chemist. A substance he is investigating, never thought of by him as distinguished in extension or amount, is not even required to be perceptible. A portion of carbon on which he is experimenting, may or may not have been visible under its forms of diamond or graphite or charcoal—this is indifferent. He traces it through various disguises and various combinations—now as united with oxygen to form an invisible gas; now as hidden with other elements in such more complex compounds as ether, and sugar, and oil. By sulphuric acid or other agent he precipitates it from these as a coherent cinder, or as a diffused impalpable powder; and again, by applying heat, forces it to disclose itself as an element of animal tissue. Evidently, while thus ascertaining the affinities and atomic equivalence of carbon, the chemist has nothing to do with any aggregate. He deals with carbon in the abstract, as something considered apart from quantity, form, appearance, or temporary state of combination; and conceives it as the possessor of powers or properties, whence the special phenomena he describes result: the ascertaining of all these powers or properties being his sole aim.

Finally, the Abstract Sciences ignore alike aggregates and the powers which aggregates or their components possess; and occupy themselves with *relations*—either with the relations among aggregates, or among their parts, or the relations among aggregates and properties, or the relations among properties, or the relations among relations. The same logical formula applies equally well, whether its terms are men and their deaths, crystals and their planes of cleavage, or letters and their sounds. And how entirely Mathematics concerns itself with relations, we see on remembering that it has just the same expression for the characters of an infinitesimal triangle, as for those of the triangle which has Sirius for its apex and the diameter of the Earth's orbit for its base.

I cannot see how these definitions of these groups of sciences can be questioned. It is undeniable that every Concrete Science gives an account of an aggregate or of aggregates, inorganic, organic, or super-organic (a society); and that, not concerning itself with properties of this or that order, it concerns itself with the co-ordination of the assembled properties of all orders. It seems to me no less certain that an Abstract-Concrete Science gives an account of some order of properties, general or special; not caring about the other traits of an aggregate displaying them, and not recognizing aggregates at all further than is implied by discussion of the particular order of properties. And I think it is equally clear that an Abstract Science, freeing its propositions, so far as the nature of thought permits, from aggregates and properties, occupies itself with the relations of

co-existence and sequence, as disentangled from all particular forms of being and action. If then these three groups of sciences are, respectively, accounts of *aggregates*, accounts of *properties*, accounts of *relations*, it is manifest that the divisions between them are not simply perfectly clear, but that the chasms between them are absolute.

Here, perhaps more clearly than before, will be seen the untenability of the classification made by M. Comte. Already (p. 11), after setting forth in a general way these fundamental distinctions, I have pointed out the incongruities that arise when the sciences, conceived as Abstract, Abstract-Concrete, and Concrete, are arranged in the order proposed by him. Such incongruities become still more conspicuous if for these general names of the groups we substitute the definitions given above. The series will then stand thus:—

That those who espouse opposite views see clearly the defects in the propositions of their opponents and not those in their own, is a trite remark that holds in philosophical discussions as in all others: the parable of the mote and the beam applies as well to men's appreciations of one another's opinions as to their appreciations of one another's natures. Possibly to my positivist friends I exemplify this truth,—just as they exemplify it to me. Those uncommitted to either view must decide where the mote exists and where the beam. Meanwhile it is clear that one or other of the two views is essentially erroneous; and that no qualifications can bring them into harmony. Either the sciences admit of no such grouping as that which I have described, or they admit of no such serial order as that given by M. Comte.

LONDON,
February, 1871.

Reasons for Dissenting

From the Philosophy of M. Comte.

WHILE the preceding pages were passing through the press, there appeared in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for February 15th, an article on a late work of mine—*First Principles*. To M. Auguste Laugel, the writer of this article, I am much indebted for the careful exposition he has made of some of the leading views set forth in that work; and for the catholic and sympathetic spirit in which he has dealt with them. In one respect, however, M. Laugel conveys to his readers an erroneous impression—an impression doubtless derived from what appears to him adequate evidence, and doubtless expressed in perfect sincerity. M. Laugel describes me as being, in part, a follower of M. Comte. After describing the influence of M. Comte as traceable in the works of some other English writers, naming especially Mr. Mill and Mr. Buckle, he goes on to say that this influence, though not avowed, is easily recognizable in the work he is about to make known; and in several places throughout his review, there are remarks having the same implication. I greatly regret having to take exception to anything said by a critic so candid and so able. But the *Revue des Deux Mondes* circulates widely in England, as well as elsewhere; and finding that there exists in some minds, both here and in America, an impression similar to that entertained by M. Laugel—an impression likely to be confirmed by his statement—it appears to me needful to meet it.

Two causes of quite different kinds, have conspired to diffuse the erroneous belief that M. Comte is an accepted exponent of scientific opinion. His bitterest foes and his closest friends, have unconsciously joined in propagating it. On the one hand, M. Comte having designated by the term "Positive Philosophy" all that definitely-established knowledge which men of science have been gradually organizing into a coherent body of doctrine; and having habitually placed this in opposition to the incoherent body of doctrine defended by theologians; it has become the habit of the theological party to think of the antagonist scientific party, under the title of "positivists." And thus, from the habit of calling them "positivists," there has grown up the assumption that they call themselves "positivists," and that they are the disciples of M. Comte. On the other hand, those who have accepted M. Comte's system, and believe it to be the philosophy of the future, have naturally been prone to see everywhere the signs of its progress; and wherever they have found opinions in harmony with it, have ascribed these opinions to the influence of its originator. It is always the tendency of discipleship to magnify the effects of the master's teachings; and to credit the master with all the doctrines he teaches. In the minds of his followers, M. Comte's name is associated with scientific thinking, which, in many cases, they first understood from his exposition of it. Influenced as they inevitably are by this association of ideas, they are reminded of M. Comte wherever they meet with thinking which corresponds, in some marked way, to M. Comte's description of scientific thinking; and hence are apt to imagine him as introducing into other minds, the conceptions which he introduced into their minds. Such impressions are, however, in most cases quite unwarranted. That M. Comte has given a general exposition of the doctrine and method elaborated by Science, is true. But it is not true that the holders of this doctrine and followers of this method, are disciples of M.

Comte. Neither their modes of inquiry nor their views concerning human knowledge in its nature and limits, are appreciably different from what they were before. If they are "positivists," it is in the sense that all men of science have been more or less consistently "positivists;" and the applicability of M. Comte's title to them, no more makes them his disciples, than does its applicability to men of science who lived and died before M. Comte wrote, make these his disciples. M. Comte himself by no means claims that which some of his adherents are apt, by implication, to claim for him. He says:—" Il y a, sans doute, beaucoup d'analogie entre ma *philosophie positive* et ce que les savans anglais entendent, depuis Newton surtout, par *philosophie naturelle*;" (see *Avertissement*) and further on he indicates the "grand mouvement imprimé à l'esprit humain, il y a deux siècles, par l'action combinée des préceptes de Bacon, des conceptions de Descartes, et des découvertes de Galiléé, comme le moment où l'esprit de la philosophie positive a commencé à se prononcer dans le monde." That is to say, the general mode of thought and way of interpreting phenomena, which M. Comte calls "Positive Philosophy," he recognizes as having been growing for two centuries; as having reached, when he wrote, a marked development; and as being the heritage of all men of science.

That which M. Comte proposed to do, was to give scientific thought and method a more definite embodiment and organization; and to apply it to the interpretation of classes of phenomena not previously dealt with in a scientific manner. The conception was a great one; and the endeavour to work it out was worthy of sympathy and applause. Some such conception was entertained by Bacon. He, too, aimed at the organization of the sciences; he, too, held that "Physics is the mother of all the sciences;" he, too, held that the sciences can be advanced only by combining them, and saw the nature of the required combination; he, too, held that moral and civil philosophy could not flourish when separated from their roots in natural philosophy; and thus he, too, had some idea of a social science growing out of physical science. But the state of knowledge in his day prevented any advance beyond the general conception : indeed, it was marvellous that he should have advanced so far. Instead of a vague, undefined conception, M. Comte has presented the world with a defined and highly-elaborated conception. In working out this conception he has shown remarkable breadth of view, great originality, immense fertility of thought, unusual powers of generalization. Considered apart from the question of its truth, his system of Positive Philosophy is a vast achievement. But after according to M. Comte high admiration for his conception, for his effort to realize it, and for the faculty he has shown in the effort to realize it, there remains the inquiry—Has he succeeded? A thinker who re-organizes the scientific method and knowledge of his age, and whose re-organization is accepted by his successors, may rightly be said to have such successors for his disciples. But successors who accept this method and knowledge of his age, *minus* his re-organization, are certainly not his disciples. How then stands the case with M. Comte? There are some few who receive his doctrines with but little reservation; and these are his disciples truly so called. There are others who regard with approval certain of his leading doctrines, but not the rest: these we may distinguish as partial adherents. There are others who reject all his distinctive doctrines; and these must be classed as his antagonists. The members of this class stand substantially in the same position as they would have done had he not written. Declining his re-organization of scientific doctrine, they possess this scientific doctrine in its pre-existing state, as the common heritage bequeathed by the past to the present; and their adhesion to this scientific doctrine in no sense implicates them with M. Comte. In this class stand the great body of men of science. And in this class I stand myself.

Coming thus to the personal part of the question, let me first specify those great general principles on which M. Comte is at one with preceding thinkers: and on which I am at one with M. Comte.

All knowledge is from experience, holds M. Comte; and this I also hold—hold it, indeed, in a wider sense than M. Comte: since, not only do I believe that all the ideas acquired by individuals, and consequently all the ideas transmitted by past generations, are thus derived; but I also contend that the very faculties by which they are acquired, are the products of accumulated and organized experiences received by ancestral races of beings (see *Principles of Psychology*). But the doctrine that all knowledge is from experience, is not originated by M. Comte; nor is it claimed by him. He himself says—"Tous les bons esprits répètent, depuis Bacon, qu'il n'y a de connaissances réelle que celles qui reposent sur des faits observés." And the elaboration and definite establishment of this doctrine, has been the special characteristic of the English school of Psychology. Nor am I aware that M. Comte, accepting this doctrine, has done anything to make it more certain, or give it greater definiteness. Indeed it was impossible for him to do so; since he repudiates that part of mental science by which alone this doctrine can be proved.

It is a further belief of M. Comte, that all knowledge is phenomenal or relative; and in this belief I entirely agree. But no one alleges that the relativity of all knowledge was first enunciated by M. Comte. Among others who have more or less consistently held this truth, Sir "William Hamilton enumerates, Protagoras, Aristotle, St. Augustin, Boethius, Averroes, Albertus Magnus, Gerson, Leo Hebræus, Melancthon, Scaliger, Francis Piccolomini, Giordano Bruno, Campanella, Bacon, Spinoza, Newton, Kant. And Sir "William Hamilton, in his "Philosophy of the Unconditioned," first published in 1829, has given a scientific demonstration of this

belief. Receiving it in common with other thinkers, from preceding thinkers, M. Comte has not, to my knowledge, advanced this belief. Nor indeed could he advance it, for the reason already given—he denies the possibility of that analysis of thought which discloses the relativity of all cognition.

M. Comte reprobates the interpretation of different classes of phenomena by assigning metaphysical entities as their causes; and I coincide in the opinion that the assumption of such separate entities, though convenient, if not indeed necessary, for purposes of thought, is, scientifically considered, illegitimate. This opinion is, in fact, a corollary from the last; and must stand or fall with it. But like the last it has been held with more or less consistency for generations. M. Comte himself quotes Newton's favorite saying—"O! Physics, beware of Metaphysics!" Neither to this doctrine, any more than to the preceding doctrines, has M. Comte given a firmer basis. He has simply re-asserted it; and it was out of the question for him to do more. In this case, as in the others, his denial of subjective psychology debarred him from proving that these metaphysical entities are mere symbolic conceptions which do not admit of verification.

Lastly, M. Comte believes in invariable natural laws—absolute uniformities of relation among phenomena. But very many before him have believed in them too. Long familiar even beyond the bounds of the scientific world, the proposition that there is an unchanging order in things, has, within the scientific world, held, for generations, the position of an established postulate: by some men of science recognized only as holding of inorganic phenomena; but recognized by other men of science, as universal. And M. Comte, accepting this doctrine from the past, has left it substantially as it was. Though he has asserted new uniformities, I do not think scientific men will admit that he has so *demonstrated* them, as to make the induction more certain; nor has he deductively established the doctrine, by showing that uniformity of relation is a necessary corollary from the persistence of force, as may readily be shown.

These, then, are the pre-established general truths with which M. Comte sets out—truths which cannot be regarded as distinctive of his philosophy. "But why," it will perhaps be asked, "is it needful to point out this; seeing that no instructed reader supposes these truths to be peculiar to M. Comte?" I reply that though no disciple of M. Comte would deliberately claim them for him; and though no theological antagonist at all familiar with science and philosophy, supposes M. Comte to be the first propounder of them; yet there is so strong a tendency to associate any doctrines with the name of a conspicuous recent exponent of them, that false impressions are produced, even in spite of better knowledge. Of the need for making this reclamation, definite proof is at hand. In the No. of the *Revue des Deux Mondes* named at the commencement, may be found, on p. 936, the words—"Toute religion, comme toute philosophie, a la pretention de donner une explication de l'univers. La philosophie qui s'appelle *positive* se distingue de toutes les philosophies et de toutes les religions en ce qu'elle a renoncé à cette ambition de l'esprit humain;" and the remainder of the paragraph is devoted to explaining the doctrine of the relativity of knowledge. The next paragraph begins—"Tout imbu de ces idées, que nous exposons sans les discuter pour le moment, M. Spencer divise, etc." Now this is one of those collocations of ideas which tends to create, or to strengthen, the erroneous impression I would dissipate. I do not for a moment suppose that M. Laugel intended to say that these ideas which he describes as ideas of the "Positive Philosophy," are peculiarly the ideas of M. Comte. But little as he probably intended it, his expressions suggest this conception. In the minds of both disciples and antagonists, "the Positive Philosophy" means the philosophy of M. Comte; and to be imbued with the ideas of "the Positive Philosophy" means to be imbued with the ideas of M. Comte—to have received these ideas from M. Comte. After what has been said above, I need scarcely repeat that the conception thus inadvertently suggested, is a wrong one. M. Comte's brief enunciations of these general truths, gave me no clearer apprehensions of them than I had before. Such clarifications of ideas on these ultimate questions, as I can trace to any particular teacher, I owe to Sir William Hamilton

From the principles which M. Comte held in common with many preceding and contemporary thinkers, let us pass now to the principles that are distinctive of his system. Just as entirely as I agree with M. Comte on those cardinal doctrines which we jointly inherit; so entirely do I disagree with him on those cardinal doctrines which he propounds, and which determine the organization of his philosophy. The best way of showing this will be to compare, side by side, the—

Such then are the organizing principles of M. Comte's philosophy. Leaving out of his "*Exposition*" those pre-established general doctrines which are the common property of modern thinkers; these are the general doctrines which remain—these are the doctrines which fundamentally distinguish his system. From every one of them I dissent. To each proposition I oppose either a widely-different proposition, or a direct negation; and I not only do it now, but have done it from the time when I became acquainted with his writings. This rejection of his cardinal principles should, I think, alone suffice; but there are sundry other views of his, some of them largely characterizing his system, which I equally reject. Let us glance at them.

Here, then, are sundry other points, all of them important, and the last two supremely important, on which I am diametrically opposed to M. Comte; and did space permit, I could add many others. Radically differing

from him as I thus do, in everything distinctive of his philosophy; and having invariably expressed my dissent, publicly and privately, from the time I became acquainted with his writings; it may be imagined that I have been not a little startled to find myself classed as one of the same school. That those who have read *First Principles* only, may have been betrayed into this error in the way above shown, by the ambiguous use of the phrase "Positive Philosophy," I can understand. But that any who are acquainted with my previous writings, should suppose I have any general sympathy with M. Comte, save that implied by preferring proved facts to superstitions, astonishes me.

It is true that, disagreeing with M. Comte, though I do, in all those fundamental views that are peculiar to him, I agree with him in sundry minor views. The doctrine that the education of the individual should accord in mode and arrangement with the education of mankind, considered historically, I have cited from him; and have endeavoured to enforce it. I entirely concur in his opinion that there requires a new order of scientific men, whose function shall be that of co-ordinating the results arrived at by the rest. To him I believe I am indebted for the conception of a social *consensus*; and when the time comes for dealing with this conception, I shall state my indebtedness. And I also adopt his word, Sociology. There are, I believe, in the part of his writings which I have read, various incidental thoughts of great depth and value; and I doubt not that were I to read more of his writings, I should find many others.

M. Comte's "Exposition" I read in the original in 1853; and in two or three other places have referred to the original to get his exact words. The Inorganic Physics, and the first chapter of the Biology, I read in Miss Martineau's condensed translation, when it appeared. The rest of M. Comte's views I know only through Mr. Lewes's outline, and through incidental references.

It is very probable, too, that I have said (as I am told I have) some things which M. Comte had already said. It would be difficult, I believe, to find any two men who had no opinions in common. And it would be extremely strange if two men, starting from the same general doctrines established by modern science, should traverse some of the same fields of inquiry, without their lines of thought having any points of intersection. But none of these minor agreements can be of much weight in comparison with the fundamental disagreements above specified. Leaving out of view that general community which we both have with the scientific thought of the age, the differences between us are essential, while the correspondences are non-essential. And I venture to think that kinship must be determined by essentials, and not by non-essentials.

In his recent work, *Auguste Comte et la Philosophie Positive*, M. Littré, defending the Comtean classification of the sciences from the criticism I made upon it in the "Genesis of Science," deals with me wholly as an antagonist. The chapter he devotes to his reply, opens by placing me in direct antithesis to the English adherents of Comte, named in the preceding chapter.

Joined with the ambiguous use of the phrase "Positive Philosophy," which has led to a classing with M. Comte of many men who either ignore or reject his distinctive principles, there has been one special circumstance that has tended to originate and maintain this classing in my own case. The assumption of some relationship between M. Comte and myself, was unavoidably raised by the title of my first book—*Social Statics*. When that book was published, I was unaware that this title had been before used: had I known the fact, I should certainly have adopted an alternative title which I had in view.

I believed at the time, and have never doubted until now, that the choice of this title was absolutely independent of its previous use by M. Comte. While writing these pages, I have found reason to think the contrary. On referring to *Social Statics*, to see what were my views of social evolution in 1850, when M. Comte was to me but a name, I met with the following sentence:—"Social philosophy may be aptly divided (as political economy has been) into statics and dynamics." (p. 409). This I remembered to be a reference to a division which I had seen in the Political Economy of Mr. Mill. But why had I not mentioned Mr. Mill's name? On referring to the first edition of his work, I found, at the opening of Book iv., this sentence:—"The three preceding parts include as detailed a view as the limits of this treatise permit, of what, by a happy generalization of a mathematical phrase, has been called the Statics of the subject." Here was the solution of the question. The division had not been made by Mr. Mill, but by some writer (on Political Economy I supposed) who was not named by him; and whom I did not know. It is now manifest, however, that while I supposed I was giving a more extended use to this division, I was but returning to the original use which Mr. Mill had limited to his special topic. Another thing is, I think, tolerably manifest. As I evidently wished to point out my obligation to some unknown political economist, whose division I thought I was extending, I should have named him had I known who he was. And in that case should not have put this extension of the division as though it were new

If, however, instead of the title, the work itself he considered, its irrelation to the philosophy of M. Comte, becomes abundantly manifest. There is decisive testimony on this point. In the *North British Review* for August, 1851, a reviewer of *Social Statics* says—

"The title of this work, however, is a complete misnomer. According to all analogy, the phrase "Social

Statics" should be used only in some such sense as that in which, as we have already explained, it is used by Comte, namely as designating a branch of inquiry whose end it is to ascertain the laws of social equilibrium or order, as distinct ideally from those of social movement or progress. Of this Mr. Spencer does not seem to have had the slightest notion, but to have chosen the name for his work only as a means of indicating vaguely that it proposed to treat of social concerns in a scientific manner." p. 321.

Respecting M. Comte's application of the words *statics* and *dynamics* to social phenomena, now that I know what it is, I will only say that while I perfectly understand how, by a defensible extension of their mathematical meanings, the one may be used to indicate social *functions in balance*, and the other social *functions out of balance*, I am quite at a loss to understand how the phenomena of structure can be included in the one any more than in the other. But the two things which here concern me, are, first, to point out that I had not "the slightest notion" of giving Social Statics the meaning which M. Comte gave it; and, second, to explain the meaning which I did give it. The units of any aggregate of matter, are in equilibrium when they severally act and re-act upon each other on all sides with equal forces. A state of change among them implies that there are forces exercised by some that are not counterbalanced by like forces exercised by others; and a state of rest implies the absence of such uncounterbalanced forces—implies, if the units are homogeneous, equal distances among them—implies a maintenance of their respective spheres of molecular motion. Similarly among the units of a society, the fundamental condition to equilibrium, is, that the restraining forces which the units exercise on each other, shall be balanced. If the spheres of action of some units are diminished by extension of the spheres of action of others, there necessarily results an unbalanced force which tends to produce political change in the relations of individuals; and the tendency to change can cease, only when individuals cease to aggress on each other's spheres of action—only when there is maintained that law of equal freedom, which it was the purpose of *Social Statics* to enforce in all its consequences. Besides this totally-unlike conception of what constitutes Social Statics, the work to which I applied that title, is fundamentally at variance with M. Comte's teachings in almost everything. So far from alleging, as M. Comte does, that society is to be re-organized by philosophy; it alleges that society is to be re-organized only by the accumulated effects of habit on character. Its aim is not the increase of authoritative control over citizens, but the decrease of it. A more pronounced individualism, instead of a more pronounced nationalism, is its ideal. So profoundly is my political creed at variance with the creed of M. Comte, that, unless I am misinformed, it has been instanced by a leading English disciple of M. Comte, as the creed to which he has the greatest aversion. One point of coincidence, however, is recognizable. The analogy between an individual organism and a social organism, which was held by Plato and by Hobbes, is asserted in *Social Statics*, as it is in the *Sociology* of M. Comte. Very rightly, M. Comte has made this analogy the cardinal idea of this division of his philosophy. In *Social Statics*, the aim of which is essentially ethical, this analogy is pointed out incidentally, to enforce certain ethical considerations; and is there obviously suggested partly by the definition of life which Coleridge derived from Schelling, and partly by the generalizations of physiologists there referred to (chap. xxx. §§. 12, 13, 16). Excepting this incidental agreement, however, the contents of *Social Statics* are so wholly antagonistic to the philosophy of M. Comte, that, but for the title, the work would never, I think, have raised the remembrance of him—unless, indeed, by the association of opposites.

Let me add that the conception developed in *Social Statics*, dates back to a series of letters on the "Proper Sphere of Government," published in the *Nonconformist* newspaper, in the latter half of 1842, and republished as a pamphlet in 1843. In these letters will be found, along with many crude ideas, the same belief in the conformity of social phenomena to unvariable laws; the same belief in human progression as determined by such laws; the same belief in the moral modification of men as caused by social discipline; the same belief in the tendency of social arrangements "of themselves to assume a condition of *stable equilibrium*;" the same repudiation of state-control over various departments of social life; the same limitation of state-action to the maintenance of equitable relations among citizens. The writing of *Social Statics* arose from a dissatisfaction with the basis on which the doctrines set forth in those letters were placed: the second half of that work is an elaboration of these doctrines; and the first half a statement of the principles from which they are deducible.

And now let me point out that which really *has* exercised a profound influence over my course of thought. The truth which Harvey's embryological inquiries first dimly indicated, which was afterwards more clearly perceived by Wolff, and which was put into a definite shape by Yon Eaer—the truth that all organic development is a change from a state of homogeneity to a state of heterogeneity—this it is from which very many of the conclusions which I now hold, have indirectly resulted. In *Social Statics*, there is everywhere manifested a dominant belief in the evolution of man and of society. There is also manifested the belief that this evolution is in both cases determined by the incidence of conditions—the actions of circumstances. And there is further, in the sections above referred to, a recognition of the fact that organic and social evolutions, conform to the same law. Falling amid beliefs in evolutions of various orders, everywhere determined by natural causes (beliefs again displayed in the *Theory of Population* and in the *Principles of Psychology*); the formula of Yon

Baer acted as an organizing principle. The extension of it to other kinds of phenomena than those of individual and social organization, is traceable through successive stages. It may be seen in the last paragraph of an essay on "The Philosophy of Style," published in October, 1852; again in an essay on "Manners and Fashion," published in April, 1854; and then, in a comparatively advanced form, in an essay on "Progress: its Law and Cause," published in April, 1857. Afterwards, there came the recognition of the need for further limitation of this formula; next the inquiry into those general laws of force from which this universal transformation necessarily results; next the deduction of these from the ultimate law of the persistence of force; next the perception that there is everywhere a process of Dissolution complementary to that of Evolution; and, finally, the determination of the conditions (specified in the foregoing essay) under which Evolution and Dissolution respectively occur. The filiation of these results, is, I think, tolerably manifest. The process has been one of continuous development, set up by the addition of Yon Baer's law to a number of ideas that were in harmony with it. And I am not conscious of any other influences by which the process has been affected.

It is possible, however, that there may have been influences of which I am not conscious; and my opposition to M. Comte's system may have been one of them. The presentation of antagonistic thoughts, often produces greater definiteness and development of one's own thoughts. It is probable that the doctrines set forth in the essay on "The Genesis of Science," might never have been reached, had not my very decided dissent from M. Comte's conception, led me to work them out; and but for this, I might not have arrived at the classification of the sciences exhibited in the foregoing essay. Very possibly there are other cases in which the stimulus of repugnance to M. Comte's views, may have aided in elaborating my own views; though I cannot call to mind any other cases.

Let it by no means be supposed from all I have said, that I do not regard M. Comte's speculations as of great value. True or untrue, his system as a whole, has doubtless produced important and salutary revolutions of thought in many minds; and will doubtless do so in many more. Doubtless, too, not a few of those who dissent from his general views, have been healthfully stimulated by the consideration of them. The presentation of scientific knowledge and method as a whole, whether rightly or wrongly coordinated, cannot have failed greatly to widen the conceptions of most of his readers. And he has done especial service by familiarizing men with the idea of a social science, based on the other sciences. Beyond which benefits resulting from the general character and scope of his philosophy, I believe that there are scattered through his pages, many large ideas that are valuable not only as stimuli, but for their actual truth.

It has been by no means an agreeable task to make these personal explanations; but it has seemed to me a task not to be avoided. Differing so profoundly as I do from M. Comte on all fundamental doctrines, save those which we inherit in common from the past; it has become needful to dissipate the impression that I agree with him—needful to show that a large part of what is currently known as "positive philosophy," is not "positive philosophy" in the sense of being peculiarly M. Comte's philosophy; and to show that beyond that portion of the so-called "positive philosophy" which is not peculiar to him, I dissent from it.

And now at the close, as at the outset, let me express my great regret that these explanations should have been called forth by the statements of a critic who has treated me so liberally. Nothing will, I fear, prevent the foregoing pages from appearing like a very ungracious response to M. Laugel's sympathetically-written review. I can only hope that the gravity of the question at issue, in so far as it concerns myself, may be taken in mitigation, if not as a sufficient apology.

March 12th, 1864.

Appendix.

[The following chapter was contained in the first edition of First Principles. I omitted it from the re-organized second edition, because it did not form an essential part of the new structure. As it is referred to in the foregoing pages, and as its general argument is germane to the contents of those pages, I have thought well to append it here. Moreover, though I hope eventually to incorporate it in that division of the Principles of Sociology which treats of Intellectual Progress, yet as it must be long before it can thus re-appear in its permanent place, and as, should I not get so far in the execution of my undertaking, it may never thus re-appear at all, it seems proper to make it more accessible than it is at present. The first and last sections, which served to link it into the argument of the work to which it originally belonged, are omitted. The rest has been carefully revised, and in some parts considerably altered.]

Laws in General.

The recognition of Law being the recognition of uniformity of relations among phenomena, it follows that the order in which different groups of phenomena are reduced to law, must depend on the frequency with which

the uniform relations they severally display are distinctly experienced. At any given stage of progress, those uniformities will be best known with which men's minds have been oftenest and most strongly impressed. In proportion partly to the number of times a relation has been presented to consciousness (not merely to the senses), and in proportion partly to the vividness with which the terms of the relation have been cognized, will be the degree in which the constancy of connexion is perceived.

The succession in which relations are generalized being thus determined, there result certain derivative principles to which this succession must more immediately and obviously conform. First is *the directness with which personal welfare is affected*. While, among surrounding things, many do not appreciably influence us in any way, some produce pleasures and some pains, in various degrees; and manifestly, those things whose actions on the organism for good or evil are most decided, will, *cæteris paribus*, be those whose laws of action are earliest observed. Second comes *the conspicuousness of one or both phenomena between which a relation is to be perceived*. On every side are phenomena so concealed as to be detected only by close observation; others not obtrusive enough to attract notice; others which moderately solicit the attention; others so imposing or vivid as to force themselves on consciousness; and, supposing conditions to be the same, these last will of course be among the first to have their relations generalized. In the third place, we have *the absolute frequency with which the relations occur*. There are coexistences and sequences of all degrees of commonness, from those which are ever present to those which are extremely rare; and manifestly, the rare coexistences and sequences, as well as the sequences which are very long in taking place, will not be reduced to law so soon as those which are familiar and rapid. Fourthly has to be added *the relative frequency of occurrence*. Many events and appearances are limited to certain times or certain places, or both; and, as a relation which does not exist within the environment of an observer cannot be perceived by him, however common it may be elsewhere or in another age, we have to take account of the surrounding physical circumstances, as well as of the state of society, of the arts, and of the sciences—all of which affect the frequency with which certain groups of facts are observable. The fifth corollary to be noticed is, that the succession in which different classes of relations are reduced to law, depends in part on their *simplicity*. Phenomena presenting great composition of causes or conditions, have their essential relations so masked, that it requires accumulated experiences to impress upon consciousness the true connexions of antecedents and consequents they involve. Hence, other things equal, the progress of generalization will be from the simple to the complex; and this it is which M. Comte has wrongly asserted to be the sole regulative principle of the progress. Sixth comes *the degree of abstractness*. Concrete relations are the earliest acquisitions. Such analyses of them as separate the essential connexions from their disguising accompaniments, necessarily come later. The analyses of the connexions, always more or less compound, into their elements then becomes possible. And so on continually, until the highest and most abstract truths have been reached.

These, then, are the several derivative principles. The frequency and vividness with which uniform relations are repeated in conscious experience, determining the recognition of their uniformity, and this frequency and vividness depending on the above conditions, it follows that the order in which different classes of facts are generalized, must depend on the extent to which the above conditions are fulfilled in each class. Let us mark how the facts harmonize with this conclusion: taking first a few that elucidate the general truth, and afterwards some that exemplify the special truths which we here see follow from it.

The relations earliest known as uniformities, are those subsisting between the common properties of matter—tangibility, visibility, cohesion, weight, etc. We have no trace of a time when the resistance offered by an object was regarded as caused by the will of the object; or when the pressure of a body on the hand holding it, was ascribed to the agency of a living being. And accordingly, these are the relations of which we are oftenest conscious; being objectively frequent, conspicuous, simple, concrete, and of immediate personal concern.

Similarly with the ordinary phenomena of motion. The fall of a mass on the withdrawal of its support, is a sequence which directly affects bodily welfare, is conspicuous, simple, concrete, and very often repeated. Hence it is one of the uniformities recognized before the dawn of tradition. We know of no era when movements due to terrestrial gravitation were attributed to volition. Only when the relation is obscured—only, as in the case of an aerolite, where the antecedent of the descent is unperceived, do we find the conception of personal agency. On the other hand, motions of intrinsically the same order as that of a falling stone—those of the heavenly bodies—long remain ungeneralized; and until their uniformity is seen, are construed as results of will. This difference is clearly not dependent on comparative complexity or abstractness; since the motion of a planet in an ellipse, is as simple and concrete a phenomenon as the motion of a projected arrow in a parabola. But the antecedents are not conspicuous; the sequences are of long duration; and they are not often repeated. And that these are the causes of their slow reduction to law, we see in the fact that they are severally generalized in the order of their frequency and conspicuousness—the moon's monthly cycle, the sun's annual change, the periods of the inferior planets, the periods of the superior planets.

While astronomical sequences were still ascribed to volition, certain terrestrial sequences of a different kind, but some of them equally without complication, were interpreted in like manner. The solidification of water at a low temperature, is a phenomenon that is simple, concrete, and of much personal concern. But it is neither so frequent as those which we see are earliest generalized, nor is the presence of the antecedent so manifest. Though in all but tropical climates, mid-winter displays the relation between cold and freezing with tolerable constancy; yet, during the spring and autumn, the occasional appearance of ice in the mornings has no very obvious connexion with coldness of the weather. Sensation being so inaccurate a measure, it is not possible for the savage to experience the definite relation between a temperature of 32° and the congealing of water; and hence the long continued belief in personal agency. Similarly, but still more clearly, with the winds. The absence of regularity and the inconspicuousness of the antecedents, allowed the mythological explanation to survive for a great period.

During the era in which the uniformity of many quite simple inorganic relations was still unrecognized, certain organic relations, intrinsically very complex and special, were generalized. The constant coexistence of feathers and a beak, of four legs with an internal bony framework, are facts which were, and are, familiar to every savage. Did a savage find a bird with teeth, or a mammal clothed with feathers, he would be as much surprised as an instructed naturalist. Now these uniformities of organic structure thus early perceived, are of exactly the same kind as those more numerous ones later established by biology. The constant coexistence of mammary glands with two occipital condyles to the skull, of vertebras with teeth lodged in sockets, of frontals with the habit of rumination, are generalizations as purely empirical as those known to the aboriginal hunter. The botanist cannot in the least understand the complex relation between papilionaceous flowers and seeds borne in flattened pods: he knows these and like connexions simply in the same way that the barbarian knows the connexions between particular leaves and particular kinds of wood. But the fact that sundry of the uniform relations which chiefly make up the organic sciences, were very early recognized, is due to the high degree of vividness and frequency with which they were presented to consciousness. Though the connexion between the sounds characteristic of a bird, and the possession of edible flesh, is extremely involved; yet the two terms of the relation are conspicuous, often recur in experience, and a knowledge of their connexion has a direct bearing on personal welfare. Meanwhile innumerable relations of the same order, which are displayed with even greater frequency by surrounding plants and animals, remain for thousands of years unrecognized, if they are unobtrusive or of no apparent moment.

When, passing from this primitive stage to a more advanced stage, we trace the discovery of those less familiar uniformities which mainly constitute what is distinguished as Science, we find the succession in which knowledge of them is reached, to be still determined in the same manner. This will become obvious on contemplating separately the influence of each derivative condition.

How relations that have immediate bearings on the maintenance of life, are, other things equal, fixed in the mind before those which have no immediate bearings, the history of Science abundantly illustrates. The habits of existing uncivilized races, who fix times by moons and barter so many of one article for so many of another, show us that conceptions of equality and number, which are the germs of mathematical science, were developed under the immediate pressure of personal wants; and it can scarcely be doubted that those laws of numerical relations which are embodied in the rules of arithmetic, were first brought to light through the practice of mercantile exchange. Similarly with geometry. The derivation of the word shows us that it originally included only certain methods of partitioning ground and laying out buildings. The properties of the scales and the lever, involving the first principle in mechanics, were early generalized under the stimulus of commercial and architectural needs. To fix the times of religious festivals and agricultural operations, were the motives which led to the establishment of the simpler astronomic periods. Such small knowledge of chemical relations as was involved in ancient metallurgy, was manifestly obtained in seeking how to improve tools and weapons. In the alchemy of later times, we see how greatly an intense hope of private benefit contributed to the disclosure of a certain class of uniformities. Nor is our own age barren of illustrations. "Here," says Humboldt, when in Guiana, "as in many parts in Europe, the sciences are thought worthy to occupy the mind, only so far as they confer some immediate and practical benefit on society." "How is it possible to believe," said a missionary to him, "that you have left your country to come to be devoured by mosquitoes on this river, and to measure lands that are not your own." Our coasts furnish like instances. Every sea-side naturalist knows how great is the contempt with which fishermen regard the collection of objects for the microscope or aquarium. Their incredulity as to the possible value of such things is so great, that they can scarcely be induced even by bribes to preserve the refuse of their nets. Nay, we need not go for evidence beyond daily table-talk. The demand for "practical science"—for a knowledge that can be brought to bear on the business of life—joined to the ridicule commonly vented on scientific pursuits having no obvious uses, suffice to show that the order in which laws are discovered greatly depends on the directness with which they affect our welfare.

That, when all other conditions are the same, obtrusive relations will be generalized before unobtrusive

ones, is so nearly a truism that examples appear almost superfluous. If it be admitted that by the aboriginal man, as by the child, the co-existent properties of large surrounding objects are noticed before those of minute objects, and that the external relations which bodies present are generalized before their internal relations, it must be admitted that in subsequent stages of progress, the comparative conspicuousness of relations has greatly affected the order in which they were recognized as uniform. Hence it happened that after the establishment of those very manifest sequences constituting a lunation, and those less manifest ones marking a year, and those still less manifest ones marking the planetary periods, astronomy occupied itself with such inconspicuous sequences as those displayed in the repeating cycle of lunar eclipses, and those which suggested the theory of epicycles and eccentrics; while modern astronomy deals with still more inconspicuous sequences, some of which, as the planetary rotations, are nevertheless the simplest which the heavens present. In physics, the early use of canoes implied an empirical knowledge of certain hydrostatic relations that are intrinsically more complex than sundry static relations not empirically known; but these hydrostatic relations were thrust upon observation. Or, if we compare the solution of the problem of specific gravity by Archimedes with the discovery of atmospheric pressure by Torricelli (the two involving mechanical relations of exactly the same kind), we perceive that the much earlier occurrence of the first than the last was determined, neither by a difference in the bearings on personal welfare, nor by a difference in the frequency with which illustrations of them came under observation, nor by relative simplicity; but by the greater obtrusiveness of the connexion between antecedent and consequent in the one case than in the other. Among miscellaneous illustrations, it may be pointed out that the connexions between lightning and thunder, and between rain and clouds, were recognized long before others of the same order, simply because they thrust themselves on the attention. Or the long-delayed discovery of the microscopic forms of life, with all the phenomena they present, may be named as very clearly showing how certain groups of relations not ordinarily perceptible, though in other respects like long-familiar relations, have to wait until changed conditions render them perceptible. But, without further details, it needs only to consider the inquiries which now occupy the electrician, the chemist, the physiologist, to see that science has advanced, and is advancing, from the more conspicuous phenomena to the less conspicuous ones.

How the degree of absolute frequency of a relation affects the recognition of its uniformity, we see in contrasting certain biological facts. The connexion between death and bodily injury, constantly displayed not only in men but in all inferior creatures, was known as an instance of natural causation while yet deaths from diseases were thought supernatural. Among diseases themselves, it is observable that unusual ones were regarded as of demoniacal origin during ages when the more frequent were ascribed to ordinary causes: a truth paralleled among our own peasantry, who by the use of charms show a lingering superstition with respect to rare disorders, which they do not show with respect to common ones, such as colds. Passing to physical illustrations, we may note that within the historic period whirlpools were accounted for by the agency of water-spirits; but we do not find that within the same period the disappearance of water on exposure either to the sun or to artificial heat was interpreted in an analogous way: though a more marvellous occurrence, and a much more complex one, its great frequency led to the early recognition of it as a natural uniformity. Rainbows and comets do not differ much in conspicuousness, and a rainbow is intrinsically the more involved phenomenon; but chiefly because of their far greater commonness, rainbows were perceived to have a direct dependence on sun and rain while yet comets were regarded as signs of divine wrath.

That races living inland must long have remained ignorant of the daily and monthly sequences of the tides, and that tropical races could not early have comprehended the phenomena of northern winters, are extreme illustrations of the influence which relative frequency has on the recognition of uniformities. Animals which, where they are indigenous, call forth no surprise by their structures or habits, because these are so familiar, when taken to countries where they have never been seen, are looked at with an astonishment approaching to awe—are even thought supernatural: a fact which will suggest numerous others that show how the localization of phenomena in part controls the order in which they are reduced to law. Not only however does their localization in space affect the progression, but also their localization in time. Facts which are rarely if ever manifested in one era, are rendered very frequent in another, simply through the changes wrought by civilization. The lever, of which the properties are illustrated in the use of sticks and weapons, is vaguely understood by every savage—on applying it in a certain way he rightly anticipates certain effects; but the wheel-and-axle, pulley, and screw, cannot have their powers either empirically or rationally known till the advance of the arts has more or less familiarized them. Through those various means of exploration which we have inherited and added to, we have become acquainted with a vast range of chemical relations that were relatively non-existent to the primitive man. To highly-developed industries we owe both the substances and the appliances that have disclosed to us countless uniformities which our ancestors had no opportunity of seeing. These and like instances that will occur to the reader, show that the accumulated materials, and processes, and products, which characterize the environments of complex societies, greatly increase the

accessibility of various classes of relations; and by so multiplying the experiences of them, or making them relatively frequent, facilitate their generalization. Moreover, various classes of phenomena presented by society itself, as for instance those which political economy formulates, become relatively frequent, and therefore recognizable, in advanced social states; while in less advanced ones they are either too rarely displayed to have their relations perceived, or, as in the least advanced ones, are not displayed at all.

That, where no other circumstances interfere, the order in which different uniformities are established varies as their complexity, is manifest. The geometry of straight lines was understood before the geometry of curved lines; the properties of the circle before the properties of the ellipse, parabola, and hyperbola; and the equations of curves of single curvature were ascertained before those of curves of double curvature. Plane trigonometry comes in order of time and simplicity before spherical trigonometry; and the mensuration of plane surfaces and solids before the mensuration of curved surfaces and solids. Similarly with mechanics: the laws of simple motion were generalized before those of compound motion; and those of rectilinear motion before those of curvilinear motion. The properties of equal-armed levers or scales, were understood before those of levers with unequal arms; and the law of the inclined plane was formulated earlier than that of the screw, which involves it. In chemistry, the progress has been from the simple inorganic compounds to the more involved or organic compounds. And where, as in the higher sciences, the conditions of the exploration are more complicated, we still may clearly trace relative complexity as determining the order of discovery where other things are equal.

The progression from concrete relations to abstract ones, and from the less abstract to the more abstract, is equally obvious. Numeration, which in its primary form concerned itself only with groups of actual objects, came earlier than simple arithmetic; the rules of which deal with numbers apart from objects. Arithmetic, limited in its sphere to concrete numerical relations, is alike earlier and less abstract than Algebra, which deals with the relations of these relations. And in like manner, the Calculus of Operations comes after Algebra, both in order of evolution and in order of abstractness. In Mechanics, the more concrete relations of forces exhibited in the lever, inclined plane, etc., were understood before the more abstract relations expressed in the laws of resolution and composition of forces; and later than the three abstract laws of motion as formulated by Newton came the still more abstract law of inertia. Similarly with Physics and Chemistry, there has been an advance from truths entangled in all the specialities of particular facts and particular classes of facts, to truths disentangled from the disguising incidents under which they are manifested—to truths of a higher abstractness.

Brief and rude as is this sketch of a mental development that has been long and complicated, I venture to think it shows inductively what was deductively inferred, that the order in which separate groups of uniformities are recognized, depends not on one circumstance but on several circumstances. The various classes of relations are generalized in a certain succession, not solely because of one particular kind of difference in their natures; but also because they are variously placed in time and in space, variously open to observation, and variously related to our own constitutions: our perception of them being influenced by all these conditions in endless combinations. The comparative degrees of importance, of obtrusiveness, of absolute frequency, of relative frequency, of simplicity, of concreteness, are every one of them factors; and from their unions in proportions that are never twice alike, there results a highly complex process of mental evolution. But while it is thus manifest that the proximate causes of the succession in which relations are reduced to law, are numerous and involved; it is also manifest that there is one ultimate cause to which these proximate causes are subordinate. As the several circumstances that determine the early or late recognition of uniformities are circumstances that determine the number and strength of the impressions which these uniformities make on the mind, it follows that the progression conforms to a certain fundamental principle of psychology. We see *à posteriori*, what we concluded *à priori*, that the order in which relations are generalized, depends on the frequency and impressiveness with which they are repeated in conscious experience.

Having roughly analyzed the progress of the past, let us take advantage of the light thus thrown on the present, and consider what is implied respecting the future.

Note first that the likelihood of the universality of Law has been ever growing greater. Out of the countless coexistences and sequences with which mankind are environed, they have been continually transferring some from the group whose order was supposed to be arbitrary, to the group whose order is known to be uniform. And manifestly, as fast as the relations that are unreduced to law become fewer, the probability that among them there are some that do not conform to law, becomes less. To put the argument numerically—It is clear that when out of surrounding phenomena a hundred of several kinds have been found to occur in constant connexions, there arises a slight presumption that all phenomena occur in constant connexions. When uniformity has been established in a thousand cases, more varied in their kinds, the presumption gains strength. And when the known cases of uniformity amount to myriads, including many of each variety, it becomes an ordinary induction that uniformity exists everywhere.

Silently and insensibly their experiences have been pressing men on towards the conclusion thus drawn.

Not out of a conscious regard for these reasons, but from a habit of thought which these reasons formulate and justify, all minds have been advancing towards a belief in the constancy of surrounding coexistences and sequences. Familiarity with concrete uniformities has generated the abstract conception of uniformity—the idea of *Law*; and this idea has been in successive generations slowly gaining fixity and clearness. Especially has it been thus among those whose knowledge of natural phenomena is the most extensive—men of science. The mathematician, the physicist, the astronomer, the chemist, severally acquainted with the vast accumulations of uniformities established by their predecessors, and themselves daily adding new ones as well as verifying the old, acquire a far stronger faith in law than is ordinarily possessed. With them this faith, ceasing to be merely passive, becomes an active stimulus to inquiry. Wherever there exist phenomena of which the dependence is not yet ascertained, these most cultivated intellects, impelled by the conviction that here too there is some invariable connexion, proceed to observe, compare, and experiment; and when they discover the law to which the phenomena conform, as they eventually do, their general belief in the universality of law is further strengthened. So overwhelming is the evidence, and such the effect of this discipline, that to the advanced student of nature, the proposition that there are lawless phenomena has become not only incredible but almost inconceivable.

This habitual recognition of law which already distinguishes modern thought from ancient thought, must spread among men at large. The fulfilment of predictions made possible by every new step, and the further command gained of nature's forces, prove to the uninitiated the validity of scientific generalizations and the doctrine they illustrate. Widening education is daily diffusing among the mass of men that knowledge of these generalizations which has been hitherto confined to the few. And as fast as this diffusion goes on, must the belief of the scientific become the belief of the world at large.

That law is universal, will become an irresistible conclusion when it is perceived that *the progress in the discovery of laics itself conforms to law*; and when this perception makes it clear why certain groups of phenomena have been reduced to law, while other groups are still unreduced. When it is seen that the order in which uniformities are recognized, must depend upon the frequency and vividness with which they are repeated in conscious experience; when it is seen that, as a matter of fact, the most common, important, conspicuous, concrete, and simple, uniformities were the earliest recognized, because they were experienced oftenest and most distinctly; it will by implication be seen that long after the great mass of phenomena have been generalized, there must remain phenomena which, from their rareness, or unobtrusiveness, or seeming unimportance, or complexity, or abstractness, are still ungeneralized. Thus will be furnished a solution to a difficulty sometimes raised. When it is asked why the universality of law is not already fully established, there will be the answer that the directions in which it is not yet established are those in which its establishment must necessarily be latest. That state of things which is inferable beforehand, is just the state which we find to exist. If such coexistences and sequences as those of Biology and Sociology are not yet reduced to law, the presumption is not that they are irreducible to law, but that their laws elude our present means of analysis. Having long ago proved uniformity throughout all the lower classes of relations, and having been step by step proving uniformity throughout classes of relations successively higher and higher, if we have not yet succeeded with the highest classes, it may be fairly concluded that our powers are at fault, rather than that the uniformity does not exist. And unless we make the absurd assumption that the process of generalization, now going on with unexampled rapidity, has reached its limit, and will suddenly cease, we must infer that ultimately mankind will discover a constant order of manifestation even in the most involved and obscure phenomena.

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Politics for the People. No. I. The Turks in Europe.

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The Turks in Europe.

"WHAT is to be done with the Turk?" is the great question now in every mouth. Before we can rightly answer that question, we must first put and answer two others. We must first see who and what the Turk is; we must then see what the Turk has done in Europe. We shall then be better able to answer the third question, What is to be done with him? Let us begin then by trying to answer the first question,

Who and what are the Turks?

This question might easily be answered by taking words which were once used for a very different purpose, and saying that, as regards the nations of Europe, the Turks are "aliens in blood, aliens in language, and aliens in religion." Such a saying would be quite true, but it would not be enough. Nations which are alien from one another in blood, in language, and in religion, may easily live together in good international friendship; they may sometimes even live peaceably together under the same government. But there are points about the Turks which make them alien in all these ways from the nations of Europe in a manner in which the nations of Europe are not alien from one another. There are many things which all the European nations have in common, and which bind them together as members of one body, in none of which the Turks have any share. The differences between the Turks and the European nations are of another kind from the differences between one European nation and another. And the differences between the Turks and the European nations are of a kind which makes it quite impossible that the Turks should ever become members of one civilized body in the way that the European nations are members of one body. To understand this the better, let us see what the points are in which the European nations agree with one another and differ from the Turks.

First then, nearly all the European nations belong to one family of mankind, and speak languages which once were one language. It is indeed only lately that this truth has been made generally known by the researches of learned men; but it has none the less always been a truth, and we may be sure that the real original kindred which exists among all the European nations has at all times had a real influence in binding them together, even when they themselves had no notion that there was any such kindred among them.

Secondly, the European nations have much of their history and many of their memories in common. All of them either once actually formed part of the Empire of Rome, or at least were greatly influenced in many ways by the language and civilization of Rome. The western part of Europe has been in this way influenced by the Western Roman Empire, while the eastern part of Europe has been in the like sort influenced by the Eastern Roman Empire, which had its seat at Constantinople or New Rome. Thus all the nations of Europe have many ideas and feelings in common which are not shared by those nations which never had anything to do with either of the seats of Roman power. Thus, for instance, the Greek and Latin languages, and the works written in them, are a common possession of all those nations which came under the influence of Rome, but a possession in which those nations which never came under that influence have no share.

Thirdly, the greatest result that has come of this common Roman influence has been that all the nations of Europe have a common religion. Christianity became the religion of the Roman Empire, and of those nations which got their culture from either of the two seats of Roman power. Christianity has made no great progress beyond those bounds; and, though different European nations have accepted Christianity in different national shapes, though there have been many disputes, and even fightings and persecutions, among the professors of different forms of Christianity, still the common religion has always been a real tie. The points of likeness between any two Christian nations will be found, when they are compared with nations which are not Christian, to be much greater than their points of unlikeness.

Fourthly, from the common history and common religion of the European nations, it follows that they all have a certain common civilization. They have much that is common to them all in their political, social, and intellectual life. Let us take two special instances, which show the way in which the Christian religion and the earlier laws and customs of the European nations have worked together. Christianity lays down no civil precepts; but it lays down moral precepts, by which Christian nations have been more or less influenced. There is nothing in the Christian religion which prescribes any particular form of government; Christian nations have therefore lived under all kinds of governments. But the moral precepts of Christianity are all in favour of law, order, and justice. And though the governments of some Christian nations have been very bad, yet law, order, and justice have never been quite forgotten; and, as time has gone on, even the worst Christian governments have shown that they have been able to make more or less improvement. The morals of many Christian nations have been very bad; but in no Christian nation has polygamy been allowed by law. In this matter the law of Rome and the moral teaching of the Gospel went together. But the law of Rome allowed slavery; while, though the Gospel contained no direct precept against slavery, still its moral precepts have been felt to be inconsistent with slavery. Slavery has therefore been gradually, though very slowly, abolished in all the Christian countries of Europe, and in most Christian countries out of Europe. We may say that two of the things which most distinguish Christian or European society are, that it has always forbidden polygamy, and that it has gradually come to forbid slavery.

Fifthly, all these causes working together have brought about a state of things in which the greater part of Europe lives under national governments, and for the most part under fairly good governments. Some are doubtless better than others; all doubtless might be made better than they are; but all of them fairly discharge,

or at the worst try or profess to discharge, the first duty of a government in doing fair justice between man, and man. And in by far the greater part of Europe men are under governments of their own nation. It is only in a few small parts here and there that men complain of being under foreign dominion; and, though subjection to a foreign government is doubtless always a grievance, yet, as compared with other countries and other ages, we may say that in modern Europe even a foreign government does not carry with it any utterly intolerable oppression. In by far the greater part of Europe men are under governments which are strictly national, governments which they may wish to improve in this or that way, but which they in no way wish to get rid of. And yet a very large part of the governments of Europe did in their origin spring from foreign conquests. But it came about nearly everywhere, either that the conquerors took to the language and manners of the conquered, or else that the conquered took to the language and manners of the conquerors. Thus, in one way or another, conquerors and conquered sooner or later became one people. Thus Gaul was, ages back, conquered by the Franks; England, some ages later, was conquered by the Normans. But in process of time Franks and Gauls, Normans and English, became one people. It makes no difference to the modern Frenchman or the modern Englishman of which blood his forefathers came. For ages past the governments of France and England have been better or worse at this and that time, but they have at all times been national governments. Neither country for ages past has seen the dominion of strangers ruling over the people of the land in their own land.

Now we in Western Europe, and above all we in England, are so used to all these things that we are apt to take them for granted, and not easily to understand a state of things which is utterly different. We are used to a government of our own people; we find it hard to understand a state of things in which what is called government is the mere dominion of strangers lording it over the people of the land in their own land. We are used to a state of things in which the king or other sovereign is the head of the people of the land. His people owe him allegiance, because he gives them protection. We find it hard to understand a state of things in which the so-called sovereign is not the head of the people of the land, but the head of another people who have thrust themselves in by force, and who hold the people of the land in bondage. We find it hard to understand a state of things in which the so-called subject owes no allegiance, because the so-called sovereign gives no protection. We are so used to a good administration of justice that we find it hard to understand a state of things in which there is really no justice at all, where nothing can be done without a bribe, where the great mass of the people of the land can get no redress for the worst wrongs, and where the great mass of the people of the land are not received as witnesses. In short, we are so used to a reign of law that we can hardly conceive the absence of law. We can hardly conceive a state of things in which the promises and proclamations of the so-called sovereign are broken as a matter of course, because they are never meant to be kept. We are so used to look on the land, the people, and the government as all bound together, that we find it hard to understand that it can anywhere be otherwise. We are often led into mistakes by using forms of words which are quite true in our own land and in other western lands, but which are quite untrue elsewhere. As the interest of England and the interest of the English mean the same thing, we find it hard to understand that the interest of Turkey and the interest of the Turks mean two opposite things. Now this last is the great point of all which needs to be understood in thinking and speaking about these matters. We call our land England, because it is really the land of the English, a land where the people and its government are alike English, where the people and the government have a common interest. But when we call a certain part of Europe Turkey, it does not mean that the people of the land are Turks, but only that the people of the land are held in bondage by the Turks. The Turks are not the countrymen of the people of Turkey; they are foreign enemies encamped among them. The ruler of the Turks is not the national sovereign of the people of Turkey; he is simply the chief of their foreign enemies. He gives them no protection; therefore they owe him no allegiance. The interest of Turkey and the interest of the Turks are two opposite things. Whatever the Turks seek as good for themselves is bad for the land of Turkey and its people.

In a word, the Turks in Europe are simply a band of strangers, a foreign army in short, encamped in that part of Europe which from their encampment is called Turkey. Yet their encampment in Europe began as long as five hundred years ago. Now, in most other places, when a conquest happened five hundred years ago, the conquerors and the conquered have by this time pretty well made up their differences, and have sat down as one people under one government. Why has not this happened in Turkey? Why have not the Turks become one people with the nations whom they found in the land? Why does the Turk still remain as much a stranger and an enemy as he was when he first came five hundred years back? Why has he never really become a member of the European commonwealth? The reason is, because the Turk has no share in any of the things which bind the nations of Europe together; above all, because he professes a religion which hinders him from ever having any share in them.

Let us now go in order through all these points in which we have seen that the European nations agree, and we shall find that in none of these has the Turk any share. We shall see that to all the nations of Europe he is an alien in blood, an alien in language, and an alien in religion, in a way in which none among those nations are aliens to one another.

First of all then, the Turk has no share in the first possession which is common to the nations of Europe, in their original kindred of blood and language. The original Turks belong to quite another family of man from that to which the great mass of the European nations belong. Now this of itself would doubtless have made it harder for the Turks to share in the common fellowship of the European nations; but the evidence of history shows that it would not of itself have made it impossible. For before the Ottoman Turks came into Europe, two other nations had come, who were more or less nearly akin to the Turks, and unlike the European nations in general, but whose history has been quite different from that of the Turks. The original Bulgarians came into Europe in the seventh century, as barbarian invaders, just as the Ottoman Turks did seven hundred years later. But they gradually adopted the language, the manners, and the religion of the nations among whom they settled. They were lost in the mass of their Christian and Slavonic neighbours and subjects, so that the modern Bulgarians are a Slavonic people bearing the Bulgarian name. This shows that it is quite possible for a people, wholly alien to the other nations of Europe and in some degree akin to the Turk, to change themselves, so to speak, into Europeans. Two hundred years later than the Bulgarians came the Magyars or Hungarians, another people equally alien to the nations of Europe. The Magyars have not been lost among their subjects and neighbours in the same way as the Bulgarians; they still remain a distinct people, speaking their own tongue; but in other things they adopted the religion and manners of Europe, and they have been for ages counted as an European nation. But the Ottoman Turk, so far from being like the Bulgarian, has not even been like the Magyar. He has not become European in any sense; and this, although not a few Europeans have, either by force, or of their own free will, at various times joined the Turks. Many of the actual Turks now must really be of European blood; but this has not made the Turks as a body Europeans; those who have joined them have ceased to be Europeans, but they have not changed the Turks into Europeans.

Secondly, as the Turks are alien to Europe in blood and language, they have no share in the history and memories which are common to Europe. Though their seat of power is actually placed in the New Rome, they have never come under those Roman influences which affected the older European nations, and which have also affected the Bulgarians and Magyars. They still, as a people, know nothing of the languages, the literature, and general culture of Europe. Their literature and culture, so far as they have any, still remains the literature and culture of the East. With the nations of Europe, the civilizing influences have been Greek and Roman. Whatever degree of civilizing influence the Turks have ever undergone has been Arabian and Persian.

Thirdly, we come to the main difference of all, that which is the key to all the other differences, namely, that the Turks have never embraced the religion of Europe. This their forerunners and kinsmen the Bulgarians and Magyars did; but the Turks have not done so. Hence the Bulgarians and Magyars have become more or less thoroughly European, while the Turks have never become European. For the Bulgarians and Magyars came into Europe as mere heathen savages; they therefore adopted the religion of Europe along with the general culture of Europe. This the Ottoman Turks could not do, because they were not mere heathen savages, but Mahometans with a kind of half-civilization, an imperfect form of the civilization of the East. The Mahometan religion is, both in theory and practice, specially antagonistic to all other religions. And it is, in practice, specially antagonistic to Christianity. For Christianity and Mahometanism alike, in that differing from most heathen religions, each proclaims itself as the one true religion which all men are bound to believe. Christianity and Mahometanism have more in common than any other two religions; therefore they are more distinctly hostile to one another than any other two religions. Add to this that the Mahometan religion makes it the duty of the true believer to fight against the Infidel—that is, the man of any religion but the Mahometan—and to bring him into bondage. For all these reasons, it is very hard for men who have once adopted the Mahometan faith to turn to any other. The Turks therefore, by remaining Mahometans, have been unable to enter into the common European fellowship in the same way as the original European nations, or even in the same way as those other alien settlers who have become Christians.

Fourthly, from this difference in religion between the Turks and European nations follows a complete difference in their political, social, and moral system. Speaking generally, no Eastern nation—at any rate, no great settled Eastern kingdom—has known freedom and good government in the sense in which those words are understood in Western Europe. The great governments of the East have always been despotic; where there has been any kind of lawful check on the power of the king, it has always been a religious check. So the government of the Turk has always been purely despotic, except so far as the will of the Sultan has been checked by the rules of the Mahometan law. And the rules of the Mahometan law have often checked this and that Sultan in wicked and cruel designs. But the Mahometan law allows polygamy and slavery, and requires that men of all other religions shall be subjects of the true believer. It is therefore impossible for the Turks or for any other Mahometan people, so long as they remain Mahometan, to establish what we in Western Europe should call free and just government. It is impossible for them really to enter into European fellowship, because their religion allows a social and moral state wholly different from that which all European nations hold to be right.

Fifthly, from all this it follows that the rule of the Turk in Europe never can be a national government. A Mahometan government may be a national government in any country where the whole people is Mahometan. In such a country it may be a good government, so far as any despotic government can be good. That is to say, there is always the chance of a well-disposed ruler, who may, if he choose, use his despotic power for good ends. But when a Mahometan government bears rule over subjects who are not Mahometans, it cannot be a national government. It cannot be a good government. The most that the best disposed Mahometan ruler can do, will be to keep his subjects of other religions than the Mahometan from actual personal oppression. Mahometan rulers have done this; but no Mahometan ruler has really put his subjects of other religions on the same footing as his Mahometan subjects. He must treat them as the inferiors of his Mahometan subjects, as men whose religion is tolerated and no more. And when a Mahometan government is established by conquest over nations who are not Mahometan, those nations necessarily become bondmen in their own land. All power and honour is kept for the conquerors, and for such natives as embrace the religion of the conquerors. Those of the natives who cleave faithfully to their religion remain an inferior race, in bondage to conquerors and renegades. And where the law, so far as the word law can be used, condemns the mass of the people of the land to subjection and degradation, it is certain that subjection and degradation will grow into actual personal oppression. So it is now in that part of Europe which we call European Turkey. The great mass of the Christian people there have remained faithful to their religion; they have therefore been made bondsmen in their own land. They are ruled over by strangers, who, though they have been five hundred years in the land, still remain strangers. They have no national government. They have, in a strict sense, no government at all. The ruler of the strangers, who calls himself their sovereign, is not their sovereign in the sense in which any Western ruler is the sovereign of his people. He is not the head of their own nation; he is simply the head of a band of foreign oppressors. For, as must necessarily follow, subjection and degradation have grown into direct oppression, oppression which has been growing worse and worse for ages. An English statesman, not long ago, said that the people of European Turkey, if they had grievances, ought to lay them before their own government, and not to listen to foreign intriguers. In so saying, he used words which have a meaning in Western Europe, but which have no meaning in South-eastern Europe. The oppressed Christian there cannot appeal to his own government, for he has no government to appeal to. The thing which the English statesman called his own government he looks on as the brute force of foreign enemies. Those whom the English statesman called foreign intriguers he looks on as his countrymen who are ready to help him to win the freedom which they have won and kept for themselves. The man who calls himself the sovereign of these nations is not, in their eyes, their sovereign, nor are they in their own eyes his subjects. He gives them no protection; therefore they owe him no allegiance. He has no rights over them, unless there be right in brute force. They have no duties towards him, except the duty of getting rid of him as soon as they can. In a word, the interest of Turkey and the interest of the Turk are two opposite things.

We have thus seen who and what the Turks in Europe are. They are an alien people, who have settled in Europe by force, but who have never entered into the common fellowship of European nations. They have no share in the religion, the culture, the historic memories, which are common to all Europe. They have been encamped in Europe for five hundred years. During all that time, they have been simply encamped; they are as much strangers at the end of five hundred years as they were at the beginning. They have nowhere become the people of the land; they have simply held the people of the land in bondage. They have never become one with the nations which they have conquered. They have never given them just or good government. They have been simply foreign oppressors, whose oppression has been always getting worse and worse. And this state of things not only is so, but it always must be so as long as the Turk keeps his power. It must be so as long as he remains Mahometan; and he is not likely to cease to be Mahometan. As long as the Turk remains Mahometan, he cannot reform, in the sense in which Western nations understand reform. A Mahometan government might indeed, without ceasing to be Mahometan, stop a great deal of the actual oppression and corruption which now goes on in the land which we call Turkey; for much of that oppression is as much opposed to the Mahometan religion as it is to the Christian religion. But a Mahometan government cannot, without ceasing to be Mahometan, put a stop to that which leads the way to such oppression and corruption, to that which makes oppression and corruption commoner and harder to be got rid of than they have ever been in the worst-governed Western countries. For such a government cannot, without sinning against the first principles of its religion, put its non-Mahometan subjects on a level with its Mahometan subjects. It cannot get rid of the great evils of Eastern society which Western society has got rid of. It cannot get rid of polygamy and slavery, because the Mahometan religion allows and sanctifies both. The rule then of the Turk is something which is not only evil in itself, but which, as long as it is the rule of the Turk, can never be made much better. The Turk cannot reform, because the principles of his religion forbid him to reform. As long as he remains Mahometan, he cannot be anything but a foreign ruler over subject nations in their own land; and such a foreign ruler can hardly fail to be a foreign oppressor.

We have thus answered one question, Who and what are the Turks? We will now go on to answer our second question,

What have the Turks done in Europe?

This question might be answered in a few words. They have destroyed and they have oppressed. They have checked all progress in a large part of Europe. They have made promises and have broken them. They have shown themselves cruel, lustful, and faithless, even beyond other barbarian conquerors. This is all true in a general way; but it will be well to go a little more into detail, and to give a short sketch of the history of the Ottoman power, of its rise and its decline.

We must first of all remember that all Mahometans are not Turks, and that all Turks are not Ottomans. The Mahometan religion began in Arabia in the seventh century, with the preaching of Mahomet, who died in 632. His preaching was a great reform in his own age and country; he gathered the scattered tribes of Arabia into one nation; he taught them to forsake idols and to worship the one God. He gave them also civil and moral precepts which were much better than anything that they knew before. But unhappily in his latter days he taught his followers to spread his religion by the sword, and to force his teaching on the whole world as an universal law. The believer was to fight against the infidel till he either embraced Islam—that is, the law of Mahomet—or else consented by the payment of tribute to purchase his life, his property, and the exercise of his religion. This has been the law of all Mahometan conquerors ever since. The Christian or other non-Mahometan is spared only on condition of becoming a tribute-paying subject, a bondman in his own land. As soon as Mahomet was dead, the Arabs or Saracens, under rulers called *Caliphs* or successors of the Prophet, began to attack the whole world, especially the empires of Rome and Persia, which were the two great powers of those days. The seat of the Roman Empire was then at Constantinople or New Rome; Persia, the rival of Rome, was ruled by its native kings, professing the old Persian religion. In a few years Persia was utterly overthrown, and Rome lost the great provinces of Syria and Egypt. Then the Saracens spread, but more gradually, both eastward and westward, till in 711 the same Caliph ruled in Spain and in Sind. The Saracens passed into Spain in 710, and in a short time they conquered nearly all the peninsula. In the very same year they had their first dealings with the Turks.

The Turks are one of the most widely-spread races in the world, and it is only with a small part of them that we have now anything to do. Those Turks who dwelled between the two great rivers which run into the Caspian Sea, the Oxus and the Jaxartes, played an important part in the affairs of the Saracenic Empire. They pressed in as slaves, as subjects, as mercenaries, and at last as conquerors. In the end, the greater part of the Asiatic dominion of the Caliphs was practically divided among Turkish princes who owned a mere nominal supremacy in the successor of the Prophet who reigned at Bagdad. Of these dynasties the only one that we need speak of is that of the Seljuk Turks, who in the eleventh century became the greatest power in Asia. These were the first Turks who had anything to do with the history of Europe. They never actually passed into Europe but, under their Sultan Alp-Arslan, they won the greater part of the lands which the Eastern Roman Empire still kept in Asia, leaving to the Emperors only the sea-coast of Asia Minor. The capital of the Seljuk Sultans was now at Nikaia, threatening Europe, and especially Constantinople. But then came the Crusades. The Turks were driven back; the Emperors recovered a large part of their territory, and the Turkish capital fell back to Ikonion. It was in the thirteenth century that the Turks with whom we have specially to do, the Ottomans, were first heard of. Their power arose out of the breaking up, both of the Seljuk dominion and of the Eastern Roman Empire. It will therefore be necessary to give a short picture of the state of those parts of Europe and Asia with which the Ottomans had to do, as they stood at the time the Ottomans were first heard of.

In 1204 the Eastern Roman Empire had been altogether broken in pieces. Constantinople was taken by the Latins or Franks—that is, the Christians of Western Europe,—and the Empire was divided into a number of powers, Greek and Frank. Among these the commonwealth of Venice got a great share. In Asia, Greek princes reigned at Nikaia and at Trebizond, both of whom called themselves Emperors; and in 1261 the princes of Nikaia made good their right to that title by winning back Constantinople. Thus the Eastern Roman Empire in some sort began again, but with a greatly lessened dominion. It now took in little more than Thrace, part of Macedonia, and the western coast of Asia Minor; besides which the Emperors also won back some outlying dominions in Greece itself. In Europe, Greece and the neighbouring lands were cut up into various small states, and to the north of the Empire lay the kingdoms of Bulgaria and Servia. In Asia, the Emperors of Trebizond kept part of the north coast of the Euxine, but all the inland parts were held by the Turks. It is said that in the middle of the thirteenth century, a Turkish chief, Ertoghrul, came into Asia Minor from the East, at the head of a wandering tribe; he entered the service of the Seljuk Sultan, and received from him a grant of land, which grew into the Ottoman Empire. Under Ertoghrul and his son Othman or Osman, the wandering band was swelled by crowds of recruits, and the grant of land was increased at the expense both of the Christians and of other Turkish chiefs. From Othman his followers took the name of *Osmanli* or *Ottoman*; and he died in 1326,

having just before his death established his capital at Brusa. His son Orchan made himself independent of the nominal Seljuk Sultan; he united most of the Turkish principalities in Asia Minor, and left to the Christian Emperors of Constantinople and Trebizond nothing but a few towns on the coast.

Under Orchan came the first settlement of the Turks in Europe. They often ravaged the European coasts, and they were often foolishly called in as helpers by contending parties at Constantinople. At last, in 1356, they seized Kallipolis or Gallipoli in the Thracian Chersonesos; and the dominion of the Turks in Europe began. Their power now steadily advanced. Orchan died in 1359. Their next prince, Murad or Amurath, fixed his capital at Hadrianople in 1361. He thus left to the Empire nothing but the lands just round Constantinople and some outlying possessions in Macedonia and Greece. Murad also made Bulgaria tributary, and was killed in 1389, after the battle of Kossova, which made Servia tributary also. Then came Bajazet, the first Ottoman prince who bore the title of Sultan. Under him the great crusade from the West, which had come to help Sigismund, King of Hungary (who was afterwards Emperor of the West), was altogether defeated in the battle of Nikopolis. Wallachia became tributary; Bulgaria became a direct Ottoman possession; Philadelphia, the last city in Asia which clave to the Empire, was taken, and Constantinople itself was for the first time besieged. But Bajazet was himself overthrown at Angora by the Mogul conqueror Timur, and his dominions were broken up and disputed for by his sons. A breathing-space was thus given to the Christians of South-eastern Europe. But the Ottoman power came together again, and under Sultan Murad or Amurath the Second, from 1421 to 1451, it again made great advances. His power was checked for a while by the great Hungarian captain Huniades; but Murad restored the Ottoman power in the Danubian lands, and took Thessalonica, though he too failed in an attack on Constantinople. Then, from 1451 to 1481, reigned Mahomet the Conqueror, who may be looked on as finally establishing the Ottoman dominion in Europe. The Eastern Empire was now confined to a small district round Constantinople, together with Peloponnesos lying far away. On the 29th May, 1453, Mahomet stormed the Imperial city itself; the last Emperor Constantine fell in the breach; the New Rome became the capital of the Ottoman power, and the great church of Saint Sophia became a Mahometan mosque. In the remaining years of his long reign, Mahomet consolidated his dominion on every side. He conquered all Greece and Albania, save a few points which were still kept by Venice, and some of the islands, especially Rhodes, which was held by the knights of Saint John. Servia and Bosnia were brought into complete bondage; the Empire of Trebizond was destroyed, and the Ottoman Sultans extended their supremacy over the Tartars of Crim or Crimea. Just before his death, Mahomet's troops had taken Otranto, as the beginning of the conquest of Italy. Under the next Sultan, Bajazet the Second, Otranto was lost again, and but little progress was made anywhere, except by the winning of a few points from Venice. The next Sultan, Selim the Inflexible, did little in Europe; but he vastly extended the Ottoman power elsewhere by the conquest of Syria and Egypt. He was the first Sultan who gave himself out as Caliph or religious head of all orthodox Mahometans. The real Caliphs of Bagdad had long come to an end; but a nominal line of Caliphs went on in Egypt, and from the last of them Selim obtained a cession of his claims. The Ottoman princes from this time, besides being Sultans of their own dominions, have deemed themselves also to be the spiritual heads of the Mahometan religion. It was as if in Western Europe a prince who was already Emperor should also become Pope. Lastly, in the reign of Selim's son *Suleiman* (that is, *Solomon*) the Lawgiver, the Ottoman dominion reached its greatest extent of power in Europe. He took Rhodes; but the knights withdrew to Malta, and he failed in an attack on that island. But he conquered the greater part of the kingdom of Hungary, and even besieged Vienna. Buda now became the seat of a Turkish pasha, as well as Belgrade. Thus under Solomon the Turkish Empire reached its greatest point. Some important conquests were made afterwards; but, on the whole, the strength of the Turks began to fail at home and abroad.

This is a short sketch of the progress of the Ottoman power from its first small beginnings in Asia to the greatest extent of its dominion in Europe. We must now see how the Ottomans dealt with the lands which they thus won. First of all, we may remark the wonderful succession of great princes which the house of Othman produced. An Eastern dynasty commonly breaks in pieces after a few generations; the Ottoman power itself broke in pieces after the overthrow of the first Bajazet. The wonderful thing is that it came together again. Now, unless we except Bajazet the Second, all the Ottoman princes down to Solomon were great rulers; some of them, according to an Eastern and Mahometan standard, we may even call good rulers. The great Sultans, as a rule, were not inclined to greater oppression than was needed to carry out their own plans. The special oppression and corruption which makes the rule of the Ottoman Turks worse even than other Mahometan despotisms, came in only gradually, and did not reach its full height till the days of the great Sultans were past. For under a despotism, the rule of the sovereign himself, if he be a man of any power and wisdom, is commonly some safeguard against the power of smaller tyrants. He may do great crimes himself, but he hinders the crimes of others. The earlier Sultans were not indisposed to do that stern kind of justice which is the Eastern substitute for law; and under them, the oppression of the subject nations, though very great, was not so great as it became afterwards. But there was one special form of oppression, which began almost from the beginning, which distinguishes the Ottoman power from all others, and which was in truth one of the main sources of its

strength. This was the institution of the Janissaries, which must be spoken of a little more at length.

We have seen that the Ottomans began as a wandering band, which was increased by recruits from all quarters. This character it has kept up ever since. The Ottoman Turks have never really become a nation. Other Mahometan powers, as the Arabs and Persians, have really been nations. So, we may say, were the Seljuk Turks; but the Ottomans were not. Their ranks have always been recruited by men of all nations who have embraced Islam and entered the service of the Sultans. In the days of the greatest power of the Sultans, the great men of the empire were much oftener Christian renegades than real Turks by blood. So their best troops were formed of men who by birth belonged to the subject nations. By the Mahometan law, the believer has a right to take tribute from the infidel, and in the reign of Orchan the Turkish princes first began to levy a tribute of children on their Christian subjects. The most promising boys were carried off at certain fixed times: they were brought up in the Mahometan religion; they entered the Sultan's service, and, being cut off from all other ties, they became his bravest and most trusty soldiers. These were the Janissaries, the chosen soldiers of Islam, who were recruited in this way from the fourteenth century to the seventeenth. Thus the great victories of the Ottoman Sultans were mainly won by men who were not Turks by birth, but Greeks and Slaves kidnapped in their childhood.

Here then was a special grievance laid upon the Christian subjects of the Ottoman Sultans, the like of which had not to be endured by the subjects even of any other Mahometan despotism. Never was there such a crafty device for holding the subject nations in bondage. Their strength was turned against themselves; their natural leaders passed into the camp of their enemies. As long as the tribute of children was levied, the enslaved nations could not revolt. In other respects the Ottoman power under the early Sultans was not worse than that of other Mahometan conquerors. The worst features of the Ottoman character, those which have specially distinguished it ever since, did not begin till after the establishment of the Ottoman power in Europe. Down to the time of Bajazet the First, the Ottomans preserved something of the virtues of hardy warriors. In his day began the extreme prevalence of that hideous moral corruption which is indeed in no way peculiar to the Ottomans, but which among the Ottomans alone has become something like an institution of state. Rulers of other nations have been given up to foul vices; but it is among the Ottomans alone that the path of the foulest shame is the surest path to power. From the time of Bajazet too dates the practice of expeditions for mere havoc and plunder, as distinguished from conquest—expeditions in which no plunder was more sought after than human prey, specially chosen out for the basest of purposes. Under Bajazet too the murder of a Sultan's brothers at his accession, in order to secure the undisputed possession of the throne, became a law of the Empire which was, not indeed always, but very commonly carried out. Thus, by the time of Mahomet the Conqueror, the character of the Ottoman power, as a system of oppression, cruelty, and brutal lust, became fully established. Under him too a systematic faithlessness was added, which we do not see under the earlier princes. From his day to ours the promise of a Turk has been simply made to be broken. The policy of Mahomet also found out another device for turning the strength of the subject nations against themselves, and for making them his tools. It was of course always open to any men of the subject nations to transfer themselves from the ranks of the oppressed to the ranks of the oppressors by embracing the Mahometan religion. This was done by many men of all the subject nations, as well as by adventurers from Western Europe; and in some parts whole classes of men became Mahometan. Thus in Bosnia, while the mass of the people remained faithful, the great landowners embraced Islam in order to keep their estates. And the same happened to a lesser extent in Bulgaria and elsewhere. But it was Mahomet the Conqueror who had found out that one particular class of Christians might be made to serve his purpose without openly forsaking their religion. These were the Fanariots, the Greeks of the Greek quarter of Constantinople, many of whom professed to be descended from great families under the Empire. These became useful to the Sultans in many ways, as being sharper-witted than their own Turks were. They became secretaries, interpreters, and in later times ambassadors, and tributary princes in Wallachia and Moldavia. Greek bishops and clergy were also sent out to occupy Slavonic churches; so that the Church itself to which the Eastern Christians clave so faithfully was turned by the Turk into a tool for the support of his power. But it must not be thought, because the Greeks of Constantinople found a certain profit in a foreign dominion, that the Greek nation in general fared any better than the other nations which were subject to the Turk. All Christians indeed were alike bondsmen, though it suited the policy of their tyrants to show some of them a certain degree of favour for their own purposes. Sultan Selim even purposed to make a general massacre of all the Christians in his dominions; but he was dissuaded from this by the chief expounder of the Mahometan law, whom the Sultans were bound to consult to know whether what they meant to do was according to that law. Now to kill or wantonly to molest Christians who pay their tribute is as much against the teaching of the Koran as it would be to give Christians a real equality with Mahometans. Djemali then, the man who kept back Selim from this crime, gave a righteous answer according to his own law, and he should be held in honour for his so doing.

After the reign of Solomon the Lawgiver, the Ottoman power began on the whole to go down. In the reign

of his son Selim, known as the Drunkard, the Turks won the island of Cyprus from the Venetians; but their fleet was defeated at Lepanto by the fleets of Spain and Venice. No positive advantage followed on this victory, which did not even save Cyprus; still it broke the spell of Turkish success, and taught men that the Turk could be defeated. Moreover, up to the sixteenth century, the Turks had better and better disciplined soldiers than any of the European nations with whom they had to strive. But from that time the discipline of Western armies grew better and better, while that of the Turks grew worse and worse. And, though several of the later Sultans were brave and able men, and were served by able ministers, yet many of them were quite of another kind. The almost unbroken succession of great rulers ends with Solomon. Thus, on the whole, notwithstanding occasional victories and conquests, the Turkish power now began to go down. In the seventeenth century, the Turks had many wars with Venice and with the Emperors of the house of Austria, who were also Kings of Hungary. Towards the end of the century they had also wars with Poland, and at last with Russia, which was beginning to become a great power under Peter the Great. In 1669 the Turks won the island of Crete from the Venetians, after a war of twenty-four years. But in 1684 the Venetians conquered all Peloponnesos, and kept it till 1715. In 1683 the Turks again advanced from their Hungarian province, and besieged Vienna; but they were driven back by John Sobieski, King of Poland, and all Hungary was presently freed from them. Throughout the eighteenth century there were many wars between the Turks and the Emperors as Kings of Hungary. The frontier changed several times, according as the Turkish or the Imperial armies were successful, till the boundary was settled in 1791 much as it now is. Then Belgrade, which had changed hands more than once, was again given up to the Turks.

The wars of the Turks with Venice and Hungary were continuations of wars which they had begun to wage soon after they came into Europe. But in the latter years of the seventeenth century the Turks found still more dangerous enemies north of the Euxine. Here the great powers were Poland and Russia. Against Poland the Turks had some successes; they gained the province of Pedolia and the strong town of Kaminiac, which however they had to give back in 1699. This was the last time that the Turks won any large dominion which they had never held before. But the wars of the Turks with Russia, which began at this time, form an important series down to our own day. It will be remembered that the peninsula of Crimea and the neighbouring lands now forming southern Russia, were held by the Khans of Crim as vassals of the Sultan. Russia was thus cut off from the Euxine; but, as soon as Russia became a great power, she could not fail to seek an opening to the sea in this quarter. Peter the Great first won the port of Azof in 1696; and it was lost and won more than once, till it was finally confirmed to Russia by the peace of Kainardji in 1774. Catharine the Second was now Empress of Russia, and her policy was steadily directed to advance at the cost of the Turk. By the peace of Kainardji, Russia acquired a kind of protectorate over the dependent principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, which grew into a right of remonstrance on behalf of the Christian subjects of the Turk. The Tartars of Crim were acknowledged as an independent power, a state of things which could not last. In 1783 the land of Crim was added to Russia, which thus gained a great sea-board on the Euxine; and in 1791 the Russian frontier was advanced to the Dniester. All these were heavy blows to the Turk. It was a heavier blow still when Russia acquired a right of interference in the internal concerns of the Ottoman Empire.

Now it will be asked, how did all these changes affect the condition of the subject nations? That is, after all, the main point. The increasing weakness of the Ottoman power affected the subject nations both for evil and for good. It made their actual state harder; but it gave them more hopes of deliverance. As the power of the Sultans was weakened, the misgovernment of their dominions grew worse and worse. Local oppressors of all kinds were no longer kept in some kind of order by the common head. Luxury increased, extravagance increased, and, as a necessary consequence, the burthens of the tax-payer became greater, and the soldiers went without pay. The Turkish troops lost their old discipline, without gaining the new discipline of modern Europe; after a campaign they not uncommonly took to the life of open robbers. All this of course greatly increased the wretchedness of the subject nations; yet one good came of it all. The Janissaries, instead of picked soldiers chosen from the tribute children, gradually became a hereditary caste, practising various callings, and who were no longer willing to be recruited after the old fashion. Thus, in the course of the seventeenth century, the heaviest of all burthens, the tribute of children, was gradually taken away. From that time the subject nations had some hope: the best and bravest of their own kin were no longer taken to serve against them. This was a gain; and there were one or two Sultans and their ministers who did something in other ways to lessen the oppression of their subjects. But, on the whole, things got worse and worse. The population lessened; land was left untilled; towns and villages were forsaken. As the powers of the Sultans grew less, and pashas and other local oppressors grew stronger, there was less and less chance of redress for any wrongdoings. Indeed, at the end of the eighteenth century, nearly the whole of the Ottoman dominions had fallen into a state of utter anarchy. The authority of the Sultan went for nothing; many of the pashas made themselves practically independent, and whole armies of men, subject to no authority at all, laid waste lands and cities. But, on the other hand, the very excess of wrong led to the beginning of deliverance. Spirited men among the subject

nations—the men who at an earlier time would have been taken for Janissaries in their childhood—defied the Turks altogether, and took to a wild independence. They were called robbers by the Turks, but patriots by themselves and their countrymen. In some parts again disorder was so great that the Christians were allowed to arm themselves in their own defence and that of the Sultan's authority against Mahometan rebels. Thus, in both these ways, there grew up bodies of Christians who were used to bear arms, and who afterwards did good service in the wars both in Servia and in Greece. And alongside of this, the hope of deliverance was raised by every war which the Turks waged against any Christian power. All the wars with Venice, with the Emperors, and with Russia, served to raise the hopes of the subject people. In the enemies of their masters they saw their own deliverers; and the fortune of war sometimes transferred some of them from barbarian to civilized masters. Thus, as we have seen, Peloponnesos was for a while held by Venice; and, in the various fluctuations of the Turkish and Hungarian frontier, many subjects of the Turks were for a while put under civilized rulers, and learned European discipline in the Imperial armies. Thus, when Belgrade and other districts were given back to the Turk after forming part of an European kingdom, the yoke was felt to be more bitter, and the longing for deliverance became stronger. Add to this that the subject nations were constantly made tools of by the enemies of the Turk, especially by Russia. Thus when, in the course of the wars with Russia, a Russian fleet appeared in the Ægæan sea, the Greeks were led to revolt in many places. And, though they were shamefully betrayed by Russia, yet every movement of this kind helped to stir the spirits and raise the hopes of the subject nations, to teach them that their masters were not invincible, and above all to teach them that they could do something for themselves. We must remember that, in the times which we are now speaking of, when we speak of Russia or Austria or any other European power, we are speaking merely of governments and not of nations. The generous impulses which in our own times have stirred whole nations had not then begun to be felt. The subject nations were used as tools by various governments who were at war with the Turks, and they were too often thrown aside like tools when they were done with. Still, by every failure of their tyrants, by every advance of every other power, they gained indirectly; they gained in heart and in hope.

At last the time came when the subject nations were really able to do something for themselves. First Servia was freed; then Greece. A large part of the Servians had for a while been subjects and soldiers of Austria, and had learned the difference between civilized and barbarian rule. When they were given back to the Turk, the power of the Sultan in those parts was altogether nominal. The land was overrun by rebellious chiefs, who were of course worse oppressors than the Sultan himself. In 1804 the Servians rose against their local enemies, and for a while the Sultan favoured their enterprise. But such an alliance could not last. Men who had risen against Mahometan rule in its worst form were not likely willingly to submit to it again, even in a form which was not quite so bad. Servia was delivered by Czerny, or Kara (that is, Black), George. It was conquered again in 1815. It was delivered again by Milosh Obrenovich, the founder of the present dynasty of princes. It became a principality, independent of its internal affairs, though it was still obliged to receive Turkish garrisons in certain fortresses. This last badge of dependence was taken away in 1862; since then Servia has been an independent state in everything but paying a tribute to the Turk.

Many causes meanwhile led to the revolt of Greece. In the wars of the French Revolution the commonwealth of Venice was overthrown. Her Greek possessions, consisting of the Ionian Islands and some points on the Hadriatic coast, were portioned out in a strange way. The Turk was to take the points on the coast, while the islands were to be made into a commonwealth, tributary to the Sultan, but under the protection of Russia. The points on the coast were gradually won by the Turks, by force or surrender; but as they were very unwillingly transferred to his rule, a stronger feeling began to be felt in favour of them, and of the subject people generally. On the other hand, though the island commonwealth could have no real freedom, it was something like acknowledging the possibility of Greek freedom. Then the islands were conquered by France; then, after the great war, they were again made a commonwealth under a British protectorate which really was British dominion. Still the name of commonwealth went for something; and in any case the rule either of France or England was better than that of the Turk. All this then joined with other causes to stir up the spirit of the Greek people, and in 1821 they rose in every part of the Turkish dominions where they could rise. In most of the out-lying parts the revolt was easily put down; but in the greater part of Greece itself, the Greek and Albanian inhabitants, with some help from volunteers both from the other subject nations and from Western Europe, were able to free the land from the Turks. Then the reigning Sultan Mahmoud got help from his vassal Mahomet Ali in Egypt, who had made himself independent of the Sultan, but who was ready to help him against Christian insurgents. Then the European powers stepped in. In 1827 the fleets of England, France, and Russia crushed the Turks at Navarino; the French cleared Peloponnesos of the Egyptians, and Greece became an independent state. But the new kingdom has been sadly hampered by the refusal of the powers to allow Thessaly, Epeiros, and Crete to share in the freedom of the rest of Greece.

While the wars of independence in Servia and Greece were going on, the Turks had more than one war with Russia, which of course told to the advantage of the Christians who were in arms. By the peace of Bucharest in

1812, the Russian frontier was advanced to the Pruth, and stipulations were made in favour both of the Danubian Principalities and of Servia. By the peace of Akerman in 1826 the rights of Servia were more fully confirmed. Then came the war in which the Russians got as far as Hadrianople, and compelled the Turks to acknowledge the independence of Greece by the treaty of 1829. Thus both Servia and Greece were freed from their bondage, and Greece became an absolutely independent kingdom. Meanwhile great changes were going on in the internal management of the Turkish Empire. Sultan Mahmoud professed and promised great reforms; but, as far as his Christian subjects were concerned, his reign was chiefly marked by bloodthirsty massacres. Whenever, both in the Greek and the Servian wars, the Turks had the power, they suppressed the insurrection in the way in which Turks do suppress insurrections. All the world has heard of the massacres in Chios and Cyprus and in the peninsula of Kassandra. Every form of cruelty and faithlessness was done both in Greece and Servia whenever the Turks had a chance. Men now living can remember how men were impaled in breach of solemn promises when the Turks won back Belgrade in 1815.

No doubt all this time the Turks were learning to ape European ways, and to put on a varnish of European civilization, which has deceived many people. Thus Mahmoud set up an army after the European manner, having first got rid of the turbulent Janissaries by a general massacre; and both Mahmoud and his successors put forth endless promises of good government for their subjects of all religions, which of course have not been kept. They have not been kept, because they were not meant to be kept, and because in truth they could not be kept. We have seen already that real reform under the Ottoman rule is impossible, because real reform—the granting of real equality to men of other religions—is contrary to the Mahometan religion. All that pretended Turkish reforms have ever done has been to throw dust in the eyes of Europe, and to increase the hatred of the subject nations by the further wrong of making promises and then breaking them. And since the death of Mahmoud, who, though a brutal tyrant, was at least a man of energy, the so-called "government" of the Sultan has got worse than ever. The rule of the independent pashas was worse than that of the great Sultans; and now something has been found worse than the rule of the independent pashas. Since the death of Mahmoud, there has been a succession of weak and worthless Sultans, who have been wholly in the hands of a corrupt "ring," as the Americans call it, at Constantinople. These men dress and talk like Europeans, and so take Europeans in, while they carry on a worse system of tyranny than that of the old Sultans. One charter after another has been put forth to say that all the Sultan's subjects, of whatever religion, shall be equally under his protection, and have equal rights. Yet the Christians are everywhere dealt with as bondmen; the Mahometan is armed, and the Christian is unarmed; the Mahometan rules, and the Christian has to obey; the Mahometan sits in the so-called court of justice, and refuses to take the evidence of the Christian against the worst Mahometan offender. Therefore no Christian is safe for a moment in anything. Whatever wrong is done to him, he has no redress; his life, his property, the honour of his family, are at the mercy of every Turk who thinks good to deal with them as he chooses. The doers of the bloodiest and foulest deeds are promoted, while any Turk who dares to act more humanely than the rest is commonly disgraced. This kind of tyranny, which has no parallel in modern Europe, and which can hardly have been surpassed in any age or country, is known in diplomatic language by two or three cant phrases, such as the "sovereign rights of the Sultan," and "the independence and integrity of the Ottoman Empire." The "integrity and independence of the Ottoman Empire" means that the Turk should be allowed the power of doing whatever crimes he pleases through the whole extent of the land which he at present holds in bondage. For many years past, to judge by their acts, it has been one great aim of European governments to keep the Turk in full possession of that power. It seems to have been thought that it was in some strange way for the good of mankind that the people of South-eastern Europe should be held in bondage. In 1854, three Christian powers actually waged a war in order to support the dominion of the Turk, when it was threatened by Russia. Then in 1856, at the Treaty of Paris, the European powers declared that they would all respect the independence and integrity of the Ottoman Empire. They declared that they had no right, collectively or separately, to meddle with the "relations of the Sultan with his subjects, or with the interior administration of his empire." That is to say, they agreed to allow the Turk to do what he pleased with the nations of South-eastern Europe. They declared in effect that he might go on oppressing them as he had always oppressed them, and that they, the Christian powers of England, France, Sardinia, and Russia, would do nothing to help them. Since then the European powers, and especially England, have, till lately, done all that they could to keep the subject nations in bondage, and even to keep their complaints from being heard. For twenty years after the Treaty of Paris the oppressed people of South-eastern Europe had no hope but in their own right hands.

Through those twenty years the Turk went on doing as he always has done, making promises and breaking them, and committing every crime against the subject people. In the lands of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which have been the most oppressed of all, the Christians have risen more than once, and they have been helped by their neighbours, the free people of Montenegro. This last is a small district, a fragment of the old kingdom of Servia, where the Christians have always held out. The Turks have often attacked the land, and sometimes overrun it; but it never was fully conquered at any time, and it is now a perfectly independent state under its

own prince. Then in 1866 there was a revolt in the great Greek island of Crete. While the people of Crete were striving for their freedom, their tyrant, the Turkish Sultan, was received in London as an honoured guest; and when our consuls and officers tried to save old men, and women, and children from the rage of the Turks, orders came from the English Foreign Office that no such deed was to be done again. Other European and American ships were allowed to help the distressed; but England faithfully kept to the Treaty of Paris. For by that treaty we had bound ourselves to respect the independence of the Ottoman Empire, and not to interfere with the relations between the Sultan and his subjects. The relations between the Sultan and his subjects could mean nothing but the acts of murder, robbery, outrage of every kind, which formed those relations. It was therefore according to the treaty, to stand by and let the Turks do what they would to these poor creatures. Other nations might think that humanity was above treaties; but England stood by the treaty. At last, in 1875, began the war which has gone on since. The people of Bosnia and Herzegovina again rose. Then letters were written from the English Foreign Office exhorting the Turk to "suppress the insurrection." In Herzegovina however the Turk could not suppress the insurrection; but, when Bulgaria presently tried to rise, the Turk was able fully to carry out the instructions of his English adviser. He did suppress this insurrection with his own forces; he of course suppressed it in the way in which Turks always do suppress insurrections, in the way in which every one must have known that the Turk would suppress insurrections, if he suppressed them at all. It was perhaps going too far for an English statesman to advise him to do so; but it cannot be denied that, in doing all that was done last year in Bulgaria, the Turk was simply acting according to those relations between the Sultan and his subjects which the European powers had engaged to respect. For it must always be remembered that the late doings in Bulgaria were nothing new, nothing strange; they are the ordinary relations between the Sultan and his subjects, whenever those subjects give him any offence, sometimes when they give no offence at all. Then Servia and Montenegro stepped in to help their oppressed brethren. Nor did the people of Russia deem that they were bound by treaties to do wrong; so the people, not the government, came to help also. In the war which followed, Montenegro has been victorious; the Turk has been unable to do anything against the brave mountaineers. But in Servia he has been partly successful, and, in those parts of Servia which came under his power, he has done as he had before done in Bulgaria; that is to say, deeming the Servians to be his subjects, he has dealt with them according to the usual relations between the Sultan and his subjects. Deeming the Servian war an insurrection, he has tried to carry out the advice which he had received from England; he has tried to suppress insurrections in the only way in which Turks always do suppress them.

But by this time the European Powers had seen that to carry out the words of the Treaty of Paris was no longer possible. In Russia, in England, in Italy, the people said with one voice that such deeds must not go on, and that the relation between the Sultan and his subjects must be interfered with. The governments yielded to the will of the people, and an European conference has tried, but tried in vain, to find out the answer to our third question,

What is to be done with the Turk?

Yet the general answer to this question is a simple one. The power of the Turk is something purely evil, something which cannot be reformed; it must therefore be dealt with as we should deal with any other evil which is past remedy. The great mistake of all European powers for a long time past has been that of treating the Turk as one of themselves, of speaking of the "Ottoman Government," "the rights" of the Sultan, and so forth, as if they were speaking of and dealing with a civilized power. The whole course of the history which we have gone through shows that the power of the Turks is not a "government" in the sense which we apply those words to the powers which bear rule in any civilized nation. The government of this or that European country may have great faults, and may need reform in many ways; still, it is on the whole an instrument of good. It discharges the common duties of government in its own country, and in most cases it fairly represents the nation of which it is the head in the face of other nations. We may therefore, with perfect truth, speak of the "rights" of such a government, even though we may think that there are many things about it which might be improved. The worst that we can say of it is that it is a bad government, and that its rule is misgovernment. These words in themselves imply that it does in some sort discharge the functions of government, and that by needful reforms it might be made to discharge them better. The worst civilized government is not a thing which is purely evil; it is a good thing more or less perverted, but which still may be reformed. But the so-called Turkish government is none of these things, and does none of these things. It is a mistake to speak of it as a government, or to speak of its rule even as misgovernment. Its fault is, not that it governs badly, but that it does not govern at all. Its rule is not government, not misgovernment, but organized brigandage. Systematic oppression, systematic plunder, the denial of the commonest rights of human beings to those who are under its power, is not government in any sense of the word. It is therefore a mistake, and a dangerous mistake, to speak of the Sultan and his ministers as a "government," and to treat them as such. It is a mistake to speak of the

"rights" of the Sultan; for he has no rights. The Turk has never dealt with the subject nations in such a way as to give him any rights over them, or to bind them to any duty towards him. His rule is a rule of brute force, of mere brigandage. It makes no difference that that brigandage has gone on for five hundred years. While other conquerors have, sooner or later, made their conquest lawful, by giving the conquered people a government, the Turk has never given the nations whom he has conquered any government at all. He came in as a robber, and he remains a robber. He has no rights except such as may be held to belong to a man who has broken into the house of another, who has carried off his goods, laid waste his fields, and enslaved or murdered his children. To have done these things for five hundred years is what the Treaty of Paris calls the relations between the Sultan and his subjects. But such relations are not what any European nation understands by government. The so-called Turkish government is not a government, and is not entitled to be treated as one. The Sultan has no rights, and is not entitled to claim any.

We must therefore, in dealing with the Turk, get rid of all such phrases as the "rights" of the Sultan, his "honour," his "dignity," his "susceptibility." He has no rights, no honour, no dignity, and his susceptibility does not matter. We do not trouble ourselves about the susceptibilities of those at home who may have robbed or murdered a single man. We deal with them as with robbers and murderers, however unpleasant the process may be to the robber or the murderer. So we ought to deal with the robbers and murderers of whole nations. Their susceptibility, their wishes, their proposals, their promises, must simply go for nothing. The promises of the Turk must go for nothing, because every promise which the Turk has made has been broken. He must be dealt with as a convicted liar, whose word is no better than his bond. The Turk is in short simply a barbarian, and none the less a barbarian because he has picked up a good deal of cunning, because he has learned to wear European clothes, and to speak an European language. These things only make him a more dangerous kind of barbarian. The men who dress and talk like Europeans, and whom the Ministers of European states have to treat as their equals, are the men who ordered the massacres in Bulgaria, and who naturally refuse to punish those who acted by their orders. On such men words are wasted; what is wanted is deeds. The model for correspondence with the Sultan and his ministers is to be found in the letter which Sir Garnet Wolseley sent to the King of Ashantee. The barbarian of Constantinople and the barbarian of Ashantee are alike enemies of humanity, to be dealt with as such. The only difference between the two is in favour of the barbarian of Ashantee. He at least does not ape the ways of civilized men, or make lying promises of good government.

Experience shows that to preach to the Turk, to argue with the Turk, is simply to waste words. The notes and memoranda and despatches which were sent to the Turk during the last year, the proposals and counter-proposals which were made to him during the late Conference, had the simple fault of coming five hundred years too late. Five hundred years ago, when the Turk was a new comer and men did not know him so well as they do now, those notes, memoranda, despatches, and proposals would have been reasonable and creditable. After five hundred years' experience of Turkish doings, they are simply foolish. The Turk will yield only to force, or to a conviction that force will follow on refusal. Talking will not win the independence of Bosnia, or Bulgaria, or Herzegovina. Talking will not win the slightest reform in any of those lands. Other arguments are needed to bring the Turk to reason. The fight of Navarino, the Russian march to Hadrianople, brought Mahmoud to reason, and he acknowledged the independence of Greece. The like arguments, the certainty that refusal would be followed by application of the like arguments, would in the like way bring the ruling ring at Constantinople—we need hardly speak of the wretched being called a Sultan—to reason in the same way. No weaker argument will do it. No weaker argument will work any change. To the demand of armed and united Europe the Turk will at once grant everything. To mere preaching, mere arguing, mere talking of any kind, he will yield nothing.

The Turk then, if he is only pressed by the right arguments, will yield all that is wanted. But what is wanted? The least that is wanted is that the direct rule of the Turk in Europe shall cease. In a word, enslaved nations of South-eastern Europe must be delivered from the rule of force, and put under the rule of law. Government must be put in the place of brigandage. What kind of government is to be given to those lands, under how many governments they are to be placed, are proper questions for the powers of Europe to settle. It is for them to settle whether the Slavonic lands which are now under the Turk shall be joined to any existing state, or be formed into a new state or several new states. It is for them to settle in like manner whether the Greek lands which are now under the Turk shall be joined to the present kingdom of Greece, or receive freedom in any other shape. It is for them to settle in what relations the lands shall stand to one another; whether they shall be absolutely independent of the Turk, or whether the Turk shall be allowed to stay at Constantinople as a nominal lord over them, as he is over Servia and Roumania. All these are points of detail, very important and difficult points some of them, and not to be settled off-hand. But one thing is a matter of principle to be insisted on at all hazards, that the direct rule of the Turk over those lands shall come to an end. It is a matter of principle that those lands should be set free; as for the best form for their freedom to take, much may be said on many sides. But two points are in any case essential. Whatever is to be the form of government in any of these lands,

the Turk must have no hand in choosing their governors, and no spot in any of the lands that are to be set free must be garrisoned by Turkish soldiers. Unless these points are insisted on, nothing will be gained; the whole work will have to be done over again.

The Turk must have no voice in the choice of the rulers of Bulgaria, of Bosnia, of Herzegovina, of Epeiros, Thessaly, or Crete, any more than he has in the choice of rulers in Servia and Roumania. It is not enough that his choice should be approved by the European powers. The European powers may not agree, and difficulties and complications such as diplomatists are always afraid of are sure to arise. The Turk is very cunning; if he is allowed to have any voice in the matter, he will find some means to throw dust into the eyes of Europe, and to carry out his own ends. It is not enough to say that the governors must be Christians. There is a kind of Christian who is as bad as any Turk, who is always ready to do the Turk's work for the Turk's pay, who is ready to fight as his admiral or to lie as his ambassador. Such Christians the Turk will contrive to send as rulers, if he is allowed to have any voice in choosing them. The rulers of the Greek and Slavonic lands must be as little the nominees of the Turk as the princes of Servia and Roumania are now.

Besides this, no Turkish garrisons must be allowed in any town or any other place of the lands that are to be set free. If Turkish soldiers are allowed to enter those lands, their freedom will be a mere name. Wherever the Turkish soldier treads, there is the Turk and all his evil deeds. Experience proves this. After Servia was independent in other things, Turkish soldiers still garrisoned Belgrade and other fortresses. The Turks did as Turks; they bombarded the city of Belgrade out of sheer wantonness, because Turkish soldiers had been resisted in the wickedness which Turks everywhere do. What they did at Belgrade they will do anywhere else where they are allowed to abide. If the Turk is allowed to garrison any spot in the lands which are to be set free from his direct rule, freedom from his direct rule will be a mockery : nothing will be gained, unless the Turk is made to leave the whole of the Greek and Slavonic lands as free as Servia and Roumania are. It needs only union and energy on the part of Europe to make the Turk do this, even without fighting. But if it should be needful to fight, men have never, from the beginning of the world, fought in a nobler cause than that in which they would fight then.

These then are the main principles, these are the great objects which must be carried out. If they are not carried out, nothing will be gained. And here it may be well to answer some of the objections which are commonly made.

First then, it is sometimes said that the whole thing is no affair of ours; that we are not called upon to go about through the world as knights errant, looking out for wrongs to redress. This is perfectly true; but it is our duty to redress those wrongs which we have done ourselves. By waging a war on behalf of the Turk, by signing a treaty which left the nations of Southeastern Europe at the mercy of the Turk, by propping up the wicked power of the Turk in many ways, we have done a great wrong to the nations which are under his yoke; and that wrong which we have ourselves done it is our duty to undo.

Secondly, it is sometimes said that all interest and sympathy for the enslaved nations is mere foolish sentiment, and that we ought to think of nothing but our own interest in dealing with other nations. If people really mean that there is no such thing as right and wrong in public affairs, let them say so at once, and we shall know how to deal with them. Again, people who talk in this kind of way forget that men have hearts as well as heads, and that men will therefore always be guided by their feelings, both in public and private matters. The only thing to be taken care of is that they shall be guided by right and generous feelings. And, after all, the really sentimental people are on the other side. It is the voice of reason and common sense which says that, as the Turk has shown himself to be an incorrigible liar, it is foolish to trust him. It is the voice of reason and common sense which says that, as his rule has shown itself to be incorrigibly bad, it is both foolish and wicked to prop it up. The people who really are foolishly sentimental, are those who have a kind of love for the Turk, who say that he is a "gentleman," and so forth; and who therefore, though he has lied nine hundred and ninety-nine times, would still believe him the thousandth time.

Thirdly, there are some people who say the Turks are no doubt very bad, but that the Christians are just as bad and have done things just as cruel. Now, as a matter of fact, this is not true; and, if it were true, it would be another reason for setting the Christians free; for if they are as bad as the Turk, it is the Turk who has caused their badness. While other nations have been improving, the Turk has kept them from improving. Take away the Turk who hinders improvement, and they will improve like the others. The slave never has the virtues of the freeman; it is only by setting him free that he can get them.

Fourthly, when we point out the evils of the rule of the Turk, some people tell us that Christian rulers in past time have done things quite as bad as the Turks. This is partly true, but not wholly. No Christian government has ever gone on for so long a time ruling as badly as the Turk has ruled. But it is true that Christian governments have in past times done particular acts which were as bad as the acts of the Turks. But this argument too cuts the other way; for Christian governments have left off doing such acts, while the Turks go on doing them still. The worst Christian government is better now than it was one hundred years ago or five

hundred years ago. The rule of the Turk is worse now than it was one hundred years ago or five hundred years ago. That is to say, the worst Christian government can reform, while the Turk cannot.

Fifthly, it is sometimes said that we ought not to set free the Christians for fear that they should do some harm to the Mahometans who would be left in their land. Now, if the question were really put—Shall a minority of oppressors go on oppressing the people of the land, or shall the majority of the people of the land turn round and oppress the minority who have hitherto oppressed them?—this last would surely be the lesser evil of the two. But there is no ground for any such fear. No one wishes to hurt any Mahometan who will live peaceably and not hurt Christians. No one wishes that any man, merely because he is a Mahometan, should be in any way worse off than a Christian, or be put under any disability as compared with a Christian. There is no reason why he should be. For the Mahometan religion, though it does not command that Christians shall be persecuted, does command that Christians shall be treated as subjects of Mahometans. But the Christian religion in no way commands that Mahometan shall be treated as the subject of Christian. Christians and Mahometans cannot live together on equal terms under a Mahometan government; because the Mahometan religion forbids that they should. But Mahometans and Christians may perfectly well live together under a Christian government. They do so under the governments both of England and of Russia. The few Mahometans who are left in Greece and in Servia are in no way molested; there are mosques both at Chalkis and at Belgrade. But it is foolish to argue, as some people do, that because men of different religions can live together under a Christian government, therefore they can live together under a Mahometan government. For both reason and the nature of the Mahometan religion prove that it is not so.

Sixthly, some people say that we ought not to help the Christians in South-eastern Europe for fear lest the Mahometans in India should rise against the English government here, on behalf of the Sultan, as Caliph or religious head of all Mussulmans. Now, if it is right to help the Eastern Christians, we ought to help them, whether there is any such danger or not. But those who know India best say that there is no such danger at all to be feared.

Seventhly, still more people say that we ought not to help the Eastern Christians, because by so doing we play into the hands of Russia. They say that we are helping Russia to get Constantinople, and that if Russia gets Constantinople, our power in India will come to an end, and that many other dreadful things will happen. And they go on to tell us that Russia is the wickedest and most dangerous of all powers, that she is the special enemy of England, that she has dealt wickedly by Poland and other nations, that all the revolts against the Turk are got up by her intrigues, and that therefore Russia is to be withstood and thwarted and suspected in a way in which we should not withstand or thwart or suspect any other power. Now there are many answers to all this talk:—

1. If it is right to help the Eastern Christians, we ought to do so, whatever may come of it.

2. We may be quite sure that Russia does not wish to get Constantinople, because to get Constantinople would be the break-up of the Russian Empire. She may possibly wish to set a Russian prince on the throne of Constantinople, as there has been talk of setting an English prince there; but such a prince would soon cease to be either Russian or English. We have seen enough of her history to know that New Rome must be New Rome, and cannot be subject to Russia or to any other power.

3. If Russia did get Constantinople, it would make no difference to our power in India. The way to India lies, not by Constantinople, but by Egypt.

4. There is no reason to think that Russia is in herself much better or worse than any other power. She has done some bad things, as all other powers have done. But it is very strange that those who now make a special outcry about Poland are the very same party who never thought of Poland before, and who rather approved of Russia as long as she was really doing misdeeds. And the old misdeeds of Russia were the misdeeds of her rulers in days when the Russian people had no voice in anything. But now the Russian people has a voice, and it is the generous impulse of the Russian people which is making their Emperor come to the help of the oppressed, whether he himself wishes it or not. Russia is in no way the enemy of England, except so far as we have ourselves chosen to make her so. It is absurd to say that the revolts are all stirred up by Russian intrigues. Men who are oppressed as the nations under the Turk are oppressed do not need any foreign intriguers to tell them of their oppressions. Lastly, if Russia has any hidden evil designs, we shall best thwart them by frankly working with her in everything which on the face of it is good. If she seeks exclusive influence in the South-eastern lands, and if we wish to keep her from getting such influence, the best way is to help her to deliver those lands, and so to get an influence in them equal to hers.

Eighthly, some people—who must be either the most foolish of all, or else the most wicked, as saying what they must know to be false—say that it is wrong to help the insurgents or the Servians, because they are rebels and traitors, who had no wrongs, but were merely stirred up by secret societies. Some have said that the Servians were ungrateful for the favours which they had received from the Turks. Those favours were the impaling of their grandfathers sixty years back, and the bombarding of their capital twelve years back. They received other favours of the same kind last year, such as the roasting alive of their children; perhaps they ought

to be thankful for these too. And if we condemn them for revolting against oppression, we must condemn all our own forefathers who won the freedom of England. They revolted against their own kings on account of much smaller misdeeds than those on account of which the Eastern Christians have revolted against their foreign tyrants. As for secret societies, it is true that societies in Russia have done much for the cause of the oppressed nations. But these societies are in no way secret. It would be just as true to say that the Corn Laws were abolished through secret societies, because there was an Anti-Corn Law League.

Lastly, some people say that we who speak up for the cause of the oppressed do it out of some bad private motive of our own, or at best because we want to upset the present Government and set up another. One is inclined to think very badly of people who talk in this way, to think that their own motives must be very bad, as they seem not to understand that other men's motives can ever be good. Yet, after all, it may be only blind prejudice, and it is better to think so. But to those who have been saying the same things for more than twenty years and who, in so doing, have had to blame Liberal and Conservative Governments alike, it does seem very strange to be told that they have taken the matter up just lately in hopes of getting rid of the present Government. All that we have done is to speak the plain truth, to say that Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Derby have done very wrong in these matters, as in times past we had to say that Lord Palmerston had done very wrong. Only we are allowed to say what we like about Lord Palmerston; but if we say a word against Lord Derby or Lord Beaconsfield, we are told that we are acting only for party motives. Indeed some people seem to think that Lord Derby can change the nature of right and wrong. For if we say that Lord Derby did certain things, and that those things were wrong, they do not try either to prove that Lord Derby did not do those things, nor yet to prove that those things were not wrong. All that they do is to cry out that it is wicked to speak against Lord Derby. This does seem very like blind party spirit indeed. But that we are not acting out of party spirit is shown by the fact that no one has ever said a word against Lord Salisbury. Lord Salisbury is not on our own side in home politics; therefore, if we were acting only through party spirit, we should speak against him also. But though he is not on our side in home politics, we believe him to be a just and truthful man, whose sympathies were on the right side, and who tried to do what was best under very difficult circumstances. We know that our own motives are right, and that we are acting in a just cause. And the only reason for taking any notice of those who say otherwise, is the same reason which we have for taking notice of any of the other fallacies and false statements which have been put forth about the matter. We shall not convince those who say them, but we may save unwary people from being deceived by them.

Thus we have gone through all our questions. We have seen what the Turk in Europe is, what he has done in Europe, and what must be done with him. He came in as an alien and barbarian, encamped on the soil of Europe. At the end of five hundred years, he remains an alien and barbarian encamped on soil which he has no more made his own than it was when he first took Kallipolis. His rule during all that time has been the rule of strangers over enslaved nations in their own land. It has been the rule of cruelty, faithlessness, and brutal lust; it has not been government, but organized brigandage. His rule cannot be reformed; while all other nations get better and better, the Turk gets worse and worse. And when the chief powers of Europe join in demanding that he should make even the smallest reform, he impudently refuses to make any. If there was anything to be said for him before the late Conference, there is nothing to be said for him now. For an evil which cannot be reformed, there is one remedy only, to get rid of it. Justice, reason, humanity, demand that the rule of the Turk in Europe should be got rid of; and the time for getting rid of it has now come.

Hazel!, Watson, and Viney, Printers, London and Aylesbury.

The Study of Economics, and Savings Bank in the School:

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"*Thorndale*."—Quoted by DR. HODGSON.

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In preparing this little brochure—a humble effort to render a service to the Colony—many works have been consulted, and quotations freely used, from the feeling that the thoughts of many, some of whom have made the subject of them a life's study, must necessarily carry an authority far beyond anything which the present writer

might attempt to say. From the works of Mr. William Ellis, of London, and Dr. "W". B. Hodgson, of Edinburgh, many extracts have been taken, and also some quotations used by the latter. To these gentlemen deep indebtedness is acknowledged.

It being now conceded that the title "Economics" is much more appropriate for the subject of the following pages than the term "Political Economy," which has been so long and so generally applied to the science, except in the case of a direct quotation, the word Economics has been adopted.

The term "Political Economy" is highly objectionable, inasmuch, as the subject is political in an altogether secondary and subordinate sense, and is therefore apt—indeed has been found—to create misapprehensions.

Notes in Support.

"The foremost lessons of Political Economy are directed against narrow visions of private advantage, and they strive to show how the welfare of each man is most effectively achieved by securing the welfare of all. But it seems otherwise to the natural mind. The immediate gain lies before it, can be seen and handled, and the law which demands its sacrifice in order to arrive at a wider and more prolific result appears to contradict the senses, and to bring ruin and not benefit in its train." . . . "The moral to be drawn is the importance of thoroughly imbuing the mind with accurate principle before prejudice has had time to build itself up, while the mind is impressible by reason, and truths firmly implanted retain their hold for life."—PROFESSOR BONAMY PRICE.

"Unless the generally recognised principles of Economic Science are a tissue of fallacies, it can be easily shown that no scheme of social improvement can be of permanent efficacy if it is unaccompanied by an increased development of providence amongst the general mass of the people."—PROFESSOR FAWCETT.

"An economic millennium would be an epoch in which there was no waste—no waste of human lives, no ignoble sloth, no disease and decrepitude engendered by ignorance or neglect of natural laws, no waste of useful things in vulgar, insolent vanity; above all, no waste of health, substance, and self-respect in drunkenness and its attendant vices."—MR. NEWMARCH, *Address at Leeds, 10th October, 1871.*

"Economists are often charged with indifference to all moral distinctions, and Mr. Ruskin tells us that an economist is 'essentially of the type of a flat fish—one eyeless side of him always in the mud, and one eye on the side that has eyes, down in the corner of his mouth.' Yet, it is a rigorous economist, William Ellis, that writes :—'For the children of the poorer classes, that education is the best which fits and disposes them to preserve themselves from destitution; for the children of the richer classes, that education is the best which is most likely to preserve them, in the expenditure of their wealth, from frivolity, profligacy, and indifference to the sufferings and helplessness of others.'"—PROFESSOR HODGSON.

"The loss of all the vigorous impulse of what some people choose to call selfishness, would be the decay and ruin of the world. Both motives, the well-being of himself and the well-being of the community, must live together in every man, in any ideal of society which we commonplace mortals can adopt."—BLACKWOOD'S MAGAZINE, July 1871, p. 57.

"The labour and the savings of individuals are at once the source and the measure of national opulence and public prosperity. They may be compared to the drops of dew which invigorate and mature all vegetable nature. None of them has singly any perceptible influence; but we owe the foliage of summer and the fruits of autumn to their combined action."—J. R. M'CULLOCH, *Principles of Polit. Econ.*

"Philanthropy can do no harm and much good, by devoting all its energies to the young; and the more it improves their mind and morals, the more chance is there that they will aim at a higher standard of living."

"Here then is a great work for education—to bring men's estimate of their individual and class interests into accord with truth and wisdom, and with the general well-being. How far it may be wise or right to restrict individual freedom is often a disputable point. Not so as to the wisdom or right to diffuse intelligence, and foster habits consonant therewith. Light must go hand in hand with liberty. Freedom to stumble in the dark is not an unmixed boon."—PROFESSOR HODGSON, *Inaugural Address at the University of Edinburgh, Nov. 1871.*

Association for Promoting the Practice and Study of Economics In the Schools of the Colony.

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- decorative feature

The Practice and Theory of Economics in the School.

"The crop of economic errors, in theory and practice, will never cease until such simple principles as those here expounded shall be taught in every school for the young of both sexes, and of all ranks of life, with their bearing on individual conduct and success, as well as on national prosperity."

*"Plant wisdom early; give the flower the chance,
You suffer to the weed."*

W. B. Hodgson, preface to "What it Seen and What it not Seen?"

The special objects of the Association are to encourage the teaching and study of Economics as part of the regular work of the school, conjointly, if possible, with the promotion of the introduction into the school of the Savings Bank, by the agency of which, habits of thrift may be encouraged amongst the young of all classes, both as an applied form of Economics, and as a branch of systematic education.

The Bank is intended to be supplementary to the Post Office Savings Bank but its minimum deposit will be as low as one penny.

With the hope of inducing the Government to create such facilities for the proposed banking operations, as shall reduce the work connected therewith, as far as the teacher is concerned, to the smallest amount, it seemed desirable to aim at making the movement deserve the name "Colonial" in its widest sense; and to render it so, his Excellency the Governor and Lady Normanby have kindly consented to be Patrons of the Association. Likewise, it is felt that the recognition of a common bond, in the consciousness of wide-spread simultaneous working together for a great purpose, is an additional reason for desiring that it should be formed of persons in every part of the Colony. The promoters, therefore, earnestly invite statesmen, clergymen, schoolmasters and mistresses, and generally, all who are interested in the advancement of education, to become members. Necessarily, some of these only will engage in practically carrying forward the work, but all may help by taking an interest in, and strengthening by their precept and influence, the efforts of the teacher.

Thinking and intelligent persons are now generally agreed that the science of Economics should form a part of the ordinary school education of every child; yet in the programmes followed at most of our schools, how seldom do we find that this branch has a place! On the part of teachers, perhaps, absence of the science from their own course of studies during school life, has something to do with this; but even when its increasing needfulness as a guide in life is acknowledged, there seems to lurk a doubt as to whether the kind of teaching necessary for making it a school study can be accomplished. Proof that it *can* is not far to seek; for those teachers amongst us who have made the subject part of their programme, as well as the most gifted teachers at home, tell us that such teaching is not only possible, but that the subject forms one of the greatest interest, not only to boys, but to girls. It is understood by many to be either abstract or abstruse, or both, when in truth it is neither, if properly taught. And, inasmuch as, says William Ellis—"All science should be presented to children in an applied form; that is, as it may be seen interwoven with the proceedings, the wants, and the feelings of everyday life—neither unapplied nor misapplied," in one important section of it—the dealing with money—a most fitting occasion for the application would very frequently present itself in the event of the Savings Bank becoming part of the machinery of the school. But, whilst the inculcation of the *practice* of Economics in the school was yet a tiling of the future, Mr. Ellis, in the preface to his "Outlines of Social Economy," graphically tells of the motives which prompted him at that time to persevere in his endeavors to have the *theory* of the Science introduced as a branch of systematic education. "I had," he says, "for many years been a student of economic science, or social economy; it had fallen in my way, so to speak, by accident. I was conscious of the benefit I could trace to this happy accident of my early years; I felt, as I still feel, grateful to the kind, enlightened, and accomplished men—strangers to me at the time—who led me to begin, and assisted me to follow up my studies; and I could see no reason why, if we had but teachers qualified for the work, the

instruction which came imperfectly and accidentally to me, should not be imparted with certainty and completeness to every human being. I was in this position: I felt that I did know something of social economy. No schoolmaster, as far as I could learn, was teaching, or thinking of teaching it, in our schools, and I was conscious that my aptitude for teaching must necessarily be of the smallest. Nevertheless, it appeared to me—here is a work which ought to be done; which, perhaps, must be done indifferently at first; but which, if there be worth and vitality in it, will be well done in the end. These were my excuses to myself for becoming teacher of social economy. I have lived to see it taken up by numerous able schoolmasters." Mr. Ellis has lived to see more than this, but it is left for another, of the highest authority in such matters, to tell it, and no apology is offered for repeating it here.—"He has long and effectively vindicated in all teaching of both sexes, and of every rank, the true place for Economics as a branch of moral science, needful and fit to guide, conduct, to train character, and to shape condition, as well as to develop intelligence."

Dr. Hodgson.

Than these, surely, no more cogent reasons could be urged why it seems expedient that this science ought to form part of the education of every young colonist.

Mr. Fitch's little pamphlet (altered to suit colonial circumstances) illustrates in a most interesting manner the working and results of the Savings Banks in the schools of Belgium. The system was initiated eleven years ago by Professor Laurent, of Ghent, and has now passed from the region of mere experiment by being incorporated into the daily routine of the school. The system has also greatly developed throughout Europe. In France thousands of School Banks are now in operation, and last year, in the City of Bordeaux alone, there were forty-six schools furnished with Savings Banks, with 3753 scholars as depositors, who had at their credit a sum of £21,225, being an average saving of 6f. per scholar in six months; a result highly satisfactory, when it is considered that almost the whole of this sum came by voluntary contributions of cents from children of the lowest and poorest class.

In England it has been commenced with the very best promise of success. Consequent upon the publication of Mr. Fitch's paper, the matter was taken up by Mr. Scrutton, of the London School Board who, in conjunction with Mr. (now Sir Edmund) Currie, vice-chairman of the Board, brought it under the notice of a group of twelve Board Schools in the Tower Hamlets district. The masters and mistresses of these schools evinced so active a sympathy, that in six months Mr. Scrutton was able to report to the Board that there were, out of 10,000 scholars, no less than 4031 depositors. Now, the Board itself has taken up the work, and its efforts are directed to establishing Banks in every Board School in London. Lord Shaftesbury a warm advocate for these Banks, regarding them as one of the very best christianizing agencies. As a proof of the fitness of the proposed scheme to meet the practical needs of the time, and to commend itself to thinking men belonging to extremely diverse schools,

After the above was in M.S the following letter was received by the Secretary; its peculiar interest attaches, of course, to the fact of its being from a clergyman of the Hebrew Church Dunedin, June 20th, (5636) 1876. W. Dalrymple, Esq. Sir—I am in receipt of your letter of the 19th instant, with pamphlets on the study of economy and encouraging habits of thrift among our young people. I have no hesitation in saying that if this proposition be carried into effect, not only will economy be encouraged, but it will also prove the means of cultivating *practical* morality, and will thus result in being a fountain of blessings to our young New Zealanders.—I have the honor, &c., BERNARD LEICHTENSTEIN, H.M. of the Dunedin H.S.

It is significant to note that some time since, at a meeting held in Willis' rooms, London, Cardinal Manning mentioned that Lord Shaftesbury and his friends had induced the children of some sixty schools in Norfolk to put their pence into Savings Banks; and, adds the Cardinal, "it has grown like the grass." The example is contagious, and in many other parts of England, and in Scotland, the School Bank is becoming a favourite institution. Nor must it be lost sight of, that in the school the inculcation of thrift is but the practical recognition, by the teacher, of a branch of *moral* training; and, regarded in this light, it takes high ground indeed. It would be a means of cultivating the exercise of forethought, self-denial, self-control, and kindred powers. When busy toilers gather round the statesman, the philosopher, or the philanthropist, to hear the way to self-improvement pointed out, invariably the practice of these powers is recommended, and nearly always it is demonstrated that their material and social well being greatly depends on the cultivation of habits of providence. To them the Savings Bank is ranked as one of the most beneficent of modern institutions, as being not only the means through which such habits may be fostered, but also, as affording a ready and safe place of deposit where small sums may accumulate against a "rainy day." It may, therefore, be asked, why wait till people are grown into men and women before urging the wisdom of thrift, when, ten to one, careless, if not improvident habits will have already been formed. When this point has been reached, to practice thoughtfulness, or restrain self-gratification, is found to be very difficult, if not well nigh impossible. Nor is it the children of the working classes who alone have need of such training.

In his celebrated speech on thrift, delivered in London some short time since, Lord Derby says—"Rich and

poor, we are all tarred with the same brush, and I utterly disclaim the offensive and ungracious office of lecturing only those who have little to spare on the duty of laying by for the future, while that same duty is notoriously neglected by thousands in classes where its performances would be comparatively easy" It is sadly true, that in the midst of our unparalleled prosperity we cannot boast that this picture does not represent the state of things in New Zealand.

It has been urged that the encouraging of thrift amongst the young will foster avaricious and penurious habits, and from this the generous mind shrinks with horror, and well it might, if such a consummation were likely to be the result. It may be the generous, but it is also the shallow thinker, who arrives at and settles the matter by such a conclusion. Admitting however, that a predisposition to hoarding—an inheritance perhaps on the part of some children—might rather grow than otherwise from the proposed scheme, surely to limit the view to this side of the subject would be to form a narrow conception of it. It entirely ignores the indirect and valuable *effect of the training* to the mass of children who would rather spend than hoard, and this training to self-suppression would be invaluable, and far surpass the good which might result from the mere accumulation of capital. Under the heading "Not niggardly for children to save," Mr. Bartley, the Honorary Secretary of the London Provident Knowledge Society, has the following paragraph in one of his excellent little books :—"Some may say that it is better for children to spend their money; that inducing them to save at so tender an age is, in fact, teaching them to be miserly, and fostering a spirit of meanness amongst them. This is a specious form of argument, and one likely to be readily assented to by those who settle matters off-hand and without much thought. It is, however, a fallacy, and one which may be judged of best, by the present improvident habits of so large a number of the industrial classes. Thrift is a duty, and, if so, it must be right to inculcate it, and that too at a period of life when there is most probability of success. It is true that overgrown thrift may merge into miserly habits, but the dread of this being a consequence of the establishment of Penny Banks in schools, need not be entertained. It is to be feared that the spirit of improvidence which has been allowed to grow to such an extent will be supreme for a long while yet; when, however, it shows signs of giving place to the opposite extreme, of miserly niggardliness, it will be time enough to get alarmed."

Surely no one will maintain that the process of saving restrains the impulse to be wisely generous; rather, it is the one legitimate means by which true generosity can be practised, since no act can be called generous that does not involve self-denial on the part of the actor. The child who denies itself the pleasure of spending (and the mere act of spending gives a sense of pleasure), its pennies to satisfy frivolous wants, in looking forward, say, to surprising mamma, by giving her a present at Christmas, or to giving little sister a box of colours on her birthday, or to presenting "a good big sum" to the mission box, or for the "Dayspring," is teaching himself to be generous in the highest sense, because he can have accomplished any one of these objects only at the cost of stifling many a yearning to satisfy some selfish instinct; nor need it be said that such acts, on the part of parents ought to be encouraged. Again, the girl who for months together collects her pennies to buy furniture for a doll's house, or the boy who does the same sort of thing in order to set up a rabbit hutch, or buy himself a set of tools, have the while been undergoing a training in self-restraining qualities, which in after life, will stand them in good stead. They have also been cultivating acquaintance with the marvellous power of trifling acts when oft repeated. Referring to a case similar to one of these illustrations, a French writer says, "*L'enfant a accompli un sacrifice; c'est l'élément moral de l'épargne, et c'est son plus grand bienfait, car le sacrifice qu'elle implique, c'est la base de la moralité.*"

The great engineer George Stephenson, though a thrifty and frugal man, was essentially unsordid. His rugged path in early life made him careful of his resources. He never saved to hoard, but saved for a purpose. In later years he became a prosperous and wealthy man.

Samuel Smiles,

As for that unfortunate being, the hereditarily penurious child, the fact of the Savings Bank being in the school offers, to the teacher, an opportunity which otherwise he could not have had of dealing with him and descanting on the unloveliness of meanness. Let the parents work with the teacher by purposely and frequently giving their children small sums of money for deposit, and being ever ready to suggest or second its disbursement when justifiable occasions for spending or investing it, occur. Character will thus be developed, and the mere teacher who uses his many opportunities of offering words in season, will become a true educator. A lover of his vocation and his kind, he will be thankful, rather than the contrary, for the acquisition of a new power.

To revert to the subject of Economics. Every day brings into the field fresh advocates, for the science being taken up as an ordinary school study. Professor Fawcett, speaking to an English audience in October last, maintains "that no science is more useful and necessary. Politicians, traders, consumers and producers, employers and employed, all need its guidance; and clergymen, philanthropists, everyone in short, who attempts to better the condition of his fellow man, will find that his efforts will prove futile—will often bring about results the exact reverse of those intended, if he is not directed and controlled by the application of

economic laws, and no time in life so fitting to begin the study of these as during the impressionable season of youth." That true friend of her sex, Mrs. Butler, of Liverpool, pleads for it a place in the programme of every girls' school. She says that a knowledge of it ought to guide every woman in the management of her domestic matter's, and, that when educated women become more enlightened in regard to it, obedience to its laws would be felt as a moral duty. And, "would not," wrote the late Canon Kingsley, "some acquaintance with Economics be to a woman, not only thrift of money, but thrift of brain, worry, anxiety, care, all of which eat out health as well as heart."

But what is the science of Economics? says a not unintelligent young friend, whose notions about it are vague and hazy, and who, in her search after material for self-guidance, had not met with either Mrs. Butler or Canon Kingsley. Briefly, it has to do with the conduct of individuals and of society in general, in so far as they are producers or users or storers-up of wealth; it determines the nature of wealth, and deals with laws which govern its production and distribution. The phrase means derivatively the "laws of the household," and the tendency of the science is to regard the whole of society as one great household. Just as the welfare of a household depends upon good management and direction of individual aptitudes, and the physical and intellectual capacities of each member, so does the same rule apply to society over a more extended surface; but with the limitation contained in our definition of the science. Very clear are the words of Aristotle, "If one and the same thing is beneficial to the individual and to the community, it seems nobler and better to keep for the community. For the individual indeed it is desirable, but for nations and states it is more excellent and divine. Our science, therefore, as it concerns social well-being, has this for its aim."

The population of New Zealand is made up of single individuals; and on what, it may be asked, does its prosperity depend? Not altogether, as has been affirmed, on its boundless material resources, or the enterprise or energy, or industry of its people. The outcome of all these in yearly exports and imports to the value of millions and millions, would testify to but one part of the question; they might only blind the outside world to a seething mass of vice and misery, which might be co-existent with the outward prosperity. The true prosperity of these islands depends on the aggregate of individual prosperity, and this must descend in its application to individual conduct. Every individual must be taught to see that his welfare is in his own hands; that "he must make it himself by economy, by frugality, by thrift, and by fulfilling the conditions which Divine Providence has appointed as inevitable and indispensable to success in life, which, however, is not everything in the world"

Dr. Hodgson.

No, it is but a part, though a most important part, of man's chief end; and surely such a part, as demands practical recognition in the school. Our zeal quickens at the thought of the grand and noble aims which might inspire the teaching power of our still infant Colony, not yet afflicted with that cancer of older countries—that mother of vice and crime—Poverty. Suffice it to say, that if it be conceded that the pupil on leaving school, ought as far as possible to have some knowledge that would aid him in his future self-guidance and some general idea of the principles and conduct which promote the well-being and happiness of a people, then, it is virtually admitted that the Science of Economics should form part of his school education.

It has been said that the present effort to make the practical knowledge of the use and value of money part of the school curriculum, will not meet with the approval of one class of our teachers—clergymen. That this is not wholly true is proved, by one of the promoters of the movement being a clergyman of the Presbyterian Church, the offer of hearty co-operation by several Bishops, and the fact, that a Wesleyan clergyman applied for copies of Mr. Fitch's pamphlet for distribution among his brethren at their late conference. However, it cannot be denied that there is not unanimity of opinion in regard to the wisdom of the step. In the preface to a little book called *Lessons on the Phenomena of Industrial Life*, the Dean of Hereford makes some valuable remarks on the point in question. They are these:—

"From my own observations of the total want of this knowledge among young men who go up to our Universities—their inexperience of the value of money and what ought to be had in exchange for it—their never having been taught to reflect or exercise their reasoning faculties in matters of this kind, but rather, perhaps, being taught to despise it, I am convinced, that many a youth has been, from pure ignorance, led into extravagance and debt which he has had to regret through life; and I hope the time is coming; when instruction in such subjects will be thought necessary, even for the class of students who are looking forward to an University education; and that in Universities themselves such lessons may not be lost sight of as part of their own teaching; the good results of which, experience as a clergyman, convinces me would soon be widely felt throughout the land—in a better knowledge of practical life which it would give rise to among my clerical brethren and others educated there; and through them, among the various classes of society over which they have influence."

Before finishing' this portion of the subject, it may be well to strengthen the appeal now made, by giving the opinion of the Royal Commissioners appointed some few years ago to inquire into the state of popular education in England. Their remarks, in spirit and in letter, apply (with slight exceptions) to the condition of

educational matters in New Zealand at this hour. After giving an outline of the course of instruction, both in reference to the Government examinations, and to practical skill in teaching given in the Training Schools, they add :—"But, we feel bound to state that the omission of one subject from the syllabus, and from the examination papers, has left on our minds a painful impression. Next to religion, the knowledge most important to a labouring man is that of the causes which regulate the amount of wages, the hours of his work, the regularity of his employment, and the prices of what he consumes. The want of such knowledge leads him constantly into error and violence, destructive to himself and to his family, oppressive to his fellow-workmen, ruinous to his employer's, and mischievous to society. Of the elements of such knowledge we see no traces in the syllabus. If some of the time, now devoted to the geography of Palestine, the succession of the Kings of Israel, the wars of the Roses, or the heresies of the early Church, were given to Political Economy, much valuable instruction might be acquired, and little that is worth having would be lost." And one of their recommendations is, on page 546 of their Report—"That certain alterations be made in the syllabus of studies, and, in particular, that more attention be given to Political Economy and other subjects of practical utility."

The promoters of the Association may be allowed to express a hope that these valuable remarks of the Commissioners may not be without influence on the Education Boards and School Committees throughout the Colony, and indeed on all who have at heart the spread of sound ideas of the true mission of education.

Up to the present time the work of the Committee has been confined to the distribution, chiefly by post, of the pamphlet on the Belgium Schools, and a short paper showing the happy results of a short trial of the system in Scotland, and ascertaining by direct communication with teachers and representative citizens throughout the Colony, whether the effort to introduce a scheme similar to that of which the pamphlet is illustrative into the schools, would meet with acceptance? As has already been indicated, many persons regard the idea with fear and trembling; others oppose it on the grounds that teachers have already enough to do; and others, while admitting that the training to systematic habits is desirable, would prefer its being given through some other means, such as the study of Physiology or some kindred branch of natural science, and so on. All these however, put together, form so small a minority, when compared with those who offer their support, that the result of the inquiries may be considered encouraging and most satisfactory. The Committee, therefore, feel justified in venturing to appeal to all who take an interest in the well-being of youth, to recognise the subject as one worthy their earnest consideration. And as regards specific instruction in economic science, the intelligent cultivation and growth of a sense of the solemn responsibility of each to observe and spread the knowledge of the laws of well-being, cannot be too widely diffused, and more especially does experience impress upon them the conviction, that the foundation of such knowledge ought to be laid during the school age.

Some months since, a copy of the Ghent pamphlet, with a written communication, was sent to the editors of the various newspapers and journals in the Colony, and through their courtesy, copies of twenty-six different journals were received by the Secretary, twenty one of which commented favourably on the proposed scheme. A very clear and comprehensive interpretation is put upon it by some of these papers, the mere question of money being wholly subordinated to that of the general effect which the discipline inseparable to the working of it, will have on individual character. A few extracts will be appended.

The Committee desire to render cordial thanks to these editors for kindly forwarding their respective papers. Thereby they were enabled to judge of the degree of estimation in which the subject was regarded by the Press generally. Whether the pamphlet was reviewed in more of the Colonial journals, the Committee have no means of ascertaining.

The editor of the Scandinavian organ, "Skandia," published at Palmerston North, anxious that his countrymen in that district should profit by a perusal of the pamphlet, is giving a translation of it to them in its columns.

That there should be opposition, is simply in the nature of things, and need not by the timid be regarded as discouraging. In some respects this is no disadvantage; it stimulates, for instance, and incites to fresh energy. Success would be shorn of its glory were there no resistance to encounter; at all events, resistance is shown by persons belonging to various classes—from members of the Legislative Council downwards.

As saving habits are altogether at variance with drinking habits, the inculcation of the practice of thrift means the inculcation of temperance. Mr. Bartley may again be quoted with advantage for a few pithy remarks on this point. He says:—"Another very important consideration is the effect of saving on intemperance. Who can imagine a young man who has got into the habit of saving so much a week, also getting into the habit of spending so much a week on drink? . . . Oil and water will mix more readily than those two qualities. Inculcating habits of thrift consequently implies indirectly inculcating habits of temperance, and, strange as it may seem, it will be found that the money put by does not really straiten. . . . The best, if not the only way of effecting an improvement in any class of persons is to begin with the children. With this end in view, it is strongly urged upon the managers of schools, and on all who really believe in the blessings which an extension of provident habits would secure, to lose no time in opening Penny Banks in all the schools, and thus practically

to help forward the cause of frugality and providence throughout the length and breadth of the land." And Mr. Smiles, in the latest of his very charming books, "Thrift," says :—"One of the best methods of abating the Curse of Drink, is to induce old and young to practice the virtue of thrift." He calls thrift the basis of self-help, and when speaking of School Banks, says that he trusts, before long, they will be established in every school throughout the kingdom.

A CONSTITUTION FOR THE ASSOCIATION.

This cannot indeed be finally determined until an Association be in existence, since necessarily the rules of it must be made by the members who form the Association. The present paper is in reality but an endeavour—felt to be a very imperfect one—to put before the community a liberal interpretation of the objects aimed at (by many so misapprehended), and a sketch of the basis upon which an Association for carrying these forward may be planned and established. The promoters think that in their efforts to draw public attention to, and awaken an interest in the twofold subject—the practice and theory of Economics—approval and encouragement enough have been received to warrant them in believing that many persons will be willing to enrol themselves into an Association, and take an intelligent and active interest in promoting its objects in their integrity.

A chief means of kindling interest and keeping alive activity, would be for the Association to undertake the publication of pamphlets, translations, extracts from magazines and newspapers, in leaflets, reports of progress, statistics, and other items of useful and interesting information, and the constant interchange of these amongst the members of the Association and their friends, by distribution and circulation. From the experience of the Committee in the distribution of over two thousand copies of the pamphlet on the Ghent Schools and about as many of another short paper, they are prepared to urge such a course as the one of all others most likely to lead to success; it would be the oil to keep up the smooth running of the machinery. Such publications would treat of whatever related to Economic knowledge—Thrift, School Banks, and their kindred subjects. School Reports, statistics, with other facts and proceedings, would be supplied to the Secretary by the various Sub-Committees, and arranged and classified by him for publication, say once a year. It need hardly be observed that such an undertaking could be met and sustained only by combination.

The Committee are well aware that not a few teachers are eager to take up the work, the secretary already having had many requests for instructions; others, less enthusiastic, are simply prepared to accept it as inevitable; but they are also aware, that in the minds of another section, prejudice, more or less, exists against education being conducted by any such agency as the Savings Bank. Part of the work, therefore, of the members of the Association would consist in their doing their best in endeavouring, by persuasive efforts, to induce the holders of such preconceived opinions to set them aside, and consent, at least, to give the plan a trial. The teaching of the science commences with the first invitation of the teacher to his pupils, to become bank depositors. "What we have got to do," said the Otago Association of Schoolmasters in concluding their discussion of the question at a late meeting of the body "is not to encourage miserly habits in our children, but to train them up to take care of, and spend wisely any money that may come into their possession;" and, in the truest sense of the term, such teaching forms the very foundation of the science. So excellent a beginning in dealing with the subject, augurs well for the future appreciation of the study, and we may be permitted to congratulate the Association on the correct judgment which dictated a resolution so pregnant with sound principle.

It is worthy of note that whilst these pages were being written, the "Problem of Poverty" should form the subject of a thoughtful paper in the "N. Z. Magazine" by Professor Macgreggor. For its solution and prevention, it is both cheering and encouraging to find that the aims proposed by the Association are clearly in the direction of those pointed out by the Professor. A single sentence concentrates the essence of much that is brought forward as the moans by which the "festering sore" might be kept from these shores: it is this—"The nation must see that its children are educated with a view to lit them intellectually and morally for the battle of life."

The following is the outline of a basis for the Association. It is hoped that it may be found suitable for preliminary organisation, after which, the work of forming a permanent constitution will devolve upon a Committee of members who shall be elected for that purpose:—

- That the officers of the Association shall consist of Presidents, Vice-Presidents, Secretary and Treasurer.
- That the Association shall consist of Members and Associates.
- Members to be classed as Honorary, Ordinary, Corresponding, and Corporate.
- That the honorary title of Associate shall be conferred upon persons who have distinguished themselves as having rendered specific service to the cause of Education in the direction aimed at by the Association.
- Honorary membership shall be conferred (with their consent) upon such persons as are considered to have

special fitness to promote the objects of the Association.

- That a yearly payment of five shillings (5s.) constitute ordinary membership; and a yearly payment of one pound (£1) constitute corporate membership.
- Corresponding members to be elected by ordinary and corporate members, and shall be those willing to undertake the work of corresponding with the Secretary; such election to constitute membership without fee.
- That School Committees, the separate Lodges of Good Templars, and other Friendly Societies, shall be corporate members; these to elect their own corresponding members.
- That every Associate, Honorary, Ordinary, and Corresponding member shall be entitled to receive single copies of every paper issued by the Association; also, a copy of its yearly Report, and every Corporate member shall receive of the same, copies to the number of twenty, or a greater number at, a scale to be fixed.
- That members who occupy positions of power and influence should, with teachers and other local residents, form sub-societies. These sub-societies would endeavour—1. To promote the opening of a Bank in every school, public and private. 2. To induce teachers to commence simultaneously with the Bank if possible, giving instruction in economic knowledge by the use of such manuals as William Ellis' Principles of Social Science, or, Mrs. Fawcett's Political Economy for beginners. 3. In order to accustom children, even while young, to the idea of saving money, to frequently give, or allow them to earn small sums for deposit, and, as occasion offers to guide them in the spending or investment of the same. 4. Generally to aid and encourage teachers, pupils, and parents, to mutually understand and work with each other, and to take an active interest in the progress and change to the improved habits which such training must evolve.

The promoters of the movement have carried on the work so far under the name of Organizing Committee. This Committee is now dissolved. A Provisional Committee has been elected who may continue to organize the Association. When the Association assumes a more definite shape, a General Council will be formed, composed of a few of the best known friends of Education in each of the Provinces, and who shall advise and assist by correspondence an acting or executive Committee, whose centre shall be Dunedin. It may be mentioned that the chief work of this Committee would be to secure co-operation throughout the Colony, to look carefully through all available periodical literature for papers bearing on Economic Science, and kindred subjects, and having the same published in suitable form for distribution to the sub-societies, members, and friends, and generally to conduct and carry forward the business of the Association.

The fee of membership has been made as small as possible, with the hope of swelling the number of members. The expenses incurred will chiefly be those for printing, stationery, and postage; incidental expenses are not likely to amount to much. The extent to which the printing of special papers can be carried on will necessarily depend, on the supply of funds, but it is hoped that not a few donations, will be received to swell the amount disposable for this purpose.

The ideal of the Association is not alone to create centres of activity, but to interest the whole Colony in the movement, and to afford to all workers a common bond of union and a means of intercommunication with each other; at the same time to leave the Committees of the various schools, whether Government, sectarian, or private, to form and work out their own organisation.

Cards of membership are in course of preparation. Persons desirous of becoming members, on application to the Secretary, with name and particulars, shall receive in return one of them as a gage of membership. The entrance fee may be sent in penny stamps or by P. O. order.

It is proposed that the Association proper shall date its commencement from the 1st of February, 1877, but meanwhile all who are desirous of taking part in it should not delay in communicating with the Secretary. The school year may be said to begin in February.

Suggestions are cordially invited, and the Secretary or the members of Committee will gladly furnish any required information.

Donations of large or small sums will be gladly received, and acknowledged by the Secretary or Treasurer.

This prospectus cannot be closed without mention of Mr. J. G. Fitch, M.A., of London, to whom the British public are indebted for their acquaintance with Professor Laurent's Savings Bank system in the Belgium Schools through his paper originally contributed to "Macmillan's Magazine." Deep obligation is due to him for his ready manifestations of interest on learning that it was desired to familiarise the Colonists of New Zealand, with the same by the publication of his paper in an adapted form to suit their changed circumstances. And not alone to him, for his own substantial tokens received subsequently, but warmest thanks are also due to his friends, Mr. William Ellis, the author of many works on social science, Dr. Hodgson, Professor of Economic Science in the University of Edinburgh, and Professor Laurent, of Ghent, from each of whom kind words of encouragement and sympathy came, together with copies of such of their productions as bear on the subject.

Since then, written and printed communications, containing much useful and interesting information, have been received from Miss Buss, of the North London Collegiate Schools, Mr. Meikle, of Glasgow, and M. de Malarce, of Paris, the latter having accidentally discovered our intended proceedings in a copy of the Dunedin "Evening Star."

A brochure by M. Laurent, "Conférence sur L'Épargne," a dozen copies of which have been distributed and lent about amongst the friends of the movement, has elicited much warm commendation, and a general desire that it should be translated, one gentleman of no mean authority in such subjects having in a note to the Secretary said, "Every teacher in the land should possess a copy." Miss Huie, of the Dunedin Girls' High School, has most kindly undertaken the task of translation, and, all being well, the promoters trust that before many months are over, every teacher in the Colony shall have it in his or her power to be in possession of the valuable little work.

The Secretary also embraces the present opportunity of publicly thanking the Secretaries of the various Education Boards in the Colony, for their ready compliance with his request for the names and addresses of the teachers in their respective Provinces.

George Elliot's beautiful couplet contains the philosophy of the whole matter :—

*"Our deeds do travel with us from afar,
And what we have been, makes us what we are."*

APPENDIX A.

On the 25th March the Secretary to the promoters despatched the following Memorial to the Postmaster-General:—

- "To the Honorable the Postmaster-General of New Zealand.—The Memorial of the undersigned, being a Committee for organizing a Society to Promote the Study of Economics in the common Schools, and to Encourage Habits of Thrift among the Young People of the Colony.
- "Tour Memorialists venture to ask you to assist them in their efforts to awaken an interest in, and induce a practical recognition of the above objects on the part of teachers, parents, and all who are desirous of advancing the well-being of their fellow-colonists. In particular, they allude to the introduction of the Savings Bank into the School as a means of teaching a branch of systematic education, and of inculcating the practice of such virtues as forethought, self-dependence, and self-denial. "For practical illustration of this, they respectfully direct your attention to the accompanying pamphlet descriptive of its working in the Schools of Belgium.
- "What your Memorialists specially desire is, that you would second them in their wish to see a similar system of education carried on in the Schools of the Colony by your being pleased to authorize that the Savings Bank should be conducted in the Schools as a supplementary branch to that of the Post Office; and, in the event of your consenting to this, further, to cause such arrangements to be made as would reduce the work of the teachers—connected therewith, to a minimum.
- "Your Memorialists humbly submit it as their conviction, that the subject is one of vast importance to the community, and they feel confident that, aided by the countenance and support of the Government, the proposed Association would be instrumental in effecting a much needed reform of improvident habits, and which would conduce largely to the moral and material wealth of the Colony. They are also of opinion that the carrying out of the proposed objects would be a powerful though indirect agency in helping to check the terrible scourge of the age—Intemperance.
- "Your Memorialists have pleasure in calling your attention to the fact, that his Excellency the Governor and Lady Norman by have been kind enough to become patrons of the Association."

To this, the then Postmaster-General, Sir Julius Vogel, at once replied that he was quite in favour of the proposal, and that if, upon inquiry, he found it could be conducted without interfering with existing school machinery, the matter should be proceeded with.

(Signed) Win Johnstone.
Margt. Johnstone.
Wm. Dalrymple, Senr.
L. W. Dalrymple.
E. G. Downes.

APPENDIX B.

Opinions of the Press.

(From the "Weekly Chronicle," Wanganui.)

At the outset, we may express our warm approval of this practical method of inculcating lessons of frugality and thrift in the minds of the children of a community. In these days, when the supreme importance of education is so generally admitted, when the instructors of our youth are becoming more and more enthusiastic in the cause, striving to attain a method by which the real and vital principle of education may be fostered and encouraged in the tender minds of the rising generation, there is but little doubt that an agency so well calculated to train up the children in habits of forethought and self-control as that of which this short pamphlet contains an interesting account, will meet with due appreciation at the hands of all who take a lively interest in the real progress of the race. Great as has been the interest we have ever taken in the cause of education, and warm as has been our sympathy with such earnest workers as have contrived to arouse the enthusiasm of the young in their charge, we have yet to confess to having entertained a lingering feeling of doubt and disappointment. Undoubtedly gain could scarcely fail to result from a movement by which the routine of education has been invested with all the charms of life in the eyes of the youthful disciples. With the prospect of an annual competition, such as that recently held under the auspices of the Rangitikei Educational Association, the ordinary, dull, and prosaic life of the school undergoes a wonderful metamorphosis; school-books become living, companionable realities, and the schoolroom itself is no longer looked upon as a place of confinement, but rather as the training ground on which to prepare for the annual tournament. Unfortunately, however, all this enthusiasm, with the progress in book-learning resulting there from, not only may, but very frequently does consist with the most perfect ignorance of those prudential maxims, a true and accurate knowledge of which is so essential to the proper ordering of the private affairs of each, and so necessary to the progressive advancement of the race. It is notorious that the youth almost everywhere are left absolutely uninstructed with regard to the great principles which govern human life. No systematic and well-considered attempt is made either by parents or teachers to train the young to habits of self-control and self-sacrifice, and the consequence is, that long ere the school-books have been finally closed, the pupils have of themselves acquired habits of self-indulgence and self-pleasing which no amount of after teaching or experience can entirely eradicate; society being thus rendered a seething volcano of selfishness, recklessness, and untruthfulness.

(From the "Press," Canterbury.)

. The scheme thus introduced to our notice is perhaps misrepresented in some degree when it is called an experiment. It has really passed the stage of experiment, and must be considered an established fact and a great success. It has been in operation eight or nine years, the number of investors growing steadily from year to year, and the amounts invested increasing in rapid proportion. The sums deposited at the first, third, fifth, and seventh years respectively, are in the proportion of the numbers 1, 3, 9, 15. Further, the example of Ghent is already largely followed in other Belgian towns, and even in the rural districts. We pause to remark that it is very much to the credit of our people to be able to show, taking our wide-spread population as a whole, town and country together, as many children at school as are found in the schools of Ghent, which has nearly twice as large a population, and that collected in a single town. The comparison is such as to suggest a degree of prosperity and a prudent regard for the future among us, which ought to make it easy for us to excel the Belgians in the matter of school savings banks also.

Is there any one in our community—clergyman, politician, teacher, or other—who can find time to work this thing out to some practical issue? Or, will one of our School Committees make a beginning on its own account? There is the Post Office Savings Bank ready to give not three but four and a-half per cent. If some one will make a start, we believe the thing would soon grow. There is no reason why it should not be as popular here as in Belgium, and a great deal more successful as to the sums invested. We shall watch with some interest for evidence that this pamphlet has taken hold at Dunedin, and we hope it will bear some fruit here too.

(The "Evening Star" Dunklin.)

The little book entitled the "Savings Bank in the School," which we have received from Mr. Dalrymple, the Secretary of the "Society for Encouraging Habits of Thrift among the Young People of this Colony," is one of the most valuable contributions to our educational literature that we have seen for a very long time. It differs from most works of a similar kind in one very important respect—its contents are not the mere enunciation of an educational theory which it may never be possible to test, and which, if tested, may be found to answer well,

or, to be a total failure. On the contrary, it gives us an account of an educational experiment which has been thoroughly tried, and proved to lead to most beneficial results. The thing can be done then. The success of the Belgium experiment is unquestionable. The only questions then to be decided by the people of Otago before they determine to initiate a similar system, are—first, is it desirable that children should receive such training? And, secondly, would it be possible to work the system here? Probably one of the most valuable faculties which men can possess is that which enables them to postpone present enjoyment with a view to future advantage, or the avoidance of future evils. Those who have this faculty tolerably well developed, generally manage to get through life comfortably and respectably; to those who have it not, life, almost from the cradle to the grave, is as a rule, a succession of disasters. Unfortunately in most cases the power of self-restraint is naturally very imperfect, and has to be cultivated if it is to do its work thoroughly. Not unfrequently surrounding circumstances give this cultivation to a child at an early age, and he may start in the race of life certain to win such prizes as life affords. In very many cases the cultivation of the faculty of self-restraint is effectively brought about by stern experience, which teaches, often in no very pleasant way, that it is impossible to "eat the cake and have it." Sometimes the needful moral culture is never attained, and then the unfortunate who is without it lives from hand to mouth—a veritable dog's life—if he can manage to live at all. Now it seems to us quite undeniable that if you can get a child at an early age to adopt the habit of perpetually making such small sacrifices as are involved in the deposit of a penny in the Savings Bank instead of in the lollipop shop, in order that a sufficient sum of money may be at last obtained to accomplish some really useful object, much, very much will have been done in the way of giving him that moral culture, that self-restraint which he is so sure to need in after life. But it is unnecessary to enlarge on this; the advantage of such training is perfectly obvious. "With regard to the second point—the possibility of working the system in New Zealand—we need only say that we have the same machinery here as they have in Belgium. If the Government would make some trifling alterations in the Post-office Savings Bank regulations, operations could be commenced by our local Society forthwith.

(From the "Evening Argus," Wellington.)

The importance of inculcating habits of thrift in the minds of children need not be expatiated on, and most people who have had to do with juveniles need not be told how difficult the task of doing this is. Usually a penny burns a hole in a child's pocket until it is spent. Forthwith to exchange money for lollies seems to most juvenile minds the correct and proper thing. It has been said that all men are rakes at heart, and it might be added that all children are naturally spendthrifts. We should not like to see children rush into the other extreme and become little misers, but there is a medium in all things, and it would be well for children in their after life, if the advantages of saving money were in their youthful days made apparent to them, as well as the pleasure of spending it. *A subsequent article* says:—Whether in the Education Bill to be brought before Parliament during the present session, any recommendation is to be made to the various Boards and Committees throughout the country to initiate the training of the future men and women into practical habits of providence through the agency of the Savings Bank in the school, is a query which has occurred to us, not so much from the fact that we have, on more than one occasion, spoken favorably of the present agitation on this subject, as from convincing proof that it is popular amongst those who, of all others, are likely to be the most closely concerned in it. Of course, we allude to the school teachers. . . . At the present moment, when we can hardly take up a newspaper, either English or Colonial, without reading deplorable lamentations on the increasing tendency to drunkenness, and hear restrictive and other remedies proposed and descanted on day after day, here is practical action—*something to be done* by every man and woman for herself and himself; and, as example is to precept, so is practice to perpetual theorizing. The one remedy for drunkenness, as we have reiterated times without number, is to strengthen and elevate the moral character, and, in this proposed training of the child, he is being braed to withstand, not only the temptation to indulge in drink, but all other temptations, by the cultivation of those habits which make the exercise of self-restraint and self-control the easy going path of every day life.

(The "Western Star," Riverton.)

. If the Education Board will only give this matter their serious consideration, and get the teachers in the different schools to cooperate with it in carrying out a similar experiment to that so successfully initiated in the schools in Ghent, we see no obstacles in the way of the Savings Bank in the schools of New Zealand becoming not only an established fact, but one of our noblest institutions. The scheme has our hearty approval.

(From the "Church Gazette," Auckland.)

. Entirely agreeing with the writer, we offer no apology to our readers for introducing this subject in a Church paper, for we believe that the Church was ordained by Christ not only for the preparation of "citizens

of heaven," but also for the manufacture of "good citizens of earth." If the old proverb be true that "cleanliness is next to godliness," we venture to suggest that it is equally true that "improvidence is next to ungodliness." . . . And, with reference to other social points, it continues—We think this subject is specially important in New Zealand. Where wages are highest there is generally the greatest improvidence. How else can we account for the large number of destitute widows and orphans in our midst, and for the sad state of many homes during sickness. 'Drink,' no doubt is one great mischief maker, but 'improvidence' is assuredly another. If our Colony is to prosper, as we all wish it to do, we must train up the rising generation to principles of economy; and we believe that while we aim at one enemy we shall at the same time be striking a heavy blow against the other enemy—'intoxication.' 'Economy' and 'Improvidence' are habits, and childhood is the period when habits are most easily formed. Children are, as a rule, we fancy, more prone to save their pence than to spend them, but the great obstacles in the way of childhood economy are (i) the belief that only shillings can be 'put in the bank,' that the pennies are useless, and (ii) when the shilling has been accumulated, the awe of the great Post Office official. Some such plan as that in vogue at Ghent overcomes these obstacles. In the first place, the teacher takes charge of the pence until they have reached the wonderful shilling, and in the second place the teacher has the interview with the awful official. We would commend this subject to the earnest thought and attention of members of School Boards, and to teachers of day schools. We do not, but others may, see some means by which this scheme might be connected even with Sunday Schools."

(The "Marlborough Express.")

. We cordially approve of the scheme proposed, feeling assured that nothing but good can result from its adoption, and we feel convinced that a wide circulation of the pamphlet before us would make many converts to the opinion of the writer. We have long felt that a change in the *curriculum* of our public schools was needed, and that the system which obtains with slight variations in nearly all the schools both in Great Britain and the Colonies would be greatly improved if a little more pains were taken to teach children to *think*. We most thoroughly endorse the words of Dr. Hodgson, quoted in the prefatory notes.—"A mind trained to reflect on consequences—to guide conduct, and to forego immediate enjoyment for the sake of greater good to self or others, may be produced without reading or writing, and is a far nobler product of education than the mere power to read or write, however clear the penmanship, or correct the pronunciation." While thoroughly sensible of the value of these latter requirements, we are also aware that there are thousands of learned "prigs" and educated fools. Were our pages as expansive as our will we would reprint the whole of the pamphlet for the benefit of the cause it advocates, as our wannest sympathies have ever been with moral training in connection with secular instruction.

(The "Southland News.")

. The ultimate social effect of this early adoption of provident habits has, of course, to be waited for, but in the meantime it is fairly enough assumed that it cannot be otherwise than beneficial. The compilers of the pamphlet, while admitting that wide differences exist between the condition of the industrial classes in Belgium and New Zealand, point out that, although relatively the workers are here much better paid, there is none the less need to foster provident habits. They give it as their opinion that, as a rule, resources are not economised as they should be, and that but a very small proportion make provision for the future. While not prepared to endorse this statement—which is contradicted by local observation—we are quite willing to admit that the easy circumstances of the bulk of the population may have led them to overlook the importance of instilling into the minds of the young the value of habits of frugality. It is a matter of common remark that children in this colony think less of sixpence or a shilling than those at home would of a halfpenny or a penny. Yet the purchasing power of money is not so much less or the remuneration of labor so much greater as to fully account for the difference. If a continuance of prosperous times could be relied on, the rather lavish expenditure of either parents or children would not so much matter; but there is bound to be a "rainy day," and the present is the time to provide against it. Hence we cordially endorse the views of the gentlemen whose proposal is here outlined. At the same time it must be admitted that there are some practical difficulties in the way of its adoption. For instance, how will the teachers receive a suggestion, the immediate effect of which would be to burthen them with duties for which they did not bargain when taking office? Clearly the first step of the Society should be to place itself in communication with them, in order to ascertain their feeling on the subject. If it were favorable, all other obstacles might be overcome.

(The "Manawatu Times?")

. The experiment having worked so well there (Ghent) the system may now be safely adopted by our community. Habits of saving, inculcated in the young mind, are the surest safeguard against excess and

intemperance in after life. "To encourage such habits," Lord Derby says, "is one of the most practical forms which a really thoughtful benevolence can assume." The Savings Bank in New Zealand has already proved a great success, and the principle can be applied to the school, and with, perhaps, still better results; for by thus impressing the system upon the child, he will not afterwards fail to continue it. If habits of forethought and economy had formed part of the education of our generation, those demoralising exhibitions of drunkenness, home-desertion, and vice, which are now so frequently witnessed, would be reduced. This habit of saving, engrafted upon our children, can only originate from those in authority over them. It may partly emanate from their parents, but its most fitting teacher is the schoolmaster. It should form a branch of every child's education, and how can it be better applied than in the form now proposed? If the Flemish children have been taught frugality by the accumulation of their savings from so small a deposit as that of one-tenth of a penny, the system should be still better appreciated in this country where all are so much better off. The amounts saved would be larger, and the spirit of thrift consequently still more indoctrinated. Money—let the old philosophers say what they will of its use and abuse—is in our age the true mainspring of life. It means independence, peace of mind, freedom from care and anxiety. It gives us the power of exercising our generosity; and happiness and content are, or ought to be, the result of our independent position. Poverty and misery go hand in hand, destroying all the finer feelings of man, driving him to deeds of darkness, and reducing him to the level of the brute. It is the Devil's greatest tempter We are glad to hear that a society is now being formed in Dunedin, having for its object the adaptation of the system to the schools of the Colony. That this system will meet with general support, when it is so thoroughly worthy of it, we cannot doubt. It has our most hearty approval, and will, we are sure, be as warmly appreciated by the district we represent.

The "*Clutha Leader*" "*Hokitika Star*," "*Ross Guardian*," "*Wairarapa Standard*," and "*Taranaki Budget*," were also entirely in favour of the proposed scheme as illustrated in the pamphlet under their review; whilst the "*Otago Daily Times*," the "*Waikouaiti Herald*," and others, in discussing the matter pro and con, were, in a general sense, favorable to its adoption.

decorative feature

Statement of Receipts and Expenditure from January 1875 up to date.

(Signed) F. G. Downes,
Hon. Treasurer.

September 1, 1876.

Inaugural Address

Delivered by His Honor Mr. Justice Johnston,

President of the Christchurch Associated Literary Society. March 15, 1877. Published by Request.

Printed at the "Times" Office Gloucester Street and Cathedral Square, Christchurch 1877

Price One Shilling.

Address.

Introduction.

IN acknowledging the compliment paid to me by the members of the Associated Literary Society of Christchurch, by electing me their President, and inviting me to address them—when I consider that we inhabit a city which may well be called a "seat of learning," and in which there are resident many gentlemen distinguished for their acquirements in literature and science—I assume that I am indebted for the honour accorded to me, rather to the public position which I have for many years held in the Colony, than to any special fitness which I can be supposed to possess for discharging the duties of the office, and for promoting the objects of the Society, by personal efforts in vindicating its usefulness, or enforcing its importance upon the attention of the community, in fixing its aims, or in directing or influencing its operations.

Privileges and Responsibilities of Colonial Youths.

I would not, however, have it understood that I have been unaccustomed to take an interest in matters connected with the general education of the community, and more especially with that self culture, for which ordinary scholastic education is but a necessary preliminary. On the contrary, I have always deemed it a luty and a privilege to declare—as circumstances might permit—my conviction of the extreme importance of cultivating, among the younger members of the population of the Colony, a sound taste and judgment in Literature and Art, and to impress upon young men the special importance, in a new but rapidly progressing society like ours, of the duties and responsibilities which devolve upon them, as well as the privileges they enjoy; and to remind them, sdemnly, of the countless interests depending upon the formation of their character, and their habits, personal, social and domesic; their tastes and amusements—their intellectual, moral, and social tone.

I have always thought that young men—and I almost asume that the majority of the members of your societies are young men—should be encouraged, on all legitimate occasions, to consider how much influence each one of them may have for good or eil on the future welfare of the country in his own sphere of life; and should be assured that efforts in self culture—in the equisition of knowledge, in the formation and expression of sound opinion, and in the development of healthy tastes in Literature and Art—will be certainly rewarded, not merely by internal satisfaction and personal enjoyment, but also by the estimation in which the aspirants will deservedly be held, and the respect and honour which will be conferred upon them, by their fellow citizens.

School Education.

One word about the preliminary general education of which societies like yours are the consequence and the complement. I had occasion, some years since, in an address to the Governors, the teaching staff and the pupils of an educational establishment in the Colony of which I had then the honour to be Visitor, to make some remarks upon certain fallacious views of education; observations which are perhaps less appropriate to the present time and place, but which may serve as an introduction to certain other suggestions.

I took occasion to observe as follows:—

Fallacious Views of Education.

I cannot conceal from myself that in recent times, both in the Mother Country and in her Colonies, while enlightened views and opinions respecting education have been extensively promulgated and inculcated, dangerous fallacies and misconceptions have also become popularly prevalent. Under the pretence of more effectually providing for the acquisition of what has—in many cases with pretentious exclusiveness—been called "useful knowledge," and of avoiding a waste of time and power upon acquirements which cannot be directly and immediately turned to purposes of material utility, the general scope and purposes, the true aims, objects, and fruits of education, have often been forgotten or ignored, missed or frustrated. For, the right end and object of education is to make men good, and useful, and happy, by enabling them, in the most effectual manner to discharge their duties towards God, and their duties towards their fellow men in the domestic, social, and public relations of life.

It is, indeed, a narrow and most mistaken notion of education which considers it as a process intended for developing the *intellect* merely; and it is a most miserable and degrading misconception of its functions which looks upon it only as a means of gaining, with the greatest speed, and at least cost, certain facilities for conducting the ordinary business of life, which shall bring in the quickest returns of material advantage to its possessors.

Objects of True Education.

True education consists in the harmonious development, culture, control, direction, and corroboration of the various components of the complex being "Man;"—of the religious sentiment—of the passions and affections of the soul—of the moral sense and moral faculties of the will—of the intellectual and reasoning powers—of the physical organs and their functions.

Respecting the objects of such development, which ought to be kept in view in every system of education—besides those which fall specially under the heads of Religion and Personal Morality—the object of the State has been well said to be this:—

"To have a body of citizens, sober and industrious, and with an intelligence sufficiently cultivated to enable them to exercise their industry to the best advantage; submissive to legitimate government, because well informed as to the grounds of authority and the obligations of obedience; peaceful and charitable, because they know that peace and charity are not only the duties of Christian men, but lie at the very foundation of social well-being; and with their reasoning powers improved and directed by careful and judicious culture, that they

may comprehend the causes which affect the national prosperity, and may aid them as they have ability and opportunity."

Objects of Literary Societies.

Now, I understand that the main design of the Societies represented here to night is Literary Cultivation; that is the cultivation of everything which relates to the promulgation of thought by words; the ulterior objects being utility and happiness.

The general utility of such culture, apart from its appropriateness to special avocations, consists in the acquisition of knowledge, the development of sound processes of reasoning and principles of criticism, the formation of opinions, and the effective expression and publication of them in written or oral language.

Utility and Pleasure.

The pleasure which follows from the possession of knowledge, and from the capacity for the enjoyment of the creations of The Imagination and of Literary skill, is one of the purest and most abiding that man can enjoy; and the saying of the great Roman Orator has not failed to become a proverb—that "Literary pursuits are the delight of old age, the nourishment of youth, the ornament of prosperity, and the refuge and solace of adversity." If a very striking modern illustration of the truth of this saying were desired, it may be found in the recently published and very charming memoirs of our illustrations Macaulay, whose career was almost exclusively dedicated to Literature; from and through which he derived unceasing delight, unsurpassed reputation, and ample wealth, and gained the highest honours from his sovereign, and the heartiest good will and sympathy from his countrymen.

Effects of Debating Societies.

No one can doubt that Literary and Debating Societies duly constituted and conducted, and rightly used, are very powerful helps to intellectual culture; but it must also be admitted that they are exposed to certain incidental evils which require to be carefully guarded against.

If they induce young men to observe, to read, and to think for themselves, to take trouble in order to express facts, ideas and arguments, in correct and vigorous, appropriate and graceful, language, to argue with calmness and judgment, to appreciate the arguments of others, and to form a sound judgment on the subject of debate, even after they have energetically advocated the *prescribed* side of a question—if they develop at once the "*vis cogitandi*" and the "*facundia eloquendi*" among their members, they are doubtless most beneficent in their operation; but if they are conducted in a slovenly manner, or used chiefly for the purposes of display, and encourage glibness of speech and pointless wordiness, or engender over disputative habits in ordinary conversation, they are apt to become rather mischievous than useful.

Confidence of Youth.

My own personal experience of non-professional debating societies is of rather ancient date; and it is also an experience of societies composed of very youthful members, and of a less advanced kind than I understand yours to be. It is now full five and forty years since, in the solemn councils of Conscript Orators, aged from twelve to eighteen, I used to debate such interesting questions as "Whether Brutus was justified in killing Cæsar;" and I can remember how the young advocates of Mary Queen of Scots on the one side, and of Queen Elizabeth on the other, used to fulminate their indignant eloquence at the memories of the rival Queens, and at each other; and now, I cannot help speculating how much one might learn if one possessed true reports of such school-boy utterances, so as to compare the happy audacity and vigorous prejudices of youth, with the self-doubtingness and the hesitating convictions of matured age.

I met the other day, in a colonial newspaper, with an article of some merit, entitled "The Courage of our Opinions," taken from *The Australasian*, in which the following passage occurs:—

"In youth we are apt to deem the frank, impulsive utterance of our opinions as a moral obligation—nay, almost as a point of honour. But we need to be reminded that probably we have neither seen, suffered, enjoyed, nor experienced enough to stamp our mere opinions as of any very great value. Surely it is not enough to say, 'Such, sir, is my honest opinion.' The question recurs, 'What (if any) pains have you taken to verify and test it?' When a man is too young and too *borné* to admit of his being accepted as an authority, we naturally pay more regard to that which he shall prove than to that which he (however sincerely) may assert."

And again, "It is well for a rising young man to know and feel the strength and weakness of his true position. How fatal is too early a promotion. Excellent as are debating societies, I doubt whether the attentive

listener does not gain more real mental opulence than the voluble and complacent *orator* of the evening. But nothing can be much worse than the setting of boys or of girls to write themes in decent grammar before they have, or can have any ideas; it compels them to borrow in some form, and thus familiarises them with leaning upon other minds, and with making words do duty for ideas. It gives rise to an irresponsible slip-slop style, in which inferences are often confounded with facts, suspicion with belief, and personal conviction with evidence. Scott and Cobbett advise well. The first says, 'Rise to speak not till you feel that you have something to say;' the second 'Sit down, not to think what you shall write, but to write what you have thought.'"

Although the observations of this writer about the themes of schoolboys and schoolgirls can have no direct application to members of such societies as yours, and I am not sure that they are altogether well founded, yet the concluding advice seems not unworthy of consideration, and adoption.

Advantage of Federation of Societies.

Now, admitting the existence, or the probability of the existence of certain incidental disadvantages attending the practice on discussions in debating societies, I would wish to express my belief that no more effectual method of restraining such undesirable tendencies could be adopted than that which we inaugurate this evening, namely, a combination of different societies for the purpose of occasional intercommunication, affording from time to time a wider arena for the intellectual efforts of their members, than the individual societies ordinarily present; and giving opportunities for comparing opinions and experiences of the members of different societies. You seem indeed, practically to recognise that co-operation is one of the two great motive powers of modern civilization—division of labour being the other;—and to feel that the vigorous action of your individual societies will be stimulated by federation, while the proverbial danger of eminence within a narrow sphere will be to some extent avoided.

Opinion: Its Formation and Expression.

The subject of the formation and expression of opinion is one which has an obvious connection with the functions of such Societies as yours, and which appears to me to be of the highest importance; and it is not a little remarkable that there should exist so few special helps to the student in respect of it among the works of thinkers and writers of modern times.

Deficiency of Educational Help.

Seeing that it is the great function of public opinion to act as the escapement for the regulation of the motive power of Government, in countries possessing popular political constitutions; it would seem to be a necessary part of the education of a people enjoying such advantages, not only to provide their minds with materials and method for arriving at just conclusions on political and social questions, but also to give them facilities for expressing their convictions, and for the persuasion of others.

There are, I believe, no countries in the world in which the average citizen has so many opportunities or so many temptations to address his fellow citizens as the English-speaking communities living under popular institutions; and yet there is probably no civilized nation in which so little trouble is taken, in the education of youth, to prepare them for addressing their fellow men in well-chosen language, with effective delivery.

Origin of Opinion.

This topic—I mean the formation and expression of opinion—is one the importance of which has often forced itself upon my attention: but it is of far too grave a character, and of too wide a comprehension to be satisfactorily dealt with, incidentally, in an address on such an occasion as the present. Still I may, perhaps, be pardoned for dwelling upon the matter for a moment, and asking you to reflect at leisure, each one for himself, upon the sources of the opinions which he may entertain upon any subjects of moment, whether political, moral, literary, or other; and to try to ascertain how far they are the result of his own thought or reasoning or conviction—how far they are attributable to trustworthy authority; or to what extent they may be referred to accident or the reflection or imitation of other men's language;—or be the offspring of ignorance, indolence, self-love, or prejudice.

Bacon's "Idola."

If any of you are desirous of dealing honestly with yourselves in this matter, it would be well for you to fall back on the works of that great Master-Thinker, Bacon; and by a due appreciation of the manner and extent in

and to which you find yourself affected by the *Idola* which he indicates as the chief impediments to knowledge and truth, prepare your minds for the formation and adoption, for yourselves, of sound and just opinions, when you are called upon or desire to do so; instead of being satisfied with authority on the subject. Having acquired the right mode of proceeding, you will have to take care in the first place to be provided with the facts upon which arguments and conclusions are to be founded; to assume nothing to be true about which there can be serious doubt, and to look for the facts which bear on both or all sides of the question, and not for those only which tend to support one side of it; you will then take care to reason from the facts or propositions, which are established to your satisfaction, in a fair and rational manner, which, though it may not require a knowledge of the science of logic to ensure, still needs patience, and a constant exercise of what I may call intellectual vigour and honesty.

Authority: Its Influences on Opinion.

Now, though it may be true that men ordinarily engaged in other than intellectual pursuits, find it difficult or inconvenient to go through such a process deliberately, with regard to ordinary matters of opinion; still in affairs of importance, whether political, social, intellectual, or moral, a man must sometimes conduct such investigations for himself, if he wish to have an opinion which he can with any propriety call his own, and which he will be prepared at any time to vindicate.

No doubt, the greatest proportion of the opinions which any man can hold must be founded upon *authority*, that is upon the expressed opinions of others, as distinguished from conclusions deliberately arrived at by himself.

It is natural and necessary that those who have not time or the opportunity of access to proper materials, or the requisite power and habits of mind for forming opinions for themselves, upon subjects of importance, whether speculative or practical, should be content to adopt, without very eager scrutiny, the conclusions arrived at by men on whose competency of judgement they can rely, and whose acquirements, experiences, and character, have earned for them reputation among the best instructed in special branches of knowledge. Life would be too short—were its allotted span ten times the Psalmist's limit—for any one man to form opinions for himself on a very great variety of matters, and were to trust to his own reason only, and not accept the authority of others.

And yet when it becomes a man's duty to decide, for any practical purpose, between the conflicting opinions of persons nearly equal in respect of competency and personal trust-worthiness—which must sometimes happen in the affairs of life—he must strive his best to ascertain not only which of the conflicting authorities deserves the greatest deference in respect of acquired reputation, but even to weigh for himself the value of the evidence and the soundness of the reasoning on which they have professed to base their judgments.

Respecting this branch of the subject, the little treatise of Sir George Cornewall Lewis, "On the Influence of Authority upon Opinion," is a work which deserves much consideration, which I can recommend for your perusal.

Eight Opinions more Important than Facility of Expression.

No one can doubt, upon reflection, that the formation of right, just, and safe opinions, is of infinitely more value than a facility for *expressing* arguments and conclusions carelessly adopted or arrived at.

I would venture to repeat it, at the risk of being accused of serving you up a *rechauffé* of trite and tedious maxims and dogmas, instead of furnishing you with fresh matter palatably concocted for your entertainment, that without first thinking, and reading, and thinking again, the art of mere speaking, not to say of oratory, must be delusive and mischievous.

I may assume—not indeed without fear of contradiction—(because such a statement would be very rash when addressed to the members of debating societies), but with something like certainty, in spite of contradiction, that to a well educated mind, a right judgment and a cultivated taste, nothing is more offensive than those products of a fatal facility for glib speaking, irrespective of precision as to facts, and strictness of reasoning, which, especially in popular assemblies, not unfrequently excite the applause of the unthinking.

If your Societies were so conducted as to encourage this sort of mischief, I for one should consider them as social nuisances, rather than as benefits to the community.

But I feel confident that the very formation of the Association over which you permit me to preside, is a certain proof that your individual Societies, and their members, have higher aspirations than to become collections of mere "spouters" and "declaimers;" that you desire to extend the areas of your intellectual enterprise, and the arena of your intellectual contests; that you strive to prove by your discussions that you cultivate literature, honestly, for itself—for the enlightenment and enjoyment it affords, and not for the sole

purposes of display and the gratification of personal vanity.

Use of Societies to Thinkers.

Such societies are, to my mind, of most especial value to those who are more given to reading and thinking than to speaking; to those—forming no inconsiderable proportion of the best informed and most thoughtful men in the community—who, by temperament and personal circumstances, find a difficulty in expressing themselves readily in the presence of others.

Gentlemen, you will permit me to say it—although I can pretend to no special literary qualification myself—that in a community like ours, there must be, and there is—as indeed is the case in our great Mother Country—a great deal of very bad speaking, and very bad writing; that the variety of our popular institutions, and the vast number and fecundity of the so-called organs of opinion, tend necessarily to create a loose, slipshod, inelegant, and, not unfrequently, vulgar style of composition, both written and verbal—though in this place and elsewhere there are honourable exceptions;—and that in our highest class of educational establishments, as in many of those of England itself, there is but scanty training in English composition, and in the art of oratory; and even the art of reading intelligently and effectively, is cultivated and possessed by a very inconsiderable minority of the educated population. The cultivation of a true taste in societies like yours, may materially check and reform this mischief, and supply this want.

Importance of Language.

The choice of appropriate words, and the formation of a good style of composition, in writing and speaking, are matters of far more substantial and practical importance than the unthinking are aware of.

Extract from Dr. Roget—language an Instrument of Thought.

Of the value of language for the purposes of thought, as well as of expression, and its influence upon human affairs and habits, Dr. Roget, in his preface to that most interesting and useful work—"The Thesaurus of the English Language," makes the following pregnant remarks:—

"The use of language is not confined to its being the medium through which we communicate our ideas to one another; it fulfills a no less important a function as *an instrument of thought*; not being merely its vehicle, but giving it wings for flight. Metaphysicians are agreed that scarcely any of our intellectual operations could be carried on to any considerable extent without the agency of words. None but those who are conversant with the philosophy of mental phenomena can be aware of the immense influence that is exercised by language in promoting the development of our ideas, in fixing them in the mind, and in detaining them for steady contemplation. Into every process of reasoning, language enters as an essential element. Words are the instruments by which we form all our abstractions, by which we fashion and embody our ideas, and by which we are enabled to glide along a series of premises and conclusions with a rapidity so great as to leave in the memory no trace of the successive steps of the process; and we remain unconscious how much we owe to this potent auxiliary of the reasoning faculty.

Practical Importance of Precision of Language.

"It is of the utmost consequence that strict accuracy should regulate our use of language, and that every one should acquire the power and the habit of expressing his thoughts with perspicuity and correctness. Few, indeed, can appreciate the real extent and importance of that influence which language has always exercised on human affairs, or can be aware how often these are determined by causes much slighter than are apparent to a superficial observer. False logic, disguised under specious phraseology, too often gains the assent of the unthinking multitudes, disseminating far and wide the seeds of prejudice and error. Truisms pass current, and wear the semblance of profound wisdom, when dressed up in the garb of antithetical phrases, or set off by an imposing pomp of paradox. By a confused jargon of involved and mystical sentences, the imagination is easily inveigled into a transcendental region of clouds, and the understanding beguiled into the belief that it is acquiring knowledge and approaching truth. A misapplied or misapprehended term is sufficient to give rise to fierce and interminable disputes; a misnomer has turned the tide of popular opinion; a verbal sophism has decided a party question; an artful watchword, thrown among combustible materials, has kindled the flames of deadly warfare, and changed the destiny of an empire."

Want of Precision, Source of Litigation.

Alluding specially to the importance of precision and accuracy of language in matters relating to law, and legal rights, I may mention that a learned Italian commentator says, that "Many are bad law-makers because they are bad grammarians;" and I have no hesitation in adding, that a very large proportion of the most unsatisfactory litigation is attributable to a want of care in the adoption of terms, and in the verbal composition, of written laws; while a far greater proportion is to be credited to the vagueness, obscurity, incongruity, ambiguity, and uncertainty of the language used by parties dealing with each other, in their agreements—verbal and written,—in commercial documents, and in general correspondence.

The cultivation, therefore, of a pure and vigorous, a simple and unambiguous style, would be a worthy object to be kept prominently in view by the members of our societies, not merely for literary, but also for utilitarian purposes.

Choice of Books.

Among the various topics which occur to one's mind in connection with an Association like this, the wise *choice of books* is one which naturally suggests itself, as specially pertinent; but this again, is a wide and comprehensive subject, which cannot be disposed of cursorily in such an address as the present; and I daresay most of you are familiar with Mr. Carlyle's interesting lecture on the subject.

"Noscitur a Sociis."

This is a matter of much importance to young men; for the maxim "*Noscitur a sociis*," is nearly as applicable in respect of the literary works a man cultivates, as in respect of his personal associates.

And surely it is a great privilege which we all enjoy, in being able to select our intellectual associates and intimates; to cultivate acquaintance with the minds and manners of the greatest, the noblest, the wisest, the wittiest, the most brilliant of mankind, of many ages, in their own literary works, and the works of men who have preserved their memories. I believe, indeed, it is no exaggeration to say that the cultivation of a taste for reading, developed by judicious principles of selection and method, is one of the greatest sources of happiness which men have it in their own power to command.

Different Kinds of Reading.

But there is reading and reading. All reading is not profitable. Of making of books we know there is no end; but of books worthy to be read for instruction or rational amusement, or real pleasure to a cultivated taste and understanding, the proportion is by no means large; and, unquestionably, it is a great boon to the reading public to have their attention directed by impartial critics to the works most worthy of perusal in various departments of literature. We have abundant helps in this respect as to the literature of the past, in a variety of excellent collections and essays on general literature, and as to the literature of the day, in the periodical notices with which the higher class of journals and magazines from time to time furnish us : and in the intercommunication of such societies as yours and of their members, you may also have the means of directing each other's attention to works of special importance and interest.

Method in Reading—"Inwardly Digesting."

But it is not in the *Selection* of books only that care should be taken. It will be found also desirable to have a certain *method*, in reading. Desultory reading is one thing. Reading with a purpose is another. The particular method is not so very important as the existence of some method. Thus, the reading consecutively and systematically of various histories or accounts of a particular period or transaction, of the biographies of certain groups or classes of notable characters, and various biographies of the same individual, of works on Cognate sciences, &c., is likely to be more profitable and interesting, than the perusal of such works at odd times and seasons. And after all, it is not so much from the "reading" as the "marking and inwardly digesting," that the reader is to derive profit. Now I suspect that most of us take large doses of reading as mere kill-time occupation, when the mind is not very active: but this kind of reading, though it may be harmless, and even "soothing," can be of no avail for intellectual edification. Unless at the close of a paragraph or section, and of the whole work, the reader is ready to give himself an account of the scope and pith of it, he is reading to little purpose. And even if a reader does receive and memorially retain what he has read, it does not necessarily follow that he has read it profitably.

Readers who have no time to Think.

Lord Bolingbroke humorously describes, in one of his works, an acquaintance of his—I have known such a one myself—who had read almost constantly "twelve or fourteen hours a-day for five and twenty or thirty years, and has heaped together as much learning as could be crowded into a head. In the course of my acquaintance with him, I consulted him once or twice, but not oftener; for I found his mass of learning of as little use to me as to the owner. The man was communicative enough; but nothing was distinct in his mind. How could it be otherwise? he had never spared time to think, all was employed in reading * * To ask him a question was to wind up a spring in his memory, that rattled on with vast rapidity and confused noise, till the force of it was spent; and you went away with all the noise in your ears, stunned and uninformed." Bolingbroke adds, "He who reads with discernment and closeness will acquire less learning but more knowledge."

Advantages of Professorship of English Literature.

But I fear that I am becoming didactic and wearisome, and assuming to myself functions which I am but slightly qualified to discharge; and that indeed I have been, throughout my address, somewhat presumptuous, remembering, as I do, that the community of Christchurch have the privilege of being able, as regards the literature of England, to avail themselves of the lectures of a distinguished Professor, specially chosen for the purpose of instructing youth, and keeping alive among us an interest, in the grand, noble, comprehensive literature of our Fatherland. I feel confident that the members of your various societies cannot more effectually demonstrate the sincerity of their interest in literary cultivation, than by taking advantage of that learned gentleman's prelections.

Before concluding, I shall read you a few sentences of Lord Bacon, which summarize the advantages of learning and study, and will afford you ample subject for thought and reflection.

Eulogium of Learning and Studies by Lord Bacon.

"Learning taketh away the wildness, barbarism, and fierceness of men's minds; though a little of it doth rather work a contrary effect. It taketh away all levity, temerity, and insolence, by copious suggestion of all doubts and difficulties, and acquainting the mind to balance reasons on both sides, and to turn back the first offers and conceits of the kind and to accept of nothing but (what is) examined and tried."

"It were too long to go over the particular remedies which learning doth minister to all the diseases of the mind—sometimes purging the ill humours, sometimes opening the obstructions, sometimes helping the digestion, sometimes increasing appetite, sometimes healing the wounds and ulcerations thereof, and the like; and I will therefore conclude with the chief reason of all, which is, that it disposeth the constitution of the mind not to be fixed or settled in the defects thereof, but still to be capable and susceptible of reformation."

Elsewhere the great Philosopher and Essayist writes thus:—

"Studies serve for delight, for ornament, and for ability. Their chief use for delight is in privateness and retiring; for ornament is in discourse; and for ability, is in the judgement and disposition of business; for expert men can execute, and perhaps judge of particulars, one by one; but the general counsels, and the plots and marshalling of affairs, come best from those that are learned. To spend too much time in studies, is sloth; to use them too much for ornament, is affectation; to make judgement wholly by their rules, is the humour of a scholar; they perfect nature and are perfected by experience, for natural abilities are like natural plants, that need pruning by study; and studies themselves do give forth directions too much at large, except they be bounded in by experience. Crafty men contemn studies, simple men admire them, and wise men use them, for they teach not their own use; but that is a wisdom without them and above them won by observation. *Read not to contradict and confute, nor to believe and take for granted, nor to find talk and discourse, but to weigh and consider. Some books are to be tasted, others swallowed, and some few to be chewed and digested;* that is, some books are to be read only in parts; others to be read, but not curiously; and some few to be read wholly, and with diligence and attention. Some books also may be read by deputy, and extracts made of them by others; but that would be only on the less important arguments, and the meaner sort of books, else distilled books are like common distilled waters, *flashy things. Reading maketh a full man, conference a ready man, and writing an exact man;* and therefore if a man write little, he had need have a great memory; if he confer little, he need have a present wit; and if he read little, he had need have much cunning, to seem to know that he doth not."

Conclusion.

Gentlemen,—I shall not further trespass upon your patience this evening, except for the purpose of expressing my sincere good wishes for the success of the Associated Literary Society, and expressing my regret, that domestic circumstances have prevented me from preparing myself to deliver an address to you, more worthy of the occasion, and of my appreciation of the compliment which the Literary and Debating

Societies of Christchurch have paid me in electing me to be the President of their Association.

decorative feature

The Old Paths A Sermon

By The Ven. Archdeacon Harper M.A.

Preached on the Occasion of the Opening of the Diocesan Synod of Christchurch, 1876.

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THE AUTHOR'S endeavour in this Sermon has been, not so much to express his own opinion, as to indicate the mind of the Primitive Church, as set forth in the Liurgies of the first four centuries, and to shew the accordance of our own Liturgy with them, without presuming to narrow in any way the liberty of opinion which the Church has always allowed in so great a mystery as that of the Holy Eucharist.

The Old Paths

"Stand ye in the ways and see, and ask for the old paths, where is the good way, and walk therein, and ye shall find rest for your souls.—JEREMIAH, vi. 16."

IN these days of thought and discussion it is not likely that any branch of Christ's Church on earth can remain long without controversy; and this within itself, within certain recognised lines of doctrine. Outside these lines the Church may have to deal with a different kind of debate: with arguments that even challenge the first principles of Christianity, and profess to find an open question in everything that claims the authority of Revelation. To such arguments as these Christians may say "other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ," yet, when reviewing their own position, secure in its first principles, they may often, for their own sake, find it needful to add "But let each man take heed how he buildeth thereupon." Controversy may therefore ensue, and when it does it brings with it a special responsibility. For in God's providence His Church on earth has always been as a family which sends forth its sons to fill the world with many families, all united with one common tie of kinship, and yet each a family in itself, having its own responsibility of maintaining the faith. Thus there should be unity of faith, "one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all," and yet the responsibility of the true faith must be, practically, the care of each particular branch of the Church.

This responsibility is not too heavy. Wherever a branch of the Church lives and thrives in its own soil, complete in its organization, it stands necessarily by itself; but it does not on that account really stand alone. Its responsibility is shared with others. With them it has to maintain a common faith, that which was once for all delivered to the saints, with them it must preserve Apostolic Doctrine and Practice. Such indeed was the position of the Christian world during the first four centuries. Certain groups of Churches, complete in themselves, had their own experience of controversy. They preserved the unity of the faith, sacramental unity, and unity of doctrine. They did so, no doubt, partly by correspondence with other Churches, but in the main by constant reference, when need arose, to their own rich inheritance within their own borders, of Apostolic doctrine and practice. This may be illustrated by the fact that when the first great crisis came about, which touched the whole circle of the Christian world, the first General Council met expressly to bear witness to the faith which each Church had held. The Nicene Fathers did not assemble to define the faith, but as witnesses of what the Church had everywhere taught; for each Church had its own inheritance, either in writing, or custom, or tradition, which shewed the mind of Christ and of His Apostles. Thousands of Churches possessed similar evidence. This Catholic consent was the touchstone of truth. Each Church clung to its own sacred deposit of truth, but each knew that it was sacred because it was Catholic. And each, whilst standing upon Catholic Truth, had within itself that by which it could set its house in order.

Such was the Church of old. We pass on now to our own times, and our own ease, with its responsibility in times when controversy claims a hearing.

On all such occasions the words of the text seem to indicate the proper course: "Ask for the old paths, where is the good way, and walk therein." It will be found, I think, that we do not lack, within our own borders, evidence of what these ways are: for we also have our inheritance of the faith, partly in writing, partly in custom, and, if need be, these evidences, when carefully compared with the faith of the Primitive Church, can speak for themselves. In God's providence they may be regarded as a deposit of faith, which, like a mine of gold, not only yields surface treasures, such as all can pick up; but truth that lies deeper down, which needs more research than some give to it, and its great value when it is brought into notice, is in one way or another recognised by all.

I would invite attention, then, to certain portions of our Prayerbook, which may help us to walk in the old paths in matters of the highest importance:—

It will be readily allowed that there is no more important portion of the Prayerbook than that which

contains the order of the Administration of the Holy Communion. Whatever men may think or say of this great mystery, it will ever continue to be the central rite and sacrament of Christianity. What thoughtful Christian is there, whether he rank as High or Low Churchman, who does not regard with peculiar interest the solemn affectionate and mysterious action of our Lord on the eve of His Passion. Look back to the earliest records of Christian times, and you find striking proof of the high estimate then placed on this rite in the fact that all the earliest forms of worship, still extant, were communion offices. In the year 140, A.D., Justin Martyr describes a Sunday service, specially mentioning the Eucharist as that to which the rest of the service led. Each Church appears to have had its own Communion office, or as it was termed, its Liturgy, differing perhaps from that of others in some unimportant features, but in the main, of one common pattern. Of these Liturgies, some are now in existence, dating between the years 100—300, A.D., and others up to the end of the fourth century. To these an English Churchman can turn with no little confidence, feeling sure at least that they represent points on which there was a common agreement in the mind of the Church in those days, when as yet the truth was comparatively undefiled by the superstitions of a later date. And indeed there is more in them than the mind of the Primitive Church. There is its actual practice. This is of peculiar value, for actual practice shews a person's real principles and not merely his opinions. People hold many opinions on which they do not act; which they do not use as a logical basis for a definite course of action: opinions for which the widest latitude may be claimed as a light so long as they remain within the domain of opinion. But actual practice is a different thing: it is the result of principle. Hence it is of the utmost value to see the practice of Christians in those days set forth in these Liturgies beyond reasonable dispute. They tell us more than volumes of dissertations can, even though they be of the same date. They show what the Church actually did, and when the English Churchman compares his own Liturgy with these, he may see reason to thank God that we have in it the same Apostolic doctrine as of old. He will find it free from the defects and excess of later times when truth was either overlaid with the tinsel of superstition, or else its real value was cheaply held. Our Liturgy is, in fact, identical in all its main points with these Primitive Liturgies; and in it is not too much to say we have a rich inheritance providentially assigned to our care. For our Prayer-book is a monument of God's providence. It is not merely, as some might say, a compendium of opposite doctrines, the creation of many minds agreeing to compromise truth. It is not a mere political accident; it is not like a mirror of many angles that catches various reflections, and can present no one image to the eye, consistent, well centered, clearly defined. Whatever the circumstances of its origin it speaks plainly, and yet in accordance with the records of those days when Apostolic doctrine and practice were faithfully followed by an undivided Church.

This is of great importance. I will ask special attention to it, as we go on to consider two prominent features in these old Liturgies that at once attract notice. They indicate the twofold nature of the service.

- As the appointed memorial of the death of Christ.
- As the means of closest communion with Him.

We take the first of these, by itself, although it really includes the other. It has reference to the well-known words—"Do this in remembrance of Me." These words were universally interpreted in those days as implying a definite act of remembrance, of thanksgiving, and of memorial before God of the Death upon the Cross. "Do this." They were to do all He had done. He took bread: He blessed it, not merely blessing or thanking God for His good gift, but blessing the bread; He took the cup; He blessed it: He gave both the bread and the wine, that they might eat and drink. All this they were to do in remembrance of Him. Now, although the full value of the sacred rite was not complete until each had partaken of the Sacrament and thus entered into communion with Christ, yet observe its twofold nature. The memorial before God and the communion with Christ. The memorial must not be lost sight of in the communion, nor yet the communion in the memorial.

And our Lord used a special word to indicate this memorial. It is used in the New Testament four times, three of which are in connexion with the Holy Communion; whilst the other, which occurs in the Epistle to the Hebrews, has reference to the great Day of Atonement, when a remembrance of sins before God was publicly made by the blood of sacrifice placed upon the Altar and upon the Mercy Seat. In the Old Testament it is a special word used to denote the memorial before God made by the loaves of shewbread which with an offering of pure frankincense and salt were set before the Lord continually.

Levit. xxiv., 7-8.

The Apostles would have seen at once in our Lord's use of this word a command to observe an act of memorial before God, not only an act of individual memory of the Saviour, but a public, and, let us say, an ecclesiastical act, acceptable to God. Accordingly, in the Acts of the Apostles we find Christians specially marking the first day of the week by coming together to break bread.

Acts xx., 7.

St. Paul speaks

I. Cor. v. 16-17.

of the public and ecclesiastical rite of blessing the cup and breaking the bread, reminding them, carefully,

that this was the act of the whole Church rather than that of an individual, that by it they made a public memorial of the Lord's death,

I. Cor. xi., 26.

on behalf of the whole Church. He also alludes to this characteristic of the rite in words which may be taken without unduly pressing the meaning of the chief word in the sentence. "We have an altar, where of they have no right to eat who serve the Tabernacle."

Heb. xiii., 10.

And further, when at Corinth some disorder had crept in to the performance of the Sacrament, St. Paul specially insists on his having might them to do exactly what he had himself received of the Lord. "That the Lord Jesus the same night in which He was betrayed, took bread, and when He had given thanks, He brake it, and said—Take, eat, this is my body which is broken for you this do in remembrance of Me. After the same manner also He took the cup, when He had supped, saying—This cup is the New Testament in my Blood; this do ye, as of as ye shall drink it, in remembrance of me. For as often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup ye do shew the Lord's death till he come."

I. Cor. xi., 23-26.

Now, in looking into the Ancient Liturgies, we find a distinct recognition of this act of memorial before God, made in gifts of bread and wine, which are offered to God in remembrance of the death of Christ. We find also the Communion with Christ by spiritually feeding upon His body and blood; we find the offering of oneself in true repentance and faith; and, further, a set ritual and service assigning to the minister his proper part, and to the people theirs, in the holy office.

In one of these Liturgies,

It is in the Alexandrian ritual preserved in the Abyssinian Constitutions of the Apostles. It is given in full in *Proctor on Book of Common Prayer*, p. 28[unclear: 3]

allowed by competent authority to represent Christian usage in the second century, we find the following words:—"Wherefore, having in remembrance His death and His resurrection, we offer to Thee this bread and this cup, giving thanks to Thee, that Thou hast made us worthy to stand before Thee and perform our priesthood. And we humbly pray Thee to send Thy Holy Spirit upon the oblations of this Church, and that Thou wouldest also grant abundant holiness to all who partake of them, that they may be filled with the Holy Spirit, and for the confirmation of the Faith in Truth that they may celebrate and praise Thee in Thy Son Jesus Christ, in whom be praise and power to Thee in Thy Holy Church, both now, and always, and for ever and ever.—Amen." Another Liturgy,

Quoted from the Apostolical Constitutions as quoted by *Panzer's Origines Liturgiæ*, Vol. ii. p. 79, 4th ed.

which represents the end of the third century, has the following—"To Thee, our King and God, we offer this bread and this cup, according to Christ's institution, giving thanks to Thee, through Him, because Thou hast thought us worthy to stand before Thee, and to minister unto Thee," and this is followed by the words—"That God would send His Holy Spirit, the witness of Christ's passion, upon this sacrifice, that He may make this bread the body of Christ, and this cup the blood of Christ."

We come then to the question, What was the meaning of the offering before God, so distinctly made.

The necessity of asking this will be seen at once if we substitute the word sacrifice for offering. And the word sacrifice

See also the Liturgy of St. James, 4th century—quoted at length by *Proctor*—p. 287.

does occur, as we have just seen in the last quotation from the ancient Liturgies. Moreover, the Fathers frequently use the word in speaking of the Eucharist. What, then, was its meaning? The word itself seems open to misuse, and its misuse might entail a double evil, it may lead to a false doctrine, and then those who reject the wrong doctrine may be tempted to refuse and ignore the true one as well. But no mere word ought to be allowed to tyrannize over our common sense. Those who look into these ancient Liturgies and examine them carefully, will see what they meant by the use of this word sacrifice. They meant an offering made before God in commemoration of Christ's sacrifice on the Cross, not a real offering of His Body and Blood anew. They hold such terms as "oblation," "sacrifice"—"sacrifice without blood," without hesitation, but not in the sense of a victim slain and offered there and then, but as a memory of the one sacrifice of Christ, once made. They did not hesitate in those days to use the word sacrifice, probably because they felt that the bread and the cup were not bare emblems of Christ's death, but in some mysterious and spiritual way were connected with His Body and Blood. Therefore, although there is no sacrifice literally and actually made of Christ's Body and Blood anew in the Eucharist, yet the memorial of that sacrifice is made and offered, and so the Eucharist being a remembrance of that sacrifice came to be called itself the same name. But this—be it remembered—was before the well known misuse of the term. And with regard to that misuse, it will be enough to quote from one of the Homilies in allusion to the Romish doctrine of the Mass: "We must therefore take heed lest of the memory, it be made a sacrifice."

In looking, then, at these ancient Liturgies, it is found that they distinctly mark the offering of the bread and wine in memorial before God of the death of Christ. But none of them contain any oblation in words of the elements as Christ's Body and Blood

Sec Palmer's Origines Liturgicæ, Vol. ii. p. 85-87. It is worth notice that in accordance with this (act of the oblation being of the elements, but not of the Body and Blood of Christ, the words of oblation are found in the Liturgies of Antioch, Cesarea Constantinople, and Alexandria before the elements were fully consecrated, and whilst in later Liturgies, as those of Rome and Italy, the words occur both before and after consecration, in either case the elements are offered as bread and wine.

whilst they distinctly mark the oblation of the elements as bread and wine in memorial of Christ's sacrifice. These are offered that they may be made to us the Body and Blood of Christ. This is illustrated by the prayer in the Liturgy of St. James: "Send Thy Holy Spirit—that coming he may make this bread the body, that he may make what is mixed in the cup the blood of our Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ." Thus the distinction between our offering to God and God's gift to us is marked. Our offering is the memorial of Christ's sacrifice, God's gift is that what we offer becomes Christ's Body and Blood to us. And with this there is the offering of ourselves, the due reception of the sacrament, the spiritual communion with our Lord. Thus the term sacrifice applies to the whole service. It is the memory of the sacrifice of the Cross, publicly offered to God; it is the self-surrender of true repentance. It is the spiritual feeding on His Body and Blood. In a word, it is not more, but it is not less than what Christ meant in saying: "Do this in remembrance of Me."

We will now pass to the consideration of our own Liturgy. It is well known that it came into its present shape during the period of the Reformation, but not all at once. Comparing the first Service-book of Edward the VI. with the Liturgy as finally revised, we find some considerable differences; but on the whole it is evident that the Reformers desired to cling to the usages of the Primitive Church. For example, in the Liturgy which was chiefly in use in England before the Reformation, the idea of sacrifice is found in somewhat an exaggerated form, out of keeping with the Primitive Liturgies. In the reformed office the idea of Communion occupies the more prominent place. In the old office the commemoration of Christ's death is separated from the reception of the Sacrament. In the new both are closely associated together. In the old office the priest who officiates can perform all by himself, and is regarded as apart from the people. In the new, whilst he is necessary to the due celebration of the Sacrament, he is always regarded as the representative of the people of the mystical body of the Church of Christ. But let us look more closely into the details of our Liturgy. Just before the prayer for the Church Militant we find a Rubric which defines and describes the act of oblation—"The priest shall then place upon the table so much bread and wine as he shall think sufficient." In the prayer following we beseech God to accept "these our alms and oblations." Oblation is the recognised word for this special offering to God of bread and wine. In the exhortation, further on, we find—"He hath instituted and ordained holy mysteries as pledge of His love, and for a continued remembrance of His death." In the prayer previous to the consecration prayer, we find—"Grant us therefore, gracious Lord, so to eat the Flesh of Thy dear Son Jesus Christ, and to drink His Blood that our sinful bodies may be made clean by His Body, and our souls washed through His most precious Blood." In the prayer of consecration we find these words—"Who made there by His one oblation of Himself, once offered, a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world, and did institute and command us to continue a perpetual memory of that His precious death." Then follow the exact words of our Lord's institution of the Holy Communion, and the priest is required to do what our Lord did; the bread is broken, it is given, taken, and eaten. The cup is delivered to all. After Communion follows the prayer in which we ask God "to accept this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving," and "we offer and present unto Thee, O Lord, ourselves—our souls and bodies—to be a reasonable, holy, and living sacrifice unto Thee,"

Thus our Liturgy speaks clearly of the nature of the sacrifice we can offer in the Eucharist. We can offer the oblation of bread and wine, as a perpetual memorial before God of the death of His Son, pleading that death for our sins; we can offer ourselves in true repentance, and we receive in all humility the precious gift of our Lord, in that He gives Himself to be our spiritual food. And so the rite is complete. It is a sacrifice, and yet it is not. It is not a sacrifice in the sense of offering up a slain victim; it is not a literal offering of Christ's body and blood. But it is a memorial of a sacrifice of that which was offered up once upon the cross. We plead its remembrance before God. We feast upon that which we have offered, and by the gift of God it is to us the body and blood of our Lord. We offer ourselves in humble self-surrender. And thus speaking of this act of public memorial, thanksgiving, and communion, our Liturgy is not afraid to say—"We beseech Thee to accept this our sacrifice."

It may be, however, that some would object to the use of the word sacrifice in any shape in connexion with the Eucharist. Such an objection has a show of reason, but it loses weight when it is remembered that the use of the word in the Liturgy is not that against which we protest in the Church of Rome. Give the word its right interpretation, and we need not fear to use it.

But further: Together with this limited idea of sacrifice, there is another noticeable point in our Liturgy. It

does not contain the idea of bringing amongst us the natural body and blood of our Lord as an object of worship. Certain rubrics enforce a set ritual, so that the highest mystery in the public worship of the Church should be fittingly and solemnly celebrated. Rubrics enforce special reverence of demeanour on priest and people, but with these it is especially asserted "that no adoration is intended or ought to be done either unto the sacramental bread or wine there bodily received, or unto the corporal presence of Christ's natural flesh and blood, for the sacramental bread and wine remain in their very natural substances, and therefore may not be adored, for that went idolatry to be abhorred of all faithful Christians." This is in strict keeping with the Ancient Liturgies. They have their directions for reverence, but none for adoration inward or outward of the elements, nor have they any form of prayer specially addressed to Christ's holy humanity there present.

These words are taken literally from "Keble's Eucharistic Adoration," small edition. (J. Parker.) p. 126 The Adoration of the Host, as found in the rubrics attached to the Roman Liturgy is the natural and historical consequence of the doctrine of Transub-stantiation. It indicates a kind of presence such as our Liturgy does not, such as is not found in the Ancient Liturgies. Our office distinctly implies a special spiritual presence, but this presence is not perfectly realised by the individual until the sacramental elements are received faithfully. It is a presence with us, in us, a participation of our Lord in such a manner that our sinful bodies are made dear to His body, and our souls washed through His most precious blood; so that we are one with Christ, and Christ with us. It is then a real communion with Christ, and therefore of His presence, in a mystical and spiritual sense, but this is perfectly realised only in the case of each as he receives faithfully. But, no doubt, we are right, before reception, in regarding the elements as Christ's own appointed memorials of His death, and by the gift of God a pledge or sacrament of His spiritual presence with His Church. We, therefore, do right to regard them with much reverence. So also those who do not receive faithfully, or who stand aloof, in contempt or negligence, they despise the public memorial of Christ's sacrifice, as well as the opportunity of communion with Him, and their irreverence is as natural and significant as the reverence of others. We need not be afraid of reverence, nay we should be specially careful to be reverent in such a mystery as this, especially reverent in the way we deal with the sacramental bread and cup. But reverence is not adoration.

I use the words "Adoration," "Adore," in the sense commonly put upon them, in which sense they are used in the rubric at the end of our Communion Offices, as implying external adoration. We do well to be afraid of that. Christian history can tell us that when Christians learnt to adore the consecrated elements, many ceased to reverence the real spiritual presence of Christ.

It is not too much, then, to say that our Liturgy is in accordance with the Liturgies of the Primitive Church. It is full, indeed, of the mystery of the highest act of Christian worship, and it is not afraid to give expression in its ritual to a due sense of this mystery. But yet it is emphatically free from mediæval error. And is it not therefore a grand inheritance? In it we have standing ground on which we can place our feet, knowing that it is the same ground as that which the Primitive Church occupied. Its authority is not that of one mind or another in particular, of a Luther or a Calvin, of an Apollos, or even of a Paul. It is the common testimony of the Early Christian Church.

Yet with such an inheritance there is ever the responsibility of maintaining the truth. No position of advantage can rid us of this. Men never think altogether alike; and controversy in some form or other is sure to arise. It has been said that the Church of England allows the greatest latitude of thought. Certainly she does not ignore the fact that God has made man capable of reason, and personally bound to give, so far as he can, a reason for the faith that is in him. And she does recognise the many sidedness of Revealed Truth, and due liberty of opinion in its interpretation. She takes as the basis of her position the Lord Jesus Christ, and the Revealed Word of God; but when controversy arises, or doubt as to how to build on this foundation, she looks back to Apostolic doctrine and practice, and stands by that.

There may be, on the part of some, a tendency to live below the full measure of our inheritance. It is never quite easy to appreciate the real value even of our ordinary possessions. There is always need of the warning conveyed in our Lord's words which urge a true estimate of what we have to use and enjoy: "Blessed are the eyes which see the things that ye see," For some who have gold will deem it to be silver, and will count their silver as dross, practically underestimating their religious privileges, and others may be eager to be wise beyond what is written, desirous of realizing more than God grants to man—on either side may be found earnest, sincere men, who are scarcely able to avoid expressions of more than regret for what they deem error—for it is hardly possible for us, in our weak humanity, to endeavour to love the Lord Jesus, and altogether escape the ugly spirit of jealousy, which is so near akin to all human love.

And yet controversy is better than stagnation. It will do no harm if there be in us the spirit of the Apostle who could be jealous with a Godly jealousy

2 Cor. xi, 2

in maintaining the simplicity of the faith as it is in Christ, and yet declares that, knowledge puffeth up, but charity edifieth"

cor. viii. 1.

If, as he did, we do not seek each to please himself but to please one another for their edification, little harm will come of difference of opinion. In some cases of dispute, such as kindles heartburning and separates very friends, it may be found that the difference lies in some unessential matter which has been unduly magnified and almost lifted up to the rank of an article of faith. I do not say this explains all cases of disputed ritual. It would be easy to indulge in off-hand judgments and pronounce this or that point of ritual unessential, and not worth a contest. I once heard a layman say—"I leave all questions of ritual to the clergy: it is their question; it does not concern me." But need I remark that the matter cannot be disposed of in this fashion. Ritual is a necessary condition of our relationship to God. Human nature is flesh as well as spirit; we need ritual in approaching God, and so excess or defect of ritual do mean something both to priest and people also. The line between what is essential and unessential is often very fine; it will therefore sometimes happen that there is need of sincere pretest, and sometimes of courageous assertion of principle.

But let this be done, in either case, not on the "round of an individual's judgment, but of allegiance to the Church. Ought there to be much difficulty in realising the character of this allegiance?

It is found in obedience to the spirit and the letter of the Prayer Book, the obedience of reasonable men who cling to their inheritance because they know it is in accord with the mind and usages of the Church in its primitive state, the obedience of those who, on the one hand, honestly avoid the errors of Romanism; and yet on the other, are proud to maintain the true Catholic faith.

Such obedience acts in the spirit of the words of the text—it seeks to walk in the old paths. Let us pray God that He may keep us in them, protecting His Church from all negligence and contempt of His holy will and commandments—from all dangerous error, "that as we have heard from the beginning, so we may walk through Jesus Christ in truth and love."

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Sir G. Grey in South Australia.

MR MOSSMAN in his work on the Australian Colonies, published in London some years ago, gives an account of Sir George Grey's administration of the Government of South Australia, from which we learn that in 1839 Adelaide, owing to the lavish expenditure of paper money on non-productive public works, was apparently the most prosperous city in Australia. But as in the following year only over 2,500 acres of land were under cultivation, the inhabitants had to send to Launceston and elsewhere for supplies. The amount expended that year was £277,000, and the large sum of £100 was paid for a ton of flour, being the surplus stores of an emigrant ship. Our author observes:—

It was impossible that this unnatural state of affairs could last long. The bubble burst by the British Government repudiating the drafts of the Governor, who was recalled from his post in May, 1841, and superseded by Captain Grey, of the 83rd Regiment. This officer had acquired colonial experience in West Australia, and had published an account of his expeditions in that colony, which had brought him under favorable notice of the Secretary of State for the Colonies. The subsequent career of this able Governor places him in the highest rank of administrative capacity for ruling a colony. In illustration of this, an extract from one of his despatches upon the erroneous views of his predecessors may be quoted. He writes:—"In the early stage of a colony (as has been the case here up to a very recent date) there are no producers either of the necessaries of life, or of articles of export. Under such circumstances, a large outlay upon extensive public buildings and town improvements is no further benefit to the colony than that these improvements are obtained. The whole of the sum expended in labor is carried out of the colony to purchase every article of consumption and clothing. The colony thus depending altogether upon imports, and the demand being uncertain, the necessaries of life fluctuate extraordinarily in value, and are generally extremely high. This circumstance, combined with the great employment of labor by the government, raises inordinately the price of labor. The country settler cannot thus become a producer of food or articles of export. His agricultural operations are limited, his capital eaten up by the high rate of wages, and unless the necessaries of life retain an exorbitant value he is soon ruined. It is impossible under such circumstances for the settler to compete with other colonies where the price of labor and provisions is only half what it is in the colony where he resides. He could not do this if his farm was actually broken up and enclosed, so that in this respect he stood, on an equality with agriculturists in other colonies, much less than can he do it, when he has a farm to create from an untrodden wilderness."

Governor. Grey not only perceived the financial errors committed by Governor Gawler, but he was prepared to carry a rigid system of retrenchment into effect, in the face of undeserved obloquy, which at one time bordered on open rebellion among the laborer immigrants. His first step was to reduce the estimates from £94,000, as the actual expenditure of 1841, to £31,000 in 1842; the principal reduction being in the

storekeeper's department, which was lowered from £23,748 to £340. The effects of this excision of the unhealthy excrescences on the body politic, was an immediate callapse of all the inflated and fictitious prosperity of the land speculators. Then followed bankruptcy among employers and difficulty of obtaining employment among the laboring classes, so that in the latter part of 1841; nearly two thousand men. and women, and children, were thrown upon the Government for support, as absolute paupers, numbering about one-fourth the inhabitants of Adelaide.

Affairs now began to assume a threatening aspect. The unemployed people used violent language, threatening that unless they were relieved, or obtained wages sufficient for their subsistence at government work, they would support themselves by rapine and pillage. "That which had at first been conceded to them as an indulgence they now demanded as a right," according to a despatch of Governor, Grey. He was urged, by petitions from the contractors and others, to finish the buildings commenced in Adelaide, on which he calculated that £150,000 had been expended in twelve months before his arrival, equivalent to £10 per head for every man, woman and child, in the colony, or an average of £32 per adult male, paid out of the British Exchequer. These petitions he would not entertain, but he met the case by employing the people on constructing roads and bridges, to open up the country and wean them from the town. This had the desired effect, and he drew upon home for funds to meet the expenditure, notwithstanding the contrary tenor of his instructions.

Tumultuous meetings were held and the Governor was threatened with personal violence. While this was the unsatisfactory state of affairs in the town, those who had settled in the country were prosperous beyond their highest expectations, especially those who had cultivated wheat, and obtained the enormous prices for flour. They found the land of the richest description, yielding, without manure, the greatest average per acre, and producing wheat of the finest quality in Australia. This being ascertained by many of the townspeople who had land or money left cut of the wreck of their fortunes, they abandoned their homes in Adelaide, went into the country, and commenced agricultural pursuits. These settlers found occupation for such of the immigrants as preferred being farm servants to working on the roads; the road makers only continued at the low rate of wages until they could get better from private employers. In this manner the exodus from town to country progressed so rapidly, that in December, 1841 the immigration barracks were empty, and one-third, or 642, houses out of 1915 then in Adelaide, were totally deserted, while rents had fallen from exorbitant to moderate rates. Out of sixty-seven public houses twenty-three were shut up, while the others were not paying expenses for lack of customers, Ships with grain and flour were no longer seen in port. Provisions of all kinds continued low in price, and general merchandise was at a discount, excepting ploughs, harrows, and other implements of husbandry, which were in great demand. Then commenced the true success of the colony, proving the soundness of Governor Grey's policy, and the fact that *dispersion* and not *centralization* is the first element of civilization.

In the language of a successful colonist, when commenting upon the measures which led to this desertion and apparent ruin of Adelaide:—"To the colony, however, this reduction in the expenditure was for a time necessarily full of trial. It may well be likened to a young fruit tree, which had been allowed to shoot up with straggling branches of luxuriant growth, but barren of fruit. The careful gardener saw that to make it produce fruit, it was absolutely necessary to apply the pruning knife with an unsparing though kindly hand. Stripped of its gaudy and unprofitable branches, the spectator looked with pity and contempt upon the bare stump that was left; he, not knowing the power left in the roots, thought the poor tree ruined by such treatment, and was inclined to think ill of the gardener for his reckless destruction of the leafy branches. But behold that self same tree once more, the resources concentrated in its healthy roots, in time throw forth branches as luxuriant as ever, covered with smiling blossoms and golden fruit, whilst the gardener, to whom this result appeared as a matter of course, now received praise for his foresight from him who at first felt inclined to censure him." Even [unclear: so it] was when Governor Grey was leaving South Australia to conduct the still more difficult administration of New Zealand, which was also a system based on the Wakefield system, and the history of whose settlement had been no less disastrous. On the occasion of his departure, a deputation of the colonists waited upon him and gratefully thanked him for inaugurating a new system and prosperous era. by his able, zealous and diligent administration, not forgetting the cares, anxieties, and responsibilities, in his [unclear: con-]scientists discharge of the functions of a governor and worthy delegate of sovereign power.

On the Recent Economic Progress of New Zealand:

A Paper Read Before the Statistical Society of London, 30th January, 1877.

By Archibald Hamilton, Esq.

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***On the* RECENT ECONOMIC PROGRESS of NEW ZEALAND.**

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Contents:

A PAPER read by me at the British Association in Exeter appears in the Society's *Journal* for September, 1869, vol. xxxii. I therein examined the progress of the colony from its foundation in 1840, until December, 1867; and I now propose to review the period of ten years ending 1875, with some occasional later particulars, for which returns are available.

I.—Introduction. Peculiar Advantages of the Colony.

The decade in question is marked by rapid progress in all directions—and the results are well worth the study of political economists, deserving the attentive consideration of capitalists, merchants, and indeed, of all classes; for which unusual facilities exist, in the careful and elaborate statistics published annually by the colonial Government. There must indeed at all times be peculiar interest and sympathy felt in the welfare of New Zealand, inasmuch as it is the most essentially British of all our colonics. Setting aside our tropical possessions—with which no comparison can be instituted—New Zealand has been free from the convict element which affected the settlement of Australia; without difference of race, of language, and of law, as in Canada and the Cape of Good Hope; free also from the taint of slavery which existed at the Cape, and to which may be traced the difficulties that even now beset our relations with those offshoots from that colony—the Dutch republics in South Africa.

The settlers in New Zealand comprise all classes in the United Kingdom—English, Irish, and Scotch—from the sons and connexions of the peerage and landed gentry, to the agricultural labourer; and from the sons of merchants and manufacturers, to artisans of every kind and degree. It would be difficult therefore to conceive a population more exactly the counterpart of that in the mother country.

Situated between the thirty-fourth and forty-seventh degrees of south latitude, the climate of New Zealand is throughout temperate, and embraces as great a variety as can be found between the north of England and the south of France; it is free from droughts such as occur in Australia and at the Cape, and from frost which retards Canada during four months in each year; while the configuration of the land is singularly adapted for colonisation. Roughly speaking it may be described as a strip of land nearly 1,000 miles long, by 200 miles broad—with a coast line of about 3,000 miles, indented by harbours and creeks—comprising 100,000 square miles, or about 20,000 square miles less than the United Kingdom—abundantly watered by rivers—and intersected by roads, with a system of trunk railways approaching completion; so that a vast and rapidly increasing area of most productive soil has been opened up for settlement and rendered accessible on all sides.

In addition to the gold mines which have been worked during the last twenty years, the geological explorations have disclosed coal fields, iron, and other valuable minerals, on which there will hereafter no doubt be built up an industry, ultimately perhaps to rival our own, even though our productiveness may not yet have reached its highest development. At all events, the advantages just mentioned must secure for New Zealand a destiny such as cannot be surpassed by any of the sister colonies, and this notwithstanding her greater distance from Europe, and comparative isolation. But I have to do with what has been accomplished in New Zealand rather than with her future. It is, however, necessary that I should briefly recapitulate the position of the colony at the commencement of the decade.

II.—Retrospect.

The Home Government at the outset established a monopoly in land, constituting themselves, through their representatives, the sole purchasers from the natives. Moreover, the exclusive control of native affairs was jealously reserved, even when in 1852 a representative constitution was conceded to the colonists. The Imperial Government was actuated no doubt by the purest motives of philanthropy in their policy towards the aborigines, but the result was nevertheless unfortunate. In 1860 the last series of Maori wars commenced; it originated in a dispute as to a Government purchase of land. Hostilities became chronic, and lasted with intervals until 1870,

when they gradually and finally died out. Nor is it likely that there will be any further serious disturbances. But in the meanwhile the war had proved so troublesome, as well as resultless and costly to the Imperial Government, that strong efforts were made to be rid of native affairs at all hazards; on the other hand the strain on the colonists was all but ruinous, and they naturally objected to be saddled with native affairs, considering the tangle in which these had become involved.

At length, after prolonged correspondence, and under irresistible pressure from home, the colonists in 1863 reluctantly undertook the management of the Maoris, and have conducted their affairs ever since. They did so "in consideration of the thoroughly efficient aid "which Her Majesty's Government was then affording for the suppression of the native rebellion, and relying on the cordial co-operation of the Imperial Government for the future." The "aid" then afforded consisted in 10,000 soldiers and a naval brigade; and the "future co-operation" resulted in the gradual withdrawal of the troops from the colony, the last regiment being removed in 1869. and this at a most critical time, when the affairs of the colony financially as well as politically, were of the gloomiest nature.

The colonists were thus left to fight it out and settle scores with the natives as best they could, a task which they accomplished with unlooked for success. The course adopted was to raise a force of some 2,000 to 3,000 men, specially trained and disciplined for the peculiar warfare, and these, with the aid of friendly native levies brought the war to a successful termination, reducing it, in fact, from 1870 into a hunt after two rebel chiefs. But to accomplish this, expenditure had to be incurred, to cover which it was deemed necessary to raise a loan of 1,500,000*l.* The credit of the colony, for obvious reasons, being at a low ebb, application was made that the loan should be guaranteed by the Home Government. Under the circumstances this was assuredly a reasonable request, and might have been granted with no cost, or even substantial risk, to the imperial treasury; while the difference between borrowing at 3 per cent, and 6 per cent, would have saved the colonial treasury 45,000*l.* per annum. The request was at first absolutely refused; then came an offer to guarantee half a million, and finally, after a deplorable amount of haggling, the difference was split, and the Imperial Government guaranteed a loan for one million, instead of a million and a half, as originally requested.

But the consequences to the colonists of the attempt to conduct native affairs from Downing Street, did not end with the war. They had already contributed their proportion to costly and mismanaged wars, at first conducted by officers of the Imperial Government, and borne the whole cost of concluding those wars when left to themselves. But they had now in addition to deal with the legacy of a long course of misgovernment, in the serious expense deemed necessary for a re-adjustment of the native policy.

III.—*Native Policy.*

Conceiving that it would be wiser, rather than continue fighting the Maoris, to find employment for the more friendly tribes, the policy was adopted of setting some to make roads and telegraphs through the north island, employing others as armed constabulary, also to assist in road making; and occasionally purchasing land from prudential motives. In short, peace was at first secured by a judicious system of conciliation, and it is now so firmly established, that in parts, where little more than ten years ago a powerful military force could penetrate only with the utmost difficulty and danger, mail coaches now run regularly across the north island in various directions, with as much safety as the amateur teams which in summer ply between Piccadilly and Windsor, or Tunbridge Wells. The necessary outlay has, moreover, been mitigated by the work done, the roads have added greatly to the value of the land which they opened up, and the land purchased from time to time remains as an asset in hand annually increasing in value.

It will be seen from Table I in Appendix, that from 1853 to 30th June, 1876, inclusive, the amount expended for native and defence purposes has amounted to 6,600,000*l.*, viz.:—

To this might be added cumulative interest at 5 per cent, on the amount expended out of loan, which interest has been defrayed out of revenue, to the amount of 2,197,505*l.*

IV.—*Colonial Debt, its Outlay and Comparative Pressure.*

Table II contains a full statement of the public debt, including loans raised by the provinces, together with the annual charge for interest and sinking fund to 30th June, 1876, to which is added a loan for 1,250,000*l.*, raised in London in July last. The particulars are as follow:—

The floating debt of 800,000*l.* is covered by the like amount, being the balance of loan guaranteed by the British Government, which remains at the disposal of the colonial treasurer, not having been yet issued to the public.

The annual charge for interest and sinking fund on debentures and treasury bills issued, amounts to 1,015,779*l.*, irrespective of floating debt, which at 5 per cent, would increase the annual charge to 1,056,201*l.*

The population on 31st December, 1875, was 375, 856, to which must be added for six months ending 30th June, 1876, on the average of three preceding years, say 16,000, making a total population of 391,856. This is inclusive of 4,800 Chinese, but exclusive of 45,470 Maoris, according to census, 1st March, 1874. The latter contribute largely to the revenue through the customs, and many of them are wealthy; It will be quite safe, therefore, to estimate the whole as equal to a European population of 400,000, and the following calculations are worked out on that basis.

These data give a total debt of 48*l.* 17*s.* 2*d.* per bead, and an annual charge of 2*l.* 12*s.* 9*d.* per head. It is to be observed, however, that the sum accrued on the sinking fund to 30th June, 1876, amounted to 1,206,331*l.*, which in reality reduced the public debt to the sum of 18,336,863*l.*, or 45*l.* 16*s.* 10*d.* per head of population.

The sinking fund, with interest thereon as it accrues, is invested in the hands of trustees, specially for the redemption of the various loans to which it appertains;

The year 1869, as I have said, was a time of the deepest gloom in the colony. The Imperial Government had withdrawn from all participation in the war, and there were those who feared that the colonists in the middle or south island might be tempted to follow their example, as the war existed only in the north island. The catastrophe which must have ensued, in such an event, was averted, in the first place by the better success which began to attend the war, and finally by the financial policy which was brought forward in 1870. It was thereby proposed to raise loans to the amount of ten millions, to be expended in developing the resources of the colony by means of immigration, railways, roads, and other public works. This policy was adopted with general enthusiasm, and as I shall have occasion to show, it has so far been attended with extraordinary success. It has been the means of completely pacifying the natives. It has indissolubly knit together the north and south islands, and has laid broad and deep the foundations of solid prosperity hereafter.

A wide distinction is therefore to be drawn between the loans raised prior to 1870 and subsequently. It appears from the financial statement of June, 1870, that the debt then stood thus:— and on reference to Table I it will be observed that out of 4,300,000*l.* no less than 3,300,000*l.* was expended for native and defence purposes, or in other words unproductively on war. But subsequently to 1870 the loans have been principally expended on immigration, public works, and the purchase of land.

The amounts under the chief heads of expenditure have been as follows to 30th June, 1876:—

I shall presently comment in detail on some of the foregoing items.

There can be no doubt that this expenditure, however desirable and beneficial it may ultimately prove, has nevertheless been pushed forward too quickly. The original intention in 1870 was to raise 10 millions sterling, to be expended in the course of ten years; and a general system of trunk railways and roads was then laid down. But these plans have not been adhered to, swing, I believe, chiefly if not altogether to the pressure of the provincial Governments; the railways were in consequence commenced fractionally and not upon a general system. The colony has thus been committed to an amount of railway expenditure at once, which it would have been more judicious to spread over a period at least twice as long; so that instead of a number of lines all under construction at the same time, according to the demands of the various provinces, they might have been finished successively, and each as completed have yielded a return. According to the latest returns, there are at present no less than twelve lines in course of construction throughout the colony, besides eight more under survey.

The provincial Governments and legislatures were the means by which New Zealand was colonised simultaneously at various points, instead of spreading from one centre; and were doubtless beneficial in the early days of the colony in developing local works and attracting immigrants, and this at a time when there was little communication between the provinces; but for many years their influence has been mischievous, owing to constant conflict with the central Government, especially on points of finance; each province spending in excess of income and scrambling for its share of public loans, as well as contending for local interests in the narrowest spirit, and by means of caballing, or "log rolling," putting a pressure on the general Government, which the latter could not always resist. The consequence has been the same with all public works as with railways, that too much expenditure has been undertaken at a time, and the necessity of continual borrowing has arisen, to some extent affecting the credit of the colony. It is satisfactory, therefore, to know that this unfortunate state of affairs has been terminated by the abolition of the provincial legislatures, so that the finances, public lands, and public works, together with the entire administration of the colony, will be carried on by one central Government; while purely local affairs will be managed by municipal and county authorities.

Whatever may have been the cause, the fact, however, remains that the debt of New Zealand stood thus, excluding floating debt in either case :—

Debt.	Per Head.	Annual Charge.	Per Head.	£	£	s.	d.	£	£	s.	d.	30th June, 1870.....	7,500,000	29	12	1	
474,000	1	17	5	30th June, 76.....	18,700,000	46	15	-	1,015,000	2	10	9	Increase	—	59	per cnt. —	
																	31 per cnt.

But the pressure of the public debt on a community is not to be estimated by the simple process of counting

heads. Regard must also be had to the wealth and resources of the population. It would be easy to give examples in support of this proposition; but it will be sufficient for my purpose to cite the experience of the United Kingdom, by contrasting the debt after the close of the great war, or say the year 1817 with 1876:—

Debt. Per Head. Annual Charge. Per Head. £ £ s. d. £ £ s. d. 1817 840,850,000 42 8 9 32,000,000 1 12 4
'75-76 777,000,000 23 9 6 27,400,000 - 16 6

No one can doubt that with our increased wealth and resources we could now bear a debt of 42*l.* 8*s.* 9*d.* per head with a charge of 1*l.* 12*s.* 4*d.* per head, much more easily than our predecessors did in 1817; nor would it hinder our progress any more than it did theirs. The enormous growth of our national debt was, moreover, occasioned entirely by war expenditure, whereas, as has been shown above, a large proportion of the debt of New Zealand exists in the form of reproductive works; besides which, there are other discrepancies between the national and colonial debts. Consideration is also due to the fact that our national debt was borrowed at home, whereas the New Zealand loans have been raised in the United Kingdom.

It would be satisfactory, were it possible, accurately to contrast the aggregate income of New Zealand and the United Kingdom, as well as the public debt and annual charge per head of the population in each country. Sir Julius Vogel in 1873 formed an estimate of the gross income of the colonists in comparison with Mr. Dudley Baxter's estimate for the United Kingdom in 1870. Omitting the debt incurred for railways and other reproductive works in the colony, also of provincial debts specially secured on the Crown lands, so as to arrive at a fair comparison, the results were worked out as follows, viz.:—

But both these results are confessedly "founded on estimates and "calculations based on the best available data, and are only stated "as probable approximations." Nevertheless we are not without the means of instituting trustworthy comparisons as to the well being of the New Zealanders.

So far, indeed, as the working classes are concerned, an examination of Table III as to wages and the cost of living, will show that they are much better off than at home, as the wages are higher in the colony, while the cost of provisions is less.

Again, it may be safely inferred that the aggregate income of the colonists is more per head than in the United Kingdom, from the fact that the proportion of bread winners to the total population is greater—the proportion of males is 57 per cent. as against 49 per cent, at home; the proportion of men in the prime of life is much greater in the colony, and there are no paupers.

The produce exported from the colony will form another test, as the exports in one form or another, whether as wages, profits, or rent, constitute a definite proportion of the income of the entire population, and the exports moreover furnish the means by which necessaries and supplies of all sorts are procured from other countries. The following table shows the average exports of produce for eight years, ending 1874, from the undermentioned colonies:—

New Zealand. Victoria. New South Wales* £ £ £ Gold 2,216,826 5,117,790 294637 Wool 1,981,320 4,115,823 3,099,728 Agricultural produce 175,332 106,127 228,116 Other produce 412,948 1,341,568 1, 929,137 4,786,426 10,681,608 5,551,618 £ s. d. £ s. d. £ s. d. Per head, exclusive of Maoris 18 2 1 Per head, Maoris and Chinese, estimated as per p. 7 17 11 5 14 9 7 10 16 4 * These are the exports seaward from New South Wales, irrespective of a considerable annual value of produce sent overland to Victoria and South Australia.

Daring the same period the exports from Canada (Quebec and Ontario) have averaged 11,764,130*l.*, or 4*l.* per head, and the average exports of British produce from the United Kingdom was 215,528,281*l.*, or 6*l.* 17*s.* 5*d.* per head.

In contrasting the indebtedness of New Zealand with that of the United Kingdom, we must add to the national debt the cost of railways, and capitalise the poor law rates, which do not exist in the colony, thus:— or 49*l.* 12*s.* 1*d.* per head for United Kingdom as against 48*l.* 17*s.* 2*d.* per head for New Zealand.

Or the question may be stated in another form. Against the colonial debt of 19,544,000*l.*, we have to place on the credit side the value of the following assets in hand, assuming the railways, roads, and public works, to be worth their cost, viz.:—

So that in point of fact the public debt of the colony is amply covered by sound public assets, independently altogether of the ordinary taxable resources of the community, which for its numbers is one of the wealthiest and most thriving in the world.

I shall now proceed to examine the progress of New Zealand in population, revenue, expenditure, and the main branches of industry, in order to form a conclusion as to whether the increase of the debt since 1870 is likely to retard the prospects of the colony, admitting freely that the expenditure has for the time been excessive.

In stating the increase which has taken place under the different heads during the ten years ending 1875, I have, except where otherwise mentioned, taken the average of the first two years of the decade and compared them with the average of the last two years, so as to avoid error from exceptional years. I have also contrasted

the first five years with the last five years of the decade.

V.—Revenue.

The receipts come under two heads, ordinary and territorial; the former consisting of customs duties in the proportion of three-fifths of the whole; and a statement of the latest year's revenue will be found in Table IV, showing the other receipts in detail. The territorial revenue is derived almost wholly from sales of crown lands, leases, &c. The following are the returns for the ten years :—

[000's omitted.]

Ordinary. Territorial. Total. £ £ £ 1866 1,086, 776, 1,862, '67 1,226, 562, 1,788, '68 1,196, 425, 1,621, '69 1,026, 382, 1,408, '70 960, 328, 1,288, 1871 921. 378, 1,299, '72 1,006, 619, 1,625, '73 1,487, 1,266, 2,753, '74 1,873. 1,151, 3,024, '75 2,047, 689, 2,736, Percentage increase— 1871-75 on 1866-70 34 66 44 '74-75 on '66-67 70 38 60

The ordinary revenue amounts to *5l. 2s. 4d.* per head of population.

The territorial revenue fluctuates from year to year, depending on the price of wool and grain, and other circumstances, and includes only the crown lands sold and leased by the Government, but does not indicate the progress of settlement on land purchased by individuals from the natives, who own the bulk of the north island, and from whom a large extent of land is purchased and leased annually.

VI.—Expenditure.

I have been unable to analyse the expenditure, not having before me the means of doing so properly. The public accounts are extremely complicated, as between the colonial and provincial Governments, as well as the special funds, trust funds, and land fund—including transfers, advances, and repayments—so that without fuller details than I possess, it is impossible to distinguish, with any approach to accuracy, which items ought to be charged to capital or which to income. But as my object is more especially to show the progress of the colony during the last ten years, it will, at all events in part, be attained by exhibiting the charges on the consolidated fund for each year, distinguishing ordinary charges, or those which represent the expense of carrying on the Government, from payments for interest, sinking fund, expenses of loans, &c.:—

Charges on Consolidated Fund.

[000's omitted.]

General Charges. Charges of the Public Debt. Total. £ £ £ 1866 620, 158, 778, '67 730. 334, 1,064, '68 463, 258, 721, '69 732, 525, 1,257, '70 883. 644, 1,527, 1871 586, 294, 880, '72 649, 509, 1,158, '73 691, 576, 1,267, '74 807, 840, 1,647, '75 1,049. 826, 1,875, Percentage increase— 1871-75 on 1866-70 10 58 28 '74-75 on '66-67 38 238 91

VII.—Railways and Roads.

As already stated, the amount expended on these has been 6,198,000*l.*, with the following results, viz. :—
1873 145 miles open; 434 miles being made.

'74 209 miles open; 621 miles being made.

'75 542 miles open; 464 miles being made.

The latest estimate of earnings on the portions of lines now being worked is 445,000*l.* for the year (including the Canterbury and Otago lines), and it is calculated that this will yield about 3 per cent, on their cost. But as the system becomes completed, there is every reason to believe that the earnings will cover the interest of capital expended. This expectation is justified by the fact that the railways (with one exception) are made on the three feet six inches gauge, and the cost will not therefore exceed 6,000*l.* per mile.

The value of the railways cannot, however, be estimated solely by the returns yielded on the traffic, as it is obvious that railways open up the country through which they pass, even more effectually than roads, and increase the value of property, public and private, many times beyond the cost of construction; and it should be borne in mind that the crown lands share in this enhanced value to the full extent.

Roads.

The general Government from June, 1869, to June, 1876, expended on roads as follows, viz.:—

In 1875 there were altogether 314 road districts throughout the colony, but the returns are incomplete; out of them 265 had an estimated area of 23,800,000 acres, and 290 districts had a total income of 268,0760*l.*, viz.:— the difference being accounted for by balances brought and carried forward.

VIII.—*Telegraphs.*

The sum of 228,300*l.* has been expended on telegraphs from 1865 to 30th June, 1876; the length opened is 3,156 miles, the number of messages in 1875 was close upon one million, and the receipts have been as follows:—

IX.—*Live Stock.*

The numbers have been correctly ascertained only in the years when the census was taken, viz.:—

Horses. Cattle. Sheep. Pigs. 1867 65,715 312,835 8,418,579 115,104 '71 81,028 436,592 9,700,629
151,460 '74 99,261 494,113 11,674,863 123,741 Percentage increase— 1874 on 1871 23 18 20 18 (decrease) '74
on '67 51 58 39 8 (increase)

X.—*Wool.*

Above three-fifths value of the total exports from the colony consist in wool, and the rate of increase in sheep above stated does not correspond with the percentage increase in the weight or value of wool exported during ten years, viz.:—

The reason of the increase in weight and value being greater than the increase in the number of sheep, is due to three causes :—1st, to improvement of the flocks by the ordinary process of culling; 2nd, to crossing the breed; and, 3rd, to improved pasture, by fencing and laying down English perennial grasses.

[000's omitted.]

Pounds. Value. lbs. £ 1866 22,811, 1,354, '67 27,153 1,581, '68 28,875, 1,517, '69 27,766, 1,371, 70
37,040, 1,704, 1871 37,794, 1,606, '72 41,887, 2,538, '73 41,535, 2,702, '74 46,849, 2,835, '75 54,402, 3,398,
Percentage increase— 1871-75 on 1866-70 55 73 '74-75 on '66-67 103 112

XI.—*Land under Cultivation.*

I subjoin the returns for eight years ending 1876 of the acreage under grain of all kinds, also under green and other crops and sown grasses, together with land broken up and prepared for cultivation, but not under crop:—

[000's omitted.]

To February in each Year. Acres Broken up. Under Grain Crop. Green and Other Crops. Hay and Sown Grasses. Total. 1869 96, 165, 20, 528, 809, '70 97, 214, 37, 676, 1,024, '71 116, 223, 25, 810, 1,174, '72 96, 261, 45, 854, 1,256, 1873 120, 244, 58, 1,028, 1,450, '74 148, 264, 58, 1,225, 1,695, '75 155, 279, 74, 1,476, 1,984, '76 146, 287, 124, 1,869, 2,426, 974, 1,937, 441, 8,466, 11,818, Increase per cent.— 1873-76 on 1869-72 40 24 147 95 78 '75-76 on '69-70 56 50 247 177 141

It is to be observed that land which has been cultivated, preparatory to its being laid down in sown grasses, is increased in value 8*l.* to 10*l.* per acre. I am unable, however, to state how much in the above table has been so prepared, and how many acres have been merely superficially sown without prior cultivation; but the increased area under the various stages of culture, together with fencing, buildings, &c., represent an addition to the value of the landed property of the colony of at least 1,500,000*l.* in the year 1875-76.

In addition to growing cereals enough for home consumption, the decennial returns show a steady increase in the exports of grain and flour, which for the year 1874 reached a total of more than 300,000*l.*; this source of wealth is, however, as yet in its infancy.

XII.—*Exports.*

The produce of New Zealand during ten years has been exported to the following value :—

[000's omitted.]

Gold. Other Produce. Total. £ £ £ 1866 2,845. 1,552, 4,397, '67 2,700, 1,779, 4,479, '68 2,504, 1,764, 4,268, '69 2,363, 1,727, 4,090, '70 2,158, 2,387, 4,545, 1871 2,788, 2,384, 5,172, '72 1,731, 3,376, 5,107, '73 1,987, 3,491, 5,478, '74 1,505, 3,647, 5,152, '75 1,408, 4,068, 5,476, Percentage increase— 1871-75 on 1866-70 25 (decrease) 84 21 '74-75 on '66-67 47(decrease) 132 20

XIII.—Imports.

I give the figures for the ten years, but fear no sound inference can be drawn from them as to the progress of the colony, the imports during the latter years having been obviously augmented by the shipment of railway plant and material, the produce of bans raised at home. I give the returns, distinguishing between consumable and non-consumable articles, as drawn up, and were given, by the colonial authorities :—

[000's omitted.]

Consumable. Non-Consumable. Total. £ £ £ 1866 — — 5,895, '67 4,179, 1,166, 5,345, '68 3,720, 1,266, 4,986, '69 3,901, 1,075, 4,976, '70 3,480, 1,159, 4,639, 1871 3,082, 996, 4,078, '72 3,702, 1,441, 5,143, '73 4,340, 2,125, 6,465, '74 5,178, 2,944, 8,122, '75 — — 8,029,

It will be seen that the imports considerably exceed the exports in value; the difference is, no doubt, in part due to the capital annually transferred by individuals from this country for investment in the colony. In order to arrive at an estimate of the sum total of these operations, I have obtained from the five principal banks connected with the colony returns of their drafts and credits, issued on New Zealand, during the last ten years, and have compiled therefrom the following results:—

I have, unfortunately, been unable to obtain these particulars, although I had devised a means by which the information might have been furnished, without disclosure of trade secrets; but one of the banks declined, without which the others would have been useless.

and I may further add that the total amount secured by mortgage in the colony under the Land Transfer Act for the :— a considerable portion of which would be British capital.

XIV.—Savings Banks.

Perhaps the best indication of the prosperity of the working classes will be found in the number of depositors and average amount of deposits; these have been :—

Depositors. Balances 31st December. Average Deposits. £ £ 1866 4,513 91,863 20 '67 6,579 156,855 24 '68 8,121 243,615 30 '69 10,103 320,383 32 '70 12,137 388,804 32 1871 14,275 454,966 32 '72 17,289 597,002 35 '73 21,807 812,144 37 '74 27,215 943,753 35 '75 30,310 897,326 30 Average 15,234 490,671 32

In 1875 the proportion of depositors to population was 80 per 1,000.

XV.—Municipalities.

The number of municipalities in 1875 was thirty-four, with an estimated population of 109,300.

The aggregate rateable annual value was 1,068,000*l.*, and the annual revenue from rates 14,1,200*l.*, equal to 2*s.* 8*d.* in the pound.

XVI.—Crown Lands.

Since the foundation of the colony the particulars of land sold and remaining on hand are as follows :—

The sales in 1875 amounted to 318,681 acres, and produced 448,697*l.*, at the following prices, viz.:—

s. d. £ s. d. Town lots from 30 - to 180 - - per acre Suburban lots from 27 6 to 713 9 per acre Country lots from 10 - to 2 - - per acre

Hitherto the upset prices have varied from 10*s.* to 40*s.* per acre in the different provinces, with varying conditions. The preceding valuation at 7*s.* 6*d.* per acre all round is therefore moderate.

The opening of roads and railways renders the crown lands year by year more valuable, and the policy has always been to fix such an upset price as will encourage purchases for the purposes of settlement, and not for speculation or land jobbing.

XVII.—Land Transfers.

The transfer of lands and the registration of deeds is conducted on the system introduced by Sir Robert Torrens in South Australia, with some necessary modifications in detail. No difficulty is found in transferring land by means of simple and inexpensive forms, which can be filled up by anyone of ordinary intelligence, while mortgages and settlements are recorded with equal facility. As often as required, the court clears up past encumbrances and grants a new title. The last report of the Registrar-General of Land for the year ending June, 1876, gives particulars of transactions, of which the following is a summary :—

Number. Value. £ Applications for registration 1,259 742,245 Transfers 4,504 904,655 Crown grants 2,268 — Mortgages 2,819 1,755,115 Mortgages paid off — 359,000 10,850 —

These transactions having been carried out with a celerity, economy, and security which would show that the colonists are, at all events in this respect, infinitely better off than their lawyer-ridden countrymen at home.

The fees paid to Government for the above-mentioned 10,850 transactions amounted to 12,500*l.*, or an average of 1*l.* 3*s.*, for each operation. In addition to which a charge is made of one halfpenny in the pound on the value of all land brought under the operation of the Act, in consideration of which the Government guarantees the titles. No claim has yet been made, and an assurance fund has been formed to meet any that may arise.

Besides the above, the registration of deeds has produced 15,733*l.* in fees, but I have not ascertained the number of operations.

XVIII.—Maoris.

No reliable statistics have been obtained as to their numbers, nor as to whether they are increasing or decreasing—the returns of 1858 and 1867 were avowedly mere approximations—though by the aid of the native constabulary the return for 1874 may approach accuracy and afford a basis for comparison hereafter. I give the returns for what they are worth, viz.:—

Males. Females. Children under 14. Total. 1858 31,677 24,303 — 56,049 '67 15,432 12,708 10,323 38,535 '74 24,763 20,707 — 45,470

In 1874 the numbers in the south island were 1,932, leaving 43,538 for the north island.

The disparity between the sexes originated in the habit which prevailed of female infanticide at a time when there were perpetual intertribal wars, but it has long since ceased.

The land courts established in 1863-64 have worked admirably in preventing disputes, and it is no exaggeration to say that they command the confidence of the Maoris, if possible, more entirely than that of the colonists. The courts are assisted by native assessors, and the proceedings are never called in question.

The tribal ownership of land is fast disappearing, and is in fact the only remains of communism among the natives. Each family cultivates their own patch of land and disposes of the produce as they please, although the land itself vests in the tribe until split up and individualised by the land courts.

This is done on application by the tribe. The title having been first proved and the land surveyed, crown grants are issued and registered devolving the title from the tribe to individuals, who are then enabled to sell or hold their allotments as they please. A great deal of the lands to the north of Auckland are held by the natives under crown grants, and the same practice is spreading to other parts of the island. The natives still possess about 20 millions of acres in the north island, and are turning their attention to agriculture as well as to rearing sheep and cattle.

But the most encouraging circumstance connected with the Maoris is the desire to have their children educated and taught English. In the year 1875 there were sixty-four schools for the purpose, and 1,600 pupils. On the whole, there are gratifying signs of advancement in civilisation; and the notion that they are a doomed race seems to be no longer entertained by those who are best acquainted with them, and most capable of judging; at all events, every means that justice and enlightened policy can suggest will be employed to preserve this interesting people from the fate which has heretofore befallen aboriginal races in contact with the European.

XIX.—Population, Birth Places, and Occupations.

The following are the numbers for the ten years ending 31st December, 1875, exclusive of Maoris :—

Males Percentage of Total Population. Females. Percentage of Total Population. Total. 1866 125,080 61 3 79,034 38 7 204,114 '67 131,929 86,739 218,668 '68 134,621 91,997 226,618 '69 140,112 97,137 237,249 '70 145,732 102,668 248,400 1871 156,431 110,555 266,986 '72 162,404 117,156 279,560 73 170,406 125,540 295,946 '74 194,349 147,511 341,860 75 213,294 56 8 162,562 43 2 375,856 Increase per cent.— 1871-75 on 1866-70 32 — 45 — 38 74-75 on '66-67 58 — 87 — 70

For the foregoing calculations the population is estimated at 400,000, 30th June, 1876, as explained above

(p. 7).

Birth "Places.

By the census of March, 1874, the proportions were as follows:— of 4,800 Chinese, 3,600 were settled in Otago and 900 in Westland.

Occupations.

The census of March, 1874, gives elaborate details, from which I take the following summary of the proportions per cent, of the whole population as well as 48,927 persons then at the gold fields:—

Whole Population. Population at Gold Fields Per cent. Per cent. Government, employés 0.83 0.42 Learned professions, literature, art, and science 1.34 0.83 Domestic offices, wives, mothers, children, &c 57.99 46.14 Entertaining and personal offices for man 4.16 3.50 Commercial, and owners of houses 1.71 1.64 Conveyance of men, animals, goods, and messages 2.76 1.63 Agricultural 11.56 6.16 Mechanical 3.49 1.97 Working and dealing in textile fabrics, dress, and in fibrous materials 2.40 1.51 Working and dealing in food and drinks 1.49 1.64 Working and dealing in animal and vegetable substances 1.05 0.80 Working and dealing in minerals 7.11 31.47 Labourers (undefined) and others 3.24 1.80 Persons of property and rank 0.12 0.03 Non-productive 0.75 0.46 100.00 100.00

XX.—Immigration and Emigration.

The following table shows the balance in favour of the colony during ten years; the numbers are of course included in the population returns above given:—

Immigration. Emigration. Excess of Immigration. Assisted. 1866 14,893 7,294 7,599 '67 11,126 6,267 4,859 '68 8,723 7,863 860 Not ascertained '69 8,903 5,262 3,641 '70 9,124 5,547 3,577 1871 10,083 5,297 4,786 '72 10,725 5,752 4,973 4,436 '73 13,572 4,761 8,811 8,754 '74 43,965 5,859 38,106 32,118 '75 31,737 6,467 25,270 20,370

showing a total gain in ten years of 102,482, and of these 57,74 were males and 44,778 females.

There must at all times and from all colonies, as well as from the United States, be an emigration more or less considerate according to circumstances; it must not, however, be concluded that it is the actual immigrant who leaves the colony soon after arrival, but rather that it is merely the natural ebb and flow of population in new countries. I am informed that henceforth a larger proportion of free passages will be granted to people in this country who are recommended by friends and relatives in the colony, and this will still further tend to secure the actual immigrants remaining in the colony.

It has been asserted that the expenditure on immigration has afforded the means of obtaining free passages as far as New Zealand to some, whose real destination may have been one or other of the Australian colonies. The returns prove this assertion to be groundless. The tide has during the last ten years set rather towards, than from New Zealand. In the year 1875 the number of immigrants with free passages amounted to 20,370, while the unassisted immigrants numbered 11,367, viz.:—

Australia. United Kingdom. Other Places Total. Immigrants (unassisted) from 6,328 3,444 1,595 11,367 Emigrants 4,340 799 1,328 6,467 In favour of New Zealand 1,988 2,645 267 4,900

But a still more conclusive proof will be to take the excess of immigration over emigration during ten years, ending December, 1875:—

British Colonics. United Kingdom. Other Places. Total. Immigrants from 59,629 94,263 9,049 162,941 Emigrants to 47,740 6,401 6,228 60,369 In favour of New Zealand 11,889 87,862 2,821 102,572 Of these were males 7,320 48,711 1,727 57,758 Of these were females 4,569 39,151 1,094 44,814

The value of an immigrant to the community has been estimated in the United States at 166*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* each, and they have been computed to be worth 200*l.* in New Zealand. How these conclusions are arrived at I am unable to say, but this much is certain, that they cost the colony nearly 20*l.* each, when landed and forwarded to the interior. Free passages have been granted to December, 1876, to about 80,000 of all ages, and (as stated above) the sum of 1,100,000*l.* has been expended on immigration, with excellent results as regards the prosperity of the colony.

XXI.—Vital Statistics.

The great disparity between the number of males and females in New Zealand must not be lost sight of, in considering the various features of its vital statistics. In England, the males number about 49 per cent., and the females about 51 per cent, of the total population. In the colony in December, 1875, the males were 56,78, the

females 43?2 per cent., but the disparity is annually decreasing.

The following is the Proportion of Marriages and Deaths to the Living Population for the Ten Years 1866-75.

Year. Estimated Mean Population of New Zealand. Births, Marriages, and Deaths. Numerical. Proportion to every 1000 of Population. Births. Marriages. Deaths Births. Marriages Deaths. 1866 197,360 8,466 2,038 2,540 42.89 10.32 12.86 '67 211,39' 8,918 2,050 2,702 42.18 9.69 12.78 '68 222,825 9,391 2,085 2,662 42.14 9.35 11.94 '69 231,934 9,718 1,931 2,721 41.90 8.32 11.73 '70 242,824 10,277 1,851 2,703 42.32 7.62 11.13 1871 260,630 10,592 1,864 2,642 40.64 7.15 10.13 '72 273,273 10,795 1,873 3,194 39.50 6.85 11.68 '73 287,752 11,222 2,276 3,645 38.99 7.90 12.66 '74 320,687 12,844 2,828 4,161 40.05 8.81 12.97 '75 358,858 14,138 3,209 5,712 40.23 8.94 15.92 Increase per cent.— 1871-75 on 1866-70 — 28 21 45 — — — '74-75 on '66-67 — 57 47 88 — — —

The birth, marriage, and death-rates in England are respectively 35, 17, and 24 per 1,000, but a fair comparison cannot be made between them and the similar rates for New Zealand, as the ages of the two populations must differ very widely. The colony is so young that her population has not had time to mature, and to possess its due share of aged people to swell the deaths, while the large immigration consists principally of persons in the prime of life and children. The same causes account for the high birth-rate, which, however, has a downward tendency.

For the reasons which I have mentioned, a comparison between the death-rates at all ages and from all causes in England and New Zealand would obviously not prove of any use in measuring the comparative salubrity of the two climates.

The mortality in New Zealand during the year 1875 was exceptionally heavy, and exceeded the rate of the preceding year by about 3 per 1,000. The Registrar-General in his report remarks that "the increase appears to have been general in all classes of "disease. While the proportion of zymotic disease as a whole was "slightly increased, the proportion of deaths from miasmatic "diseases was rather less. Measles in 1875 was epidemic in "nearly all the provinces." In the appendix will be found two tables, the two last columns of which give the percentages of deaths from all causes in the colony in 1875, and those in England during the ten years 1861-70, for males and females. The most striking points in these tables fare the excessive mortality from zymotic disease, and the lightness of the rates from phthisis in New Zealand as compared with England :—

Males. Females. New Zealand. England. New Zealand. England. Zymotic disease 26.3 20.8 35.5 21.7 Phthisis 6.5 10.8 5.1 11.7

The towns of the colony are responsible for much of the excessive mortality from zymotic disease. Thus 32?7 per cent, of the whole of the deaths in the seven towns of Auckland, Thames, Wellington, Nelson, Christchurch, Dunedin, and Hokitika, resulted from zymotic disease, while in the rest of the colony only 28?7 per cent, of the total deaths were attributable to this class. Much of the zymotic disease throughout the country may be ascribed to inattention to sanitary conditions, and this no doubt is greatly intensified in the towns.

The comparison between the proportion of deaths from phthisis in New Zealand and England is very favourable to the colony, notwithstanding the large proportion of her population which is passing through the ages when that disease is most liable to show itself.

XXII.—Education.

By the census, March 1874, it was ascertained that of the European population 68 per cent, could read and write, 8 per cent, could read only, and 24 per cent, could not read.

In the month of December, 1875, the return of schools is as follows:—

Description of Schools. Number of Schools Number of Scholars Males. Females. Total. Common schools, receiving Government aid 599 24,970 20,592 45,562 Superior schools, receiving Government aid 4 428 170 598 Private schools, not receiving Government aid 182 3,206 4,110 7,316 Total 785 28,604 24,872 53,476

These schools employed 1,605 teachers, viz., 740 males and 865 females.

The ages of the pupils in December, 1875, were :—

But the estimated number of children from 5 to 15 years of age was 90,700—of whom about 8,500 may be reckoned as being educated at home, more or less imperfectly; there would thus remain about 30,300 children at from 5 to 15 years of age who were not receiving any education whatever. This will, however, speedily be remedied by measures recently enacted.

The following is a statement of the income for public school purposes, exclusive of payments for children at private schools and the Auckland Grammar School, which latter is partly endowed by Government lands, viz.:—

XXIII.—*Conclusion.*

I have summarised the facts under the proper heads in Table V, and they seem to show conclusively, notwithstanding the rapidity with which the debt has of late years been increased, that there is no reason to fear the liabilities have outrun either the public or private resources of the colony. It will be seen that the annual charge of the debt per head of the population has increased 34 per cent, since 1870; but the property and income of the population have likewise increased, and in a very much greater ratio. For example, it will also be seen from Table V, that from June, 1870, the increase from three sources alone, viz., exports, live stock, and land under cultivation—is estimated at 54*l.* 19*s.* 2*d.*, equal to 12*i.* 3*s.* 10*d.* per head per annum, independently of produce raised for home consumption and all other sources of income; or deducting 3*s.* 10*d.* per head for interest on the increase of capital borrowed by individuals during the five years—net 12*l.* Whereas during the same period the debt charge has increased only 13*s.* 4*d.* per head per annum.

Nevertheless I have not concealed my opinion that the credit of the colony has been too freely drawn upon during the past five years, and I am aware that this opinion has prevailed in financial circles. It cannot, indeed, be denied that a feeling of uneasiness began to prevail, with the usual want of discrimination, following upon the difficulties of Turkish, Egyptian, Peruvian, and other foreign debtors. Though from what has been set forth above, it will be seen that it has not been the resources of New Zealand which have been exceeded, but the disposition of investors at home to absorb the loans, the public not being aware how ample is the security afforded by the colony. Loan after loan has been brought out, and the market has been over supplied with New Zealand bonds. Before the capitalists who took up one loan had been able to place it with the investing public, another loan has followed, at a lower price, and prejudiced the previous operation. But all this has no bearing upon the soundness of the security; though I trust it may prove a timely warning to the Government of New Zealand that they must moderate their expenditure, even upon works of the greatest ultimate advantage to the colony, and not suffer their zeal for developing its resources to outrun their power of borrowing on fair terms in the London money market.

Appendix.

TABLE I.—Statement showing the Sums Expended out of Revenue and Loan respectively, during each Financial Year from 1852 to 1876, for Native and Defence Purposes.

Financial Year.	Expenditure out of Revenue.	Expenditure out of Loan.	Total.	Native.	Defence.	Total.
Native. Defence. Total. £ £ £ £ £ £	1853	17,675 — 17,675	3,920 — 5,920	21,595	'53-54	42,301 — 42,301
1,941 — 1,941	44,242	'54-55	46,482	25	46,507	— 381 381 46,888
'55-56	21,039	— 21,039	707	— 707	21,746	
'56-57	10,988	25 11,013	26,662	— 26,662	37,675	'57-58
11,225	3,085	14,310	48,069	— 48,069	62,379	'58-59
12,276	4,552	16,828	11,097	— 11,097	27,925	'59-60
7,641	7,855	15,496	10,473	21,299	31,772	47,208
1860-61	16,228	7,849	24,077	9,302	82,932	92,234
116,311	'61-62	25,315	7,080	32,395	16,015	46,698
62,713	95,108	'62-63	57,022	10,435	67,457	7,580
193,247	200,827	268,284	'63-64	52,599	26,967	79,566
16,586	801,307	817,893	897,469	'64-65	60,291	29,094
89,385	600	803,701	804,301	893,686	'65-66	48,636
28,993	77,629	2,525	417,374	419,899	497,528	'66-67
34,132	114,390	148,522	645	235,997	236,642	385,164
'67-68	24,316	23,217	47,533	— 486,234	486,234	533,767
'68-69	38,124	227,417	265,541	— 80,967	80,967	346,508
'69-70	39,486	305,963	345,449	— 19,002	19,002	364,456
1870-71	51,659	88,684	140,343	230	173,098	173,328
313,671	'71-72	48,644	40,071	88,715	49,434	160,000
209,434	298,149	'72-73	54,581	36,558	91,139	60,667
161,650	222,317	313,156	73-71	53,17°	25,873	79,043
91,386	166,735	258,121	337,164	'74-75	42,117	65,000
107,117	114,254	81,936	196,240	303,357	'75-76	43,396
105,114	148,510	125,038	85,293	210,331	358,841	
Totals	859,343	1,158,247	2,017,590	597,131	4,017,901	4,615,032
						6,632,622

TABLE II.—Statement showing the Debentures and Treasury Bills in Circulation under the several Loans of the Colonial and Provincial Governments of New Zealand, the Amount of Sinking Fund Accrued, the Balance of Indebtedness, and the Amount of the Annual Charge for Interest and Sinking Fund.

Act Authorising the Loan.	Amount of Debentures in Circulation on 30th June, 1876.	Sinking Fund Accrued to 30th June, 1876.	Total Debt after Deducting Sinking Fund.	Annual Charge.	Interest.	Sinking Fund.	Total.
£ £ £ £	£ £	£ £	£ £	£ £	£ £	£ £	£ £
Ordinance of Legislative Council	311	—	—	—	—	—	—
New Zealand Loan Act, 1856	500,000	270,522	229,478	20,000	10,000	30,000	30,000
New Zealand Loan Act, '60	93,100	42,552	50,548	5,586	1,862	7,448	7,448

Zealand Loan Act, '63 1,519,400 269,531 1,249,869 76,284 20,508 96,792 New Zealand Debentures Act, 1864, and Amendment Act, 1865 50 — 50 — — Consolidated Loan Act, 1867 4,660,100 232,875 45,831 278,706 Immigration and Public Works Loan Act, 1870 3,195,400 545,100 8,060,400 151,432 21,000 172,432 Defence and Other Purposes Loan Act, 1870 750,000 36,875 6,000 42,875 Immigration and Public Works Loan Act, 1873 1,500,000 — 1,500,000 67,500 — 67,500 Immigration and Public Works Loan Act, 1874 4,000,000 — 4,000,000 180,000 — 180,000 General Purposes Loan Act, 1873 250,000 — 2 50,000 11,952 — 11,952 Treasury bills 572,000 — 572,000 29,359 — 29,359 Auckland Loan Act, 1863 ... 31,600 5,341 26,259 1,896 632 2,528 Wellington Loan Act, 1862 ... 2,000 2,000 — 160 80 240 Wellington Loan Act, '66.... 13,500 4,160 9,340 1,080 270 1,350 Wellington Debts Act, '71.... 75,000 — 75,000 3,750 — 3,750 Nelson Waterworks Loan Act, 1864 6,200 4,354 1,846 496 124 620 Lyttleton and Christchurch Railway Loan Act, 1860 77,700 28,324 49,376 4,662 1,554 6,216 Canterbury Loan Ordinance, 1862 22,800 14,453 8,347 1,368 228 1,596 Westland Loan Act, 1873 50,000 — 50,000 2,500 — 2,500 Otago Loan Ordinance, 1862 116,700 19,990 96,710 7,002 1,167 8,169 North Otago District Public Works Loan Act, 1872 48,900 — 48,900 2,445 6,8 00 9,245 Total 17,484,761 1,206,327 16,278,434 837,222 116,056 953,278 Act 1870 and 1873, issued 8th July, 1876 1,250,000 — — — 62,500 18,734,761 1,206,327 16,278,434 837,222 116,056 1,015,778

TABLE III.—Wages.

The following are the rates prevailing at Auckland in June and July, 1876, according to the last reports from the immigration officers:—

s d. s. d Bakers, butchers, and brewers 7 6 to 8 6 per day. Blacksmiths 8 - to 9 - per day. Carpenters and coach builders 8 6 to 10 6 per day. Coopers, working engineers, stone masons, millers, and millwrights 8 - to 9 - per day. Plumbers and painters 7 - to 7 6 per day. Plasterers 9 - to 10 6 per day. Ropemakers 6 - to 7 - per day. Saddlers, shoemakers, and tailors 8 - to 9 - per day. Ordinary labourers 6 — to 7 - per day. Ploughmen, gardeners, and farm labourers, with house accommodation and partial supplies 12 6 to 22 6 per week. Female servants, with board 6 - to 12 - per week. Cooks and laundresses, with board 8 — to 12 — per week.

TABLE III Contd.—Prices of Provisions in 1873, from Official Handbook.

s. d. Meat—Beef per lb. - 4½ Mutton per lb. - 3 Pork per lb. - 5½ Bread—Wheaten per lb. - 2¼ Butter—Fresh per lb. 1 2 Salt per lb. - 10 Milk per quart - 4 Flour per 196 lb. 32 - Grain—Wheat per bshl. 6 - Tea per lb. 3 - Coffee per lb. 1 8 Sugar per lb. - 5½ Beer per hd. 100 - Brandy per gal. 22 - Wine per gal. 15 -

Table V.—Summary of Percentage Increase during the last Eight or Ten Years ending December, 1875.

Comparing the First Five Years with the Last Five Years of the Decade. Comparing the First Two Years with the Last Two Years of the Decade. Increase per Head, 1871-75 on 1866-70. Per cent. Per cent. £ s.d. Population increase 38 increase 70 — Revenue— Ordinary increase 34 increase 70 5 18 - Territorial increase 66 increase 38 5 4 5 Expenditure— Charges on consolidated fund increase 10 increase 38 1 2 8 Wool— Weight increase 55 increase 103 — Value increase 73 increase 112 — Imports increase 23 increase 44 — Exports— Gold decrease 25 decrease 47 Other produce increase 84 increase 132 14 15 2* Gold and other produce increase 21 increase 20 Live Stocky comparing 1867 with 1874— Horses, valued at £10 - - increase 51 per cent. Cattle valued at 4 - - increase 58 per cent. 6 8 6* Sheep valued at - 4 - increase 39 per cent. Pigs valued at - 2 6 increase 8 per cent. Lands under Cultivation, 1868 to 1875— Comparing first four years with last... increase 78 per cent. 33 15 6* Comparing first two years with last... increase 143 per cent. — Colonial Debt— Comparing June, 1870, with June, 1867 increase per head 59 per cent. — Annual charge increase per head 34 per cent. - 13 4 * From these items must be deducted interest on the increase of capital borrowed by individuals from creditors beyond the colony, since 1870; to be perfectly safe, say 1,000,000l. per annum at 6 per cent., or upon the mean population equal to 3s. 10d. per head per annum.

TABLE VI.—New Zealand. Deaths, 1875, Males.

Total Under Five Years. Total Over Five Years. Total from Specific Cause. Percentage of Deaths, all Causes. Percentage of Deaths, all Causes England, 1861-70. Class I. Zymotic Diseases. Smallpox — — — 0.8 Measles 114 29 143 4.3 1.9 Scarlatina 7 10 17 0.5 4.3 Diphtheria 27 19 46 1.4 0.8 Typhus and typhoid 28 167 195 5.7 3.8 Whooping cough 7 — 7 0.2 2.0 Diarrhoea and dysentery 239 25 264 7.8 4.4 Other zymotic diseases 115 99 214 6.4 2.8 Total Class I 537 349 886 26.3 20.8 Class II. Constitutional Diseases. Phthisis 13 207 220 6.5 10.5 Other constitutional diseases 84 105 189 5.7 4.8 Total Class II 97 312 409 12.2 15.3 Class III. Local Diseases. Nervous system 150 195 345 10.2 13.0 Organs of circulation 10 180 190 5.6 5.5 Organs of respiration 232 223 455 13.5 15.7 Organs of digestion 84 126 210 6.3 4.2 Other local diseases 7 57 64 1.9 2.5

Total Class III 483 781 1,264 37.5 40.9 Class IV. Developmental Diseases 342 57 399 11.8 18.0* Class V. Violence 36 325 361 10.7 5°0 Cause not defined 19 38 57 1.5 — General total 1,514 1,862 3,376 100.0 100.0 * This includes "causes not defined" and all causes not included in other four classes.

TABLE VII.—Deaths, 1875, Females.

Total Under Five Years. Total Over Five Years. Total from Specific Cause. Percentage of Deaths, all Causes. Percentage of Deaths, all Causes England, 1801-70. Class I. Zymotic Diseases. Smallpox — — — — 0.7 Measles 110 30 146 6.3 1.7 Scarlatina 12 7 19 0.8 4.4 Diphtheria 29 31 60 2.6 1.0 Typhus and typhoid 24 121 145 6.2 4.2 Whooping cough 7 — 7 0.3 2.7 Diarrhoea and dysentery 219 27 246 10.4 4.3 Other zymotic diseases 114 93 207 8.9 2.7 Total Class I 5*5 315 830 35.5 21.7 Class II. Constitutional Diseases. Phthisis 9 110 119 5.1 11.7 Other constitutional diseases 79 90 169 7.2 5.7 Total Class II 88 200 288 12.3 17.4 Class III. Local Diseases. Nervous system 113 91 204 8.7 11.8 Organs of circulation 4 82 86 3.7 4.6 Organs of respiration 161 119 280 12.0 — Organs of digestion 57 88 145 6.2 — Other local diseases 6 20 26 1.1 — Total Class III 341 400 741 31.7 16.4 Class IV. Developmental Diseases 257 112 369 15.9 —* Class V. Violence 50 36 86 3.7 — Causes not defined 12 10 22 0.9 — General total 1,263 1,073 2,336 100.0 55.5 * This includes "causes not defined" and all causes not included in other four classes.

DISCUSSION ON MR. HAMILTON'S PAPER.

SIR JULIUS VOGEL said he was sure that Mr. Hamilton's paper had been listened to with a great deal of pleasure by those who were interested in the colony, although he did not mean to say that all the statements in it would be concurred in. He was glad to be allowed to make a few remarks about it. It was not until 1869 that the soldiers were actually taken away from the colony, although since 18C3 such a step was threatened. At the time of the removal native affairs were very gloomy, and the Government viewed with alarm the determination to carry it into effect. Since then native affairs have occupied much attention, and at times occasioned great anxiety. No doubt the public works policy had materially aided in reconciling the natives to European rule, but to Sir Donald McLean's patience, immense personal influence and exquisite tact, were in his (Sir J. Vogel's) opinion, mainly to be attributed the fact that for the first time in the history of the colony, native affairs had ceased to be the all absorbing subject, and leisure and freedom were afforded to deal with questions of colonisation. He much regretted the reference Mr. Hamilton had made to the provinces. Besides that, he recognised the good old maxim *de mortuis nil nisi bonum*. It was far from the case that they were responsible in the way Mr. Hamilton supposed for the railways being carried out simultaneously from several points. Any other plan would have defeated its own ends. The provinces had done good work in the past, and although the need for their existence ceased to be, their services should not be forgotten. Now that the abolition was completed, it was gratifying to think that the organic change in the constitution had not been made without much argument and consideration. To have lightly altered the constitution would have shown that it had not deeply sunk into the hearts of the people. He could not admit the justice of all Mr. Hamilton's comparisons. To his mind a comparison of the debt incurred for war purposes with the debt incurred for large public reproductive works had no meaning. If he attached importance to the figures, he might point out that in including the last-issued loan in the amount negotiated up to the end of June, Mr. Hamilton had omitted to bear in mind that at least a half-million of it, besides the 800,000*l.* guaranteed debentures, should not have been included as expended. With all due respect to the Society, he must say that it was quite possible for statistics to represent a mass of figures without appealing to any sympathy or intelligence from which a comparison could be instituted. He could not understand what was to be gathered from the fact of a nominal amount per head of a public debt. He agreed with Mr. Dudley Baxter, who had put upon record that the only true way of ascertaining the incidence of public debt was by comparing it with the ability of the population to pay it. He could conceive that there were many peoples and countries that were able to bear a nominal amount of taxation far in excess of the taxation which would be most burdensome to another country where the earnings were smaller. He rather inclined to the opinion that the very heavy taxation in the United States pressed much less burthen-somely upon the settled population, than the very light taxation of this country upon the working population; and he was quite certain that if the taxation of New Zealand went up to a large amount the population would be much better able to pay it than the working men of this country were able to pay the ordinary taxation. When the expenditure upon railways was compared with the expenditure upon war, what did it mean? Supposing any one were to say "I have spent twice as much money this year as last. Last year I spent 500*l.* in a law suit which brought me in nothing whatever, and this year I spent 1,000*l.* in improving my estate; hence I have been more extravagant this year than last." What would be thought of such a statement? Mr. Dudley Baxter had said—and he thought there were many that would entirely agree with him—in giving information of a most imperfect kind as to the earnings of the peoples of different countries, that although such information was founded on a mere

approximate estimate, it gave a far truer idea of the real burden of the debt of a country than the most accurate figures. Then came the question as to what importance was to be attached to the fact of the New Zealand loans not being quoted so high as those of other countries. His opinion was that the circumstances which ruled the prices of the stock exchange were entirely independent of the conditions upon which the money was spent within the colony. The quotations from day to day of the stock exchange were not criteria of value, but of the amount of stock in the hands of wholesale dealers. As a matter of fact, all the loans of the constitutional colonies were undeniably secured. They were first charges on the revenue. Neither the governor nor the audit department would allow the annual votes to be defrayed until the permanent charges were paid. Besides, not only were the unsold lands security, but the sold lands could be reached by taxation. Fluctuations in the value of a security on the stock exchange did not necessarily follow the prosperity or depression of a colony. For instance, New Zealand securities had gone up 2 per cent, within the last nine weeks, but he was not aware the country had made any particular stride in that time. The question of immigration was, he thought, one of vast interest. His own attention was called to it in 1868, by reading a most interesting work by Sir Morton Peto upon the resources of America, and when he studied the wonderful results of immigration to the United States, it seemed to him that a new country could not make too great a sacrifice for the purpose of increasing its population. He had jotted down a few of the facts. In 1800 the population of the United States was only 5,300,000, and in 1860 it had increased to 31,400,000. Two-thirds of the population up to 1860 were immigrants and descendants of immigrants, and yet, astonishing to relate, the total number of immigrants was only 5,200,000, who had multiplied to 21,000,000. Of the number of immigrants 3,000,000 arrived between 1849 and 1860. In 1800 the population of the United Kingdom was 16,000,000, and in 1860 it had not doubled. In considering the amount of debt of the United Kingdom and New Zealand respectively, it should be remembered the comparison was between a country whose population had not doubled within sixty years, and one whose population had doubled in ten years. It had been computed that at the same rate of progression as in the United Kingdom, in 1860 the population of the United States would only have been 10,000,000 instead of 31,000,000. When he saw those wonderful results, it suggested a great deal to his mind and the minds of those who were acting with him. Mr. Hamilton had expressed some doubt as to how the value of an emigrant was to be obtained. It could best be arrived at, he thought, by estimating what was the amount of his earnings, and that would be a complicated affair. He thought that that cost of producing an emigrant might be, at any rate, arrived at by considering what the emigrant had to go through before he arrived at the age of twenty. A German philosopher had devoted a great deal of attention to the subject, and he had estimated the value of an adult at 200/., which, he thought, was within the mark. In reference to the question as to whether the New Zealand immigration had been successful, he thought it was not possible to conceive a more profitable occupation in the case of a new country than introducing immigrants at 20*l.* per head, who were worth more than that sum to the country per annum. In respect to New Zealand, it was found that in the four years ending 1875, during which the immigration had been conducted on a large scale, the immigrants who paid their own passages exceeded the number of emigrants by 11,400, and this was in addition to the 65,000 persons whose passages had been assisted, showing that over and above the immigrants introduced by the Government, there was an excess of arrivals of those who paid their own passages over those who left the colony. The policy of public works was not to provide work to immigrants for the mere sake of keeping them, but to enter upon such works as would enlarge the scope of private enterprise by giving a market to the produce of land hitherto cut off from communication. They hardly conceived what the value of the land was, or they would not doubt the policy of opening it up. The following data had been given [*unclear: to*] him by colonists at present in this country:—

"Two thousand and ninety-four acres of land were purchased about 1871 at 2*l.* an acre—when a railway was not opened within eighteen miles. The land was sold in 1876 in thirty-five lots at an average per acre of 9*l.* 6*s.* The railway then ran past it.

"Four thousand, seven hundred and seventy-four acres were bought in June, 1873, at 2*l.*—about 10*s.* an acre was spent on it. It was sold in July, 1876, at 5*l.* 5*s.* an acre. Three months after the purchase nearly every acre was ploughed. There were twenty double-furrowed ploughs at work. Railway not within 60 miles when purchased. When sold open within 8 miles.

Six thousand acres within 16 miles of Timaru let to contractors for one crop (the land being in its natural state) yield 50 and 55 bushels of wheat per acre—this wheat, if sold by the contractors early in the season, that is shortly after harvest, would have brought 3*s.* 3*d.* and 3*s.* 9*d.* per bushel in Timaru. As the year went on, prices rose, and by last advices, wheat being scarce, was sold at 5*s.* and 5*s.* 3*d.*, but this price may be considered exceptional. Farmers, as a rule, may calculate upon receiving 3*s.* 3*l.* and 3*s.* 6*d.* immediately after harvest in such districts as Timaru; in the Oamaru district, from its proximity to Dunedin and a more populous district, prices rule about 6*s.* per bushel above Timaru.

"The contractors in the Timaru district have the land for one crop, according to situation of land. Some they get rent free, and pay, in some cases, 5*s.* and 10*s.* and 15*s.* per acre. The landlord fences the land, and provides

grass seeds where grass is sown with the wheat.

"The cost of producing wheat, say from breaking up of the land to delivery of wheat at a port is about 4*l.* per acre, that is provided the proprietor of the land does it on his own account, and employs labour by contract—contractors who take the land for one crop having the labour within themselves, of course can do it much cheaper for themselves. The profitable result to contractors during the last two or three years has increased the demand for land on the cropping system, and they can afford to pay 5*s.* and 15*s.* rent, and make a good profit—15*s.* is being paid by contractors this year for land in the Waikato district, in the Otago provinces, 30 miles from Oamaru."

There was no extravagance in constructing railways to open up land like this. It was an essential part of the policy of the Government to settle the north island, and if what Mr. Hamilton had suggested had been done, namely, constructing the railways one by one, instead of carrying out that policy, the population of the north island would have been drained. As Mr. Hamilton had said, the natives had responded to their friendship, and had accepted with pleasure the policy of peace instead of the policy of war. It had often been stated that if left to themselves the colonists would be cruel to the natives. Their reply was the money spent on roads and railways this decade against that spent on wars the last decade. It was a policy of public works and settlement against one of fire and sword—a policy of saving life instead of destroying it. Let those who were ready to censure the colonists take these facts to heart. People were all more or less swayed by surrounding influences, and Mr. Hamilton, though he had most ably and conclusively defended the colony, had not at the last the courage of his opinions, but to some extent censured the Government he had so ably vindicated. Let them remember this, that in deciding on the policy they adopted, the colonists had everything in their favour. The people were educated to a far greater extent than the mass of the people in this country. The climate of the colony was splendid, its lands of vast productive power; it did not suffer from droughts; it was a country capable of supporting millions. The labouring men of this country found in it a great relief. There they had easy hours, plenty of food, and, above all, a career open to their children. Thousands of persons in happy homes, whose lives would otherwise have been miserable, were ready to justify the policy of the colonists. And, after all, what had the colonists to justify? That they asked British capitalists for money on good security to spend on reproductive works, instead of asking the British taxpayer to contribute to the cost of wretched wars.

MR. PRANCE said he had perhaps more knowledge than most others in the room, and he would in the first place reply to the question raised as to why the credit of New Zealand on the London Stock Exchange was not equal to that of other colonial loans, such as for instance New South Wales. The answer was, that the colony has raised money at high rates because they had thrown too much stock on the market. He had no doubt that in a few years' time New Zealand would earn on its railways as much per cent, as the New South Wales railways earned, viz., 4 per cent.; but at the present moment it was a fact that the money raised by New Zealand did not bring in to the colony an equal amount of profit as the money raised by New South Wales, Victoria, or others of the South Australian colonies. He believed that ere long the superior climate and soil, with the influx of so many emigrants from Great Britain, would have the effect of making New Zealand the foremost of British colonies.

MR. SAMUEL HILL wished to call attention to the amount invested in savings banks, to which no allusion had been made. He found that the amount thus invested amounted, in New Zealand, to 2*l.* 5*s.* per head of population. Of course this was less than the amount of charge on the public debt; but it must not be forgotten that a degree of thrift and frugality would have to be exercised in order to accumulate such a sum. The question of education was a very important one, especially when there was a school attendance of no less than 45,562. He thought that the elementary school system of the mother country had been introduced to New Zealand with very considerable profit and advantage. He hoped that the day was as far distant when the last of the Maoris would have left New Zealand, as he believed it would be when the prophecy would be fulfilled as to the New Zealander surveying the ruins of London Bridge. Speaking of hospital accommodation, he said that it would be found that in New Zealand there were 931 beds to a population of 400,000, or one bed to every 429. Taking the population of the metropolis at 4,000,000, it would be found that in the same proportion there would be 9,302 beds. He must say that he did not find anything like that number. He deprecated the small amount of accommodation in the New Zealand hospitals that was provided for children, and hoped that if ever the ex-premier returned to the colony he would give this matter his attention.

The Rev. Mr. DOXSEY said he wished to call attention to an interesting subject which Mr. Hamilton, from want of time, had omitted, namely the price of products. It was not more important to know what colonists earned than what they were obliged to spend. He had assisted a poor family to emigrate to New Zealand to better their condition, and from a letter received from them since, he had learned that a whole sheep could be purchased in the district where they lived for 4*s.*; but in one of the tables accompanying the paper the price of mutton was 3*d.* a pound, so that there was a great difference between the two. But even from the tables it would be seen that New Zealand was a much cheaper place to live in than England; and if people could earn greater

wages than in England and live at less cost, the colonies would be able to bear a larger amount of expenditure than the mother country would. It would, however, be seen from the tables, that in the colony various articles of produce, such as butter and milk, were very expensive, but if such a commodity as pure milk was sold at 4*d.* a quart—the same price as it was said to be in New Zealand—the price would be more remunerative to the New Zealand farmer, who paid less for his land than was paid in England. He wished to know if Mr. Hamilton's tables could be relied on, and also further information as to the real amount a family expended, as well as what they could earn.

Dr. GUY thought that Sir Julius Vogel had put the value of an emigrant at a very low figure. He thought the value would be nearer 400*l.* than 200*l.*; and when it was remembered that an emigrant in his adopted country married and became the father of children who, in their turn, had families, it was difficult to say what the true value of an emigrant was. This was so interesting a point, that he hoped some member of the Society would on some future occasion read a paper on the value of the emigrant as he was sent out.

Sir JAMES FERGUSSON, Bart., K.C.M.G., said that having been in New Zealand, and having watched the progress of Sir Julius Vogel's policy, he rejoiced that that evening there had come from an impartial source so intelligent and instructive an exposition of the fruits of that policy. As to the value of the emigrant, it was quite true that the mother country was in one point of view a loser by his departure from its shores; but emigrants were by no means lost to the mother country, because they became consumers of its manufactures and produce to an extent which it was impossible to estimate. It had been said over and over again lately, that the trade of the Australian colonies now amounted to 90,000,000*l.* sterling a-year, which was only to be accounted for by the enormous advantages enjoyed by those who had transferred their fortunes to the other side of the world, and who became larger consumers of the produce of the mother country than they would have been at home. Even in this narrow point of view the country was a great gainer by the transfer of its surplus population to the shores of another country. Sir Julius Vogel had pointed out, with a degree of justice that could not be gainsaid, that the paper hardly did the colony justice. It was one of the great advantages possessed by New Zealand over the Australian colonies, that whereas each of the latter had been colonised for the most part from one great centre, New Zealand had been colonised from various points, so that the distribution of population and wealth had been more rapid. In New Zealand it was found that every link of line opened from any one town began immediately to pay, when in this country it would not have been thought worth while opening it. One of the speakers in giving his reasons why the New Zealand investments had ceased to be popular, omitted to notice that many of the large public works were only in progress: in fact a great proportion of the capital employed had not become remunerative. It was most unfair to gauge the reproductive power of public works by their returns when they were only half finished. In this country the interest of money was always added to capital until the railway was opened. The fact was that they must look forward to some years hence, and take the great results already yielded as an earnest of that which was to come. Mr. Hamilton had pointed out that in estimating the application of the debt to New Zealand, it was fair to estimate it by the application of similar funds in this country; but whereas in England the national debt is applied to very few purposes, in New Zealand all public works, the telegraphs included, were constructed by its means. In fact in these new countries the private means of the inhabitants were applied to the development of the country itself, and to the properties which they possessed. They could not afford to subscribe even for the ends which were so necessary for their own profit as means of communication. These things were all done in new countries by the Governments, and even in America by the several States, which gave such enormous benefactions of land, proving so valuable to the railways. Mr. Hamilton might also have pointed out that not only the railways and telegraphs had been made out of the loans, but also the roads; and when he left New Zealand about a year and a half ago, if he remembered rightly, 2,000 miles of road had been constructed out of the produce of these loans. If the amount spent in the mother country in making the turnpike roads were added to the amount spent on railways and telegraphs, the two amounts would be altogether reversed. It was unfortunate that New Zealand securities were for the moment depressed; but he ventured to say this was the result of ignorance on the part of the British public as to the real working policy of New Zealand. There was something like unfairness in the statements made by some persons in this country, who had not yet rid themselves of the political animosity which they brought from other ends of the world. No doubt when those gentlemen left New Zealand the public works' policy had not become so completely justified as it was now. Very plausible statements had been made, but made in such a manner as to produce a very injurious effect upon New Zealand securities. Two or three weeks ago he read a statement in a leading article in the "Times" which, if it had been made with full knowledge of the circumstances, he would really characterise as malignant. A most flourishing city in New Zealand—the city of Christchurch—asked for its first municipal loan for a work which was eminently calculated to be a public advantage, and for which ample security was provided. This was announced in the city article of the "Times" with some such sneering remark as that people had lately heard too much about New Zealand. What would be said about the proposal for an investment in the making of a railway in a rich district in the south of England

being met by a statement that too much money had been borrowed in the north of Scotland? Because Dunedin and other towns had borrowed money for their requirements, should that depreciate a loan asked for by Christ-church? That was a specimen of the reasons why New Zealand securities were depressed in the market. He hoped and believed that the administration of New Zealand was determined to exercise the great policy of economy and prudence, and to limit their expenditure to what the country really required.

Dr. FARR said he felt greatly indebted to Mr. Hamilton for his model paper, but he was sorry that the discussion had degenerated into a Stock Exchange discussion. People in this country must all take a deep interest in New Zealand, and wish that colony every kind of success. What he admired in Mr. Hamilton was his great impartiality; and if New Zealand held its own and acted, as Mr. Hamilton recommended it—with prudence—they would receive from this country all the loans they required. In the Society's Journal

* See vol. xvi, p. 43

there was a valuation made of an English labourer in Suffolk. The value of the man was reckoned at 5*l.*, and the value increased until it reached, at the age of 25, 246*l.* He agreed with Sir Julius Vogel, that it should be the policy of the colonies to endeavour to induce a good class of Englishmen to go and live in them. As Dr. Guy had pointed out, it was not only a man and his family that had to be taken into account; there was a perpetual succession of men. The most important export this country had given to the world was its men, which would, no doubt, contribute much to the advantage of the world in future ages.

In answer to a question,

Dr. FARR said, that the estimate he had referred to of the value of a man was made in 1853, but no doubt it was much higher now. An admirable work Sir Julius Vogel had done was to remove some of the agricultural labourers from a place where they were worth very little, to a place where they were worth a great deal.

Mr. HAMILTON in reply thanked those who had taken part in the discussion. He considered himself more especially fortunate in having been criticised by Sir James Fergusson, the ex-governor of New Zealand, and by Sir Julius Vogel, the ex-prime minister. As to the table of wages and provisions, he believed that the figures were perfectly authentic. He was prepared to produce a voucher for every figure and every fact stated in the paper, and he thought he had throughout been studiously moderate in the statements he had advanced. With reference to the value of an immigrant, it would depend very much upon the demand for labour in the place to which he emigrated. At one time a favourite subject for discussion was, "What are we to do with our surplus population?" It was then thought to be rather a relief that a man should emigrate than that he should stop at home. This must necessarily be the case even now, because when an emigrant from this country goes to one of the colonies or to the United States, he not only lessens the competition in the labour market at home, but he increases the demand for labour at home, by his consumption of the productions of the mother country. With regard to the valuation of an immigrant, he should like very much, if he had leisure, to work it out properly; but it had been suggested to him that the proper way to estimate the value of an immigrant into a country, would be to add to the wages of the labourer, the profit derived from the same by his employer, then deduct from the total the cost of his living, or rather the net value of what he consumes, and multiply the result by the probabilities of life. There were, however, a variety of circumstances to be taken into account. It would be seen from the appendix, that wages differed very much according to the nature of a man's employment. It was a complex question, and he doubted if it could be arrived at with scientific accuracy. There would be one result in New Zealand, another in New South Wales, and another in the United States. With regard to the railways, it was unfair, as Sir James Fergusson had said, to test the earnings of a railway which existed only in a fragmentary condition. There was not, as yet, in New Zealand a through line. On the portions of lines which had been opened for traffic the earnings had been 445,000*l.*, which deducting the cost of working, was stated officially to have yielded 3 per cent, upon the cost of the mileage opened. That, he considered, was a very promising result, and as the railways were made with a proper regard to economy, say upon the 3 feet 6 inches gauge, and cost about 6,000*l.*, a-mile, he had not the slightest doubt that the railways would return the interest upon the cost of their production in a few years. He was very much obliged for the kind manner in which his paper had been received.

The President called attention to the fact that about three-fifths of the trade of New Zealand was in wool, which seemed to be the staple export. Wool growing seemed to have attained a high degree of perfection, and this no doubt would be the principal cause of the future prosperity of the colony.

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True Financial Statement

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New Zealand, June 30, 1877,

Dedicated The Marquis of Normanby, Governor of this Colony;

The Legislative Council, the House of Representatives; Also, Ad Viros Et Ad Profanum Vulgus; Also to The

London Stock Exchange,
By J. W. Treadwell, Formerly of 20 Cornhill, London, Stockbroker.
Printed at the "Press" Office Christchurch Cashel Street 1877

Author's Preface to his Readers.

FRIEND READEES,

The Author presents his compliments to all distinguished persons and others, and urges that he was apprenticed to Politics, having served a five years' indenture in the London Stock Exchange, the grandest theatre of political knowledge and discussion known in the world of economy; also, that he was then passed by the Committee of the House as a fit and proper person to deal, as a Broker, with the Funds of every nation in the world, in every Railway, Canal, or Dock Stock, and in shares of all the good and bad schemes that have blessed or cursed the humans who live on this wee ball, known as the sun's fourth planet, Earth.

The Stock Exchange is the place where money is raised. When the loans are bad or indifferent they are sometimes raised elsewhere, through Jew Brokers. Now that the Government of New Zealand were obliged to do this, and were then obliged to get a temporary overdraft from two Banks, also to mortgage the last reserve of the nation (£800,000 Imperial guarantee)—all this is a fact that speaks for itself, that shows that the London Stock Exchange, which lives by money-lending, cannot take your securities, but has forced the Ministers to go and withdraw from trade two millions, the loss of which is felt in every little corner of New Zealand, and unless remedied, will be the forerunner of a crisis.

These reasons, and also the *dulc'et decor 'm'est pro patriâ mori* principle, iuduced me to try and help you to pull out the skeleton in the Treasury, and to bury it by proper Finance.

J. W. T.

Contents.

Virtus, repulsae nescia sordidae,
Intaminatis fulget honoribus;
Nec sumit, aut ponit securés
Arbitrio popularis auræ.

—*Horace.*

Truth, seeking no profit,
Shines unstained:
Nor stands, nor falls,
By popular applause.

—J.W.T.

True Financial Statement.

Dedicated to The Marquis of Normanby, the Legislative Council, the House of Representatives, &c.

Chapter I. NEW ZEALAND DEFICIT.

Two years have passed since the public were told on the hustings (Nov., 1875) that a deficit was coming upon New Zealand. The papers, being owned by politicians, who had their own purposes—dishonest purposes—to serve, suppressed the speech, but, thanks to the kindness of an independent proprietor, certain

portions were detailed piecemeal through the columns of the *Globe*, and then the astonished public learnt a few faint outlines of a reform needful in the highest degree in every part of the Government machinery in New Zealand. The Government adopted some of the most trivial reforms, but totally neglected the most useful, namely, the monetary and taxation reforms; arguments, facts, biting satire, were thrown away upon them, and we have been plunged by the great K.C.M.G. and his ignorant followers into a very serious mess. "What else could be expected? That a gallant Major, untrained but to war, should plunge into hot financial war—that an ex-policeman (now the Hon. C. C. Bowen), untrained in commerce, venturing his rash hand on the helm of State, ignorant of financial starboard! or port! should steer our gallant ship on to the wild rocks of deficits! twenty-three million loans! false taxation! and national insolvency!

What else could be expected from a Parliament mainly composed of a medley of fill trades and professions, skilled in talk, unskilled in finance, openly complaining that "they cannot understand the accounts;" or, as the Hon. E. W. Stafford so pitifully says, "the accounts are only intelligible to experts."

The following figures are taken from the Financial Statement given to the House, and are only corrected so as to exclude the loans that cover from view the real deficit. The public, by a little patient examination, will understand them, and will see that instead of a surplus there is a deficiency:—

NOTE.—The £1,220,000 Customs and £122,000 Stamps are collected from the workers (that is, Servants, Labourers, Mechanics, Traders, Clerks, and Professionals); so are the bulk of all the other imposts, for when merchants or others pay stamps, harbour dues, &c., they charge all such in the price of the goods to the customers, that is, the workers or consumers.

I class the Colony as 230,000 useful workers; 20,000 rich; 150,000 babies, paupers, idiots, dummies, loafers, &c. Total colonists, 400,000, Maoris—10,000 useful and 40,000 useless.

Year's Payments to 30th June, 1877.

£ s. d. Civil List (5, B2) 27,573 7 9 Interest and Sinking Fund £603,062 0 2 Interest five months, due but not paid 37,500 0 0 £700,562 0 2 Less charged to Railways 415,000 0 0

Class IX. Rails—paid £220,722 15 7 Interest on cost— £8,300,000 at 5 per cent. 415,000 0 0 Renewal Fund— 860milesat£120 permil 103,200 0 0 Paid £738,922 15 7 Received 288,220 3 10 455,702 11 2 Total paid £1,759,885 9 8

The manner adopted by the Prime Minister to conceal this deficit is highly objectionable. First, he says, we terminate the year on 30th June, and so we must not count outstanding accounts, though at page 16, B2, he says the outstanding liabilities of the Province are £259,556, and at page 4 he states the Bank overdraft of four provinces is £106,268. But worse, he gets money on Bank overdraft, uses up the whole of our Reserve of £800,000 Imperial Guarantee, issues Treasury Bills, puts all these down as Receipts, when he knows very well he has only staved off the evil day for a few months, and says, I have a surplus; the Bank Ledger is proof." The House failed to see that blunder. How can two Bank Ledgers, showing over a million overdraft, due in 1878 and 1879, show a surplus. That was childish. His own confession contradicts himself, when he tells the House (page 16) that we must raise more money to release the Imperial Debentures.

The real outlook is £1,500,000 Bank Overdraft, 1878

- £260,000 Treasury Bills
- £259,556 Provincial Liabilities
- £800,000 to release Imperial Debentures
- £50,000 to re-fund to Taxes

And a balance to be placed to Rail renewals.

The Ministry perhaps think that the London Stock Exchange has no more perception of the real state of things than they have themselves; but to candid men I say the Stock Exchange did right to refuse your 4,000,000 loan, which a Jew broker took up; they did right to refuse the 1876 loan, which the Bank did at 5 per cent.; it is a real kindness to New Zealand, an endeavour to open your eyes, to show that, however false the conclusions given to you, however corrupt your minds may be, however ignorant you are as a nation, they at least will not aid and abet your wrongful wishes. To them, as to me, the actual position of the Ministry is £823,431—deficit covered by bills and overdrafts; no talk, no ocean of babbling lawyers' tongues will alter the awful fact. To them, as to me, it is a solid fact that your Railways last year were a dead loss of £455,702, and that you took it out of the poor and let the rich, who got the Railways, pay nothing at all. To them, as to me, it will be plain that the Government whip put up Mr. Woolcock to sound the House about Taxation, and tricked the unwary members into a declaration against present Taxes, that their rich friends might feast on the poor for another year. To them, as to me, it is plain that the whole Parliament made a gross blunder, that the true amendment was—"That the question of Taxation shall be considered when the Committee are considering Ways and Means." Had I been there I should have moved that.

The Government propose to borrow two millions more! Where? London is deaf! What will you do? Bankruptcy! Sale of Railways! What will you do? Stop all works! Seize Land Fund! Stop all the subsidies! Pray to Sir Julius, who is the real author of your troubles! Anything, I suppose, except the good old plan—"Trust in God, and keep your powder dry;" or, to say the very same thing in other words,— "Work out your own salvation while God works it for you."

Chapter II. TAXATION OF WORKERS, AND FREEDOM OF REAL AND PERSONAL ESTATES.

THE Tariff is not protection, and it is a heavy burden on work. The political ignorance shewn at the last adjustment by Sir J. V. of the New Zealand Tariff is so great as hardly to be believed. I have now to establish the fact that the workers have been paying the interest on Railways while those landowners, and foreign firms who get all the benefit pay nothing; but worse has to come.

A dissection of the Tariff gives the following blunders by which we are prevented from starting Colonial Industries :—

Steel, 1*s.* per cwt.—The machinery made from it, free

Leather, $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* and 1*d.* per lb.—Goods made from it, 10 per cent. Axles, arms and boxes, 10 per cent.—Some goods made from them, free.

Tools, 10 per cent.—Some goods made of them, free.

The following blunders as raising the price of wages and preventing Colonial production—such are necessaries of Life or Trade not manufactured here:—

- Arrowroot, $\frac{1}{2}$ or 10 per cent.
- Baking Powder, 10 per cent.
- Bellows, 10 per cent.
- Blacking, 10 per cent.
- Brushes
- Buckets
- Cement Plaster
- Chocolate
- Cocoa
- Coffee
- Combs
- Cotton Goods
- Drapery
- Glass
- Hemp Goods
- Hardware
- Holloware
- Horseshoes
- Lamps
- Lasts
- Leadpipe
- Linen Goods
- Maccaroni
- Maizena
- Millinery
- Nails
- Oils
- Paper, writing, bags, wrapps Paints
- Pearl Barley, Peas, Pepper
- Pitcn
- Rice
- Rope
- Saltpetre
- Starch Blue
- Stationery, Account Books
- Steel
- Sulphur

- Shingles, Palings
- Tea, 6d. per lb.
- Tacks
- Tar
- Tapioca
- Tartaric Acid
- Tools
- Twine
- Turpentine
- Varnish
- Vermicelli
- Vinegar
- Whiting
- Woodware
- Zinc

How can the workers work their work if the food, clothes, and tools are all taxed, while the rich by absenteeism escape, and also while goods made elsewhere are positively admitted free of duty—thus we punish ourselves twice over, once by preventing the men from making goods, twice by letting foreigners enter goods free.

The alteration of the Tariff on these, if supplemented by an excise on beer and spirits, would be possible.

There is not a farthing paid for landed or personal property towards the Government of this nation.

There are 12,500,000 acres sold, which were valued by Mr. Woolcock at £2 per acre, £25,000,000; but it is surely worth £5 per acre, much of it is worth £20 and £25 per acre.

So we have 8,000,000 held by 112 people at £5—£40,000,000. About 5,000,000 held by others at £5—£25,000,000.

Now the interest on Railways should be made to fall partly on these because they really receive the whole value—yet no tax is levied on these; while by a strange infatuation the Prime Minister actually wants to charge the fresh purchasers of distant lands with the whole interest on the cost of Railways, and so to deprive them of the power to make roads and bridges. Quatenus, heu nefas! The personal estate, consisting of foreign companies, banks, long leaseholds, foreign firms, interest of mortgage loans, &c., &c., say seventy millions, escapes taxation.

Taxation should fall, according to truth, upon:

- Customs, only on liquors, tobacco, and such goods as protect Colonial Industry.
- Personal estate, sliding scale income tax, 6d. up to £250—9d. to £300—1s. to £400—1s. 6d. over—all companies 1s. 1d.
- Earned incomes, 1d. to £250—6d. to £500—9d. to £750—1s. to £1000—1s. 6d. over £1000.
- Rural land per acre —3d. to 50—6d. to 500—1s. to 1000—2s. to 5000—3s. over.
- Towns building block, £20 per acre.
- Suburbs and villages, £5 per acre.

But taxes Nos. 3, 5, and 6 need not be put on at present unless we fail to raise another two millions.

You will be astonished to see that in New Zealand (1) the persons holding property to the value of £135,000,000 having got the representation of the people into their hands have so arranged matters as to pay no taxes at all on their property.

2. That the working men enumerated there—from servants up to the judges—pay nearly all the taxes, while rich absentees pay nothing at all.

3. That an immense amount of capital trades here making 15 and 20 per cent., and pays nothing at all.

4. That I propose a heavy tax on these who, through the painful ignorance of Sir J. Vogel and the Ministry, have taken millions of our money without paying towards our Government, but in the statement I have shown the drones who' don't pay.

5. To the eternal disgrace of the Philosophical Institute of New Zealand they have paid more attention to beetles than to men, and there are no proper statistics of New Zealand for future historians.

6. Instead of the profit on Railways, stated by the Hon. H. Atkinson, there is a dreadful loss of over £450,000 the year; but the worst is that this heavy sum, though paid by workers, is positively all put in the value of the country estates who pay positively nothing at all to the Interest on Railways—hence the loss should be charged by means of income and property tax on those who get the benefit of it.

7. Instead of a surplus on the year there is a deficit of £145,000; besides the other amounts entered altogether making £563,881 1s. 8d.; and there are Provincial Liabilities out £259,556. Present deficit, £823,433 1s. 8d. This has been covered up by bills and loans and overdrafts, as appears in the Sketch Budget.

Chapter III. LAND FUND MISAPPROPRIATED.

"What is the New Zealand Land Fund?—It is the money put down by a settler to form a fund for making roads and bridges in the country.

Is the land purchaser liable for Railways?—Clearly not until he has a bridge and a road to the market.

Is he then liable?—Yes; *pro rata* with all other property.

How ought the Land Fund to be spent?—One-third to the Road Board in which his land is placed; one-third to a General Fund for subsidies to the Boroughs; one-third to Immigration, to bring in labourers.

Cost of Surveys to be paid by this fund.

Has the Central power any right to meddle with it?—No; only to collect cost of surveys from each Board; to collect and distribute subsidies and Immigration.

What is the present position of the Land Fund?—It is a Jack-in-the-box, to pop up continually among the crowd of ignorant talkers, as a nice method of securing votes, bribing whole districts, and upsetting all sound Government.

How is this done?—Auckland got three millions to buy a Land Fund. Mr. Reader Wood said, in his place in the House, he could not find out where the money had gone to, but Auckland has no Land Fund, Canterbury has,—and so it is a continual quarrel, in which the other districts get mixed up, and a general mess is the result.

What is the real cause of the Deficit?—The Land Fund! For if the Parliament could be made to put it away properly, and forget it, by being forced to consider other questions on their merits, they would long ago have settled the whole of the Deficit on a proper basis.

There are eight million acres held by 112 people, while the remaining five million acres are held by small holders.

Ought there to be a limit fixed for holdings?—Yes; no one ought to hold more than 500 acres.

Why?—The holders of large estates do not cultivate them to the full extent, the country loses the produce of its soil; the holders are also encouraged to lead useless lives of luxury and indulgence, and to become a gentlemanlike curse, or a ladylike misery to the nation.

Is this the time to fix a limit?—Yes; every day that this great matter is neglected it becomes a greater hardship; indeed, it savours of rank injustice, to first encourage a man to buy, and then to force him to sell.

Can it be conveniently done without compensation?—Yes; fix a limit now, and put on a sliding scale land tax, such as would burst up the large properties.

Who should control the Land Fund?—Each Road Board should sell its own land, pay to the New Zealand Ordnance Survey Department the cost of survey of such sales, and appropriate the proceeds in thirds, as explained.

Should Education fall on the land?—It was suggested years ago that Reserves should be made in small blocks throughout the nation, and be let, and, on the rents, moneys be raised to build schools, that posterity might partly bear the burden of their buildings.

Are Counties, as formed, likely to be of use?—Certainly not; they are only fit to be broken up into little Road Boards.

Chapter IV. RAILWAYS A LOSS WRONGLY CHARGED.

This is the account for 1877 :—

Who paid this heavy loss?—The workers.

Whatever the ultimate fate of the Railways may be, it is certain that for years past the Foreign firms, Loan Companies, and so forth have been very largely profiting by them, and have not only not paid any taxes towards them, but have positively seen, without a murmur, the whole burden of that loss laid upon the wages fund and the industry of the nation. In the chapter on Taxation, it was shown that the ignorance that compiled our Tariff and settled the interest on Railways was so great as to be hardly credible. Surely it is worse to do, as the Prime Minister does, to say we have a *profit* on the Railways; it is satisfactory to see the *productive* nature of the expense, when the real truth is that if the actual interest (paid on them since the first sod was turned) and compound interest were charged we should be amazed to see *millions lost*. Really, after all, the fiscal riddle lies just there. New Zealand is heavily taxed; we groan under it. Loans, while spending, relieve, to fall the more heavily afterwards; and when a Ministry can cover deficit with more loans, pay interest with loans, and then refuse to tax the property that gets the benefit, it must be they adopt the motto—*après nous le déluge*.

Chapter V. COLONIAL INDUSTRY AND FREE TRADE.

In the question of Taxation, it was shown conclusively that the Tariff of New Zealand was the work of ignorant politicians who had never understood politics at all, for, whichever of the two standpoints we take—whether the Protectionist or the Freetrader,—the Tariff fights hard against both, the only principle on which it is constructed is the celebrated one—

"Rem, facias rem,

Si possis recte, si non, quocunque modo rem."

"Make money, old boy, conscientiously if you can; if not, never mind, make money."

Colonial Industry is severely damaged by it, for the workmen are not only punished by heavy taxes on food, medicine, and clothes, but foreign manufactures are admitted *free*.

It may be as well for the public benefit to put clearly the argument of Free Trade, and also to show the Protection theory; every man may by this be enabled to form his own judgment as to how these matters should be adjusted:—

Now, here are ten branches of Trade, and if it be right to protect one trade, it is right to protect all, and so, in order to secure protection, the nation protected has to go into the market with its purchasing power heavily lessened by taxes, and each branch has to pay £9 to its fellows for its protection of £1 to itself. The fault of this demonstration nobody ever touched—it lies in the word "pay;" money passed to foreign nations is "pay;" money circulated in our own is not "pay," it is only exchange.

The other theory is best shown by algebraic formula.

- M is the Manufacturing class
- C is the Food and Clothes growers
- N is the Nation
- F is Free Trade
- P is Protection
- O is Bad Economy
- X is Good Economy
- R is Riches made in the Nation
- S is Strange Riches
- A is Ratio

Our first formula is—

If $M > C$ then $N F = X \# C \# M \# C$ cannot feed and clothe M. Now, as N has to live by manufacture, and not to live by farming, it would be ruined by Protection. Therefore, converse of first formula, if $M > C$ then $N P = O$.

Second formula—

But if $C > M$ then $N P = X \# C > M \# C$ can support M, and C will be ruined by Free Trade; or, converse of second formula, if $C > M$ then $N F = O$.

Third formula (a corollary)—

$C > M$ requires $N P = X \# N + R = X$, and $\# N \# R = O$, while it is clear to everybody that if $C > M$, and you dare to insist on $N F = X$ that $C > M \# N F = N \# R = O$ is the ruinous result.

Fourth formula (further corollary)—

R makes R is a law, that gives a differential progression; thus, suppose R circulate in N four times at 10 per cent, then $C > M \# N P = X = N + R + 4A3$, with compound results.

Fifth Formula—

If $M > C \# N F = X \# N + E + S \# M > C \# N + E + S$ is the only possible condition of X.

Sixth formula is the great one for Now Zealand, being, of course, the converse of fifth formula—

If $C > M$ then $N P = X \# N M > C$ must beg food and clothes at the doors of $N C > M$, and $N M > C$ must feed and clothe on their manufactures, so now the cumulative formula becomes—If $C > M$ then $N P = X = N + R + S + \text{times } A \text{ times} - 1 + \text{years} + \text{interest} + \text{compound interest}$.

So the riddle is solved. Free Trade is not an intrinsic truth, but only a result of conditions. Reverse the conditions, the result is reversed. One man's food is another man's poison, multiply a divisor you divide the quotient, these are principles known and admitted, they have application in Protection and Free Trade. How to convey these thoughts in all their truth to such dark minds as those of the men who constructed the New Zealand Tariff, viz., Sir J. Vogel, Hon. C. C. Bowen, Major Atkinson, Hons. E. W. Stafford, Fox, &c., Sir W. Fitzherbert included? That is the question? The Marquis of Hartington said the other day that the Pacific Colonies and America were taking up the exploded theories of protection, and he expected to see the British artisans presently do the same. Mr. John Bright said that Victoria would find out that Protection was ruinous, except partial to protect Colonial Industry. These men err greatly. They have never weighed the conditions, Instinct is a better guide than reason. It teaches the burnt child (who cannot understand combustion) to dread the fire.

The Profanum Vulgus must accept the conclusion. The interests of England and her colonies are diametrically opposite to each other, by virtue of opposing intrinsic fundamental conditions, and my simple formulae, which the world cannot upset, prove that New Zealand, Australia, Canada, America, Africa, &c., have interests opposed to Britannia.

Protection of the coast should be by sea. New Zealand has a coast line, that is impossible of land defence. Volunteer torpedo brigades in all the principal ports, and naval guns on snore, suitable for immediate fitting to swift steamers, these are better than land forces. In the estimates the Budget figures are reduced to £100,000, on the assumption of the disbanding of all land forces, and the substitution of the above means, cheaper and more efficient as they really are.

Chapter VI. REPRESENTATION A FARCE.

PROPERTY has secured all the votes, and is thus able to put in "politicians," men who, ignorant of the fact that sound economy is really the best thing for property itself, and that to sin against true politics is only to punish property, yet persist blindly in taking the revenue out of the wages fund of the country, thereby preventing production, while on the other hand they positively allow millions of profit to be taken from the country by loan companies, such as the New Zealand Loan, &c; by banks whose shareholders are in London; by insurance companies whose owners do not work for their income. So that as I have shown in the personal estate seventy millions of money earning about five and a half millions a year pay no taxes, while the Representatives charge on to the backs of the people the whole of the cost of the Railways.

Is that representation? Have the grocers, the shopkeepers, the clerks, the labourers, the civil servants no better judgment than to elect men guilty of the greatest financial errors that it is possible to conceive?

How true it is that for all the good they do it were better for some politicians that a millstone were hanged about their necks and they should have been cast into the depths of the sea than live to stand and defile the page of history with ignorance so profound, with a policy of spoliation, a policy of denudation, a policy mother to every ill.

Oh! Zealandia! my young country! You lie trampled under the merciless heels of a crowd of mammon worshippers, whose god is the golden calf, whose ambition is cash, and whose history is a dirge of sorrow.

For one moment I turn from abstract truth to the persons representing this borough of Christchurch that holds my carcass (but not my soul). Mr. Stevens, a man who makes his bread and cheese out of foreign capitalists, is a representative. Look at his speech on the Income Tax (Hansard, page 625); he tells you such taxes would frighten capital away. What is 1s. 6d. in the £ on an income of 15 per cent.? Why it is only £ 1 2s. 6d. out of the profit. And does Mr. Stevens really think that London men would refuse to make £ 15 per cent, because they would be taxed £1 2s. 6d. out of it? That would leave them £13 17s. 6d. net profit; or, out of £8 per cent., £7 8s. net profit. Ignorance again!

Mr. Richardson is one of Sir Julius Vogel's friends, and he helped to put all this burden on the people : it is useless to argue with such a mind.

New Zealand should take care to avoid the influentials, the merchants, the runholders' friend, &c., get some candidates of a certain platform fixed by the electors—pledge their candidates to go up and tax incomes of foreigners.

Till that is done Representation will be a farce.

Land (11 B2) by Boards £890,500 Less to Boards 290,500 600,000 Rail tax on 12,500,000 acres. 1s. average 625,000 Rail, Charities, and Education Tax on Personal Estate, say seventy millions at £8 per cent., £5,600,000 a year, 1s. 6d. in the £1 420,000 Earned Incomes, free Boroughs, free Total Receipts to 30th June, 187 £3,412,710

Payemnts (see 9—B2).

Civil List £29,750 0 0 Loan Charges £1,151,137 10 7 Interest to Rails account 500,000 £651,137 10 7 Class I. Public Service £165,144 2 0 Class II. Justice 137,535 13 1 Class III. Post and Telegraph 230,910 0 0 Class IV. Customs 76,711 1 6 Class V. Natives 32,463 19 7 Class VI. Defence 100,000 0 0 Class VII. Miscellaneous 33,852 3 10 Class VIII. Gold Revenue to Boards and Boroughs 72,000 0 0 Class IX. Charities 100,000 0 0 Class X. Education Distribute, Reserves, and Rents, &c. 180,000 0 0 £1,128,617 0 0 £1,809,504 10 7 Land—Crown Lands £23,500 0 0 Survey, &c. 176,500 0 0 Subsidies—Boards and Boroughs 200,000 0 0 Immigration 200,000 0 0 £600,000 0 0 Total £2,409,504, 10 7 Loss Railways— Interest Cost £500,000 0 0 Payments 435,000 0 0 Renewals 100,000 0 0 £1,035,000 0 0 Estimates Receipts 600,450 0 0 £454,550 0 0 Total Payments to 30th June, 1878 £2,864,054 10 7 June, 1877—Deficit brought to account 823,433 1 8

Chapter VII. BUDGET TO 30TH JUNE, 1878, AS IT OUGHT TO BE. BASED ON THE FIGURES GIVEN BY THE PRIME MINISTER.

Here the facts given by Major Atkinson are used to show how the legal and fiscal principles laid down in this essay on Government should be applied. The great essential differences between the two Budgets are—I make a Rail Tax on the rural lauds that have been already doubled in value by the rails; he lets them go free.

I allow the Road Boards their Land Fund, subject to one-third, to give subsidies to Boards and Boroughs that need assistance, and subject to one-third for bringing in farm labourers and girls.

I charge the Rail interest on the rails; he charges it on the poor labourer, on the trader, on anybody he can get hold of, except the right man, the property holder, that is brought to town by rails.

I charge personal property with the charities and education, and make it contribute. He has always, and still will, let estate go free.

My budget is a real surplus of half a million towards the deficit; his, if the truth be told, means loss of subsidies, Land Fund, and wages fund, and a further deficit, and ruinous taxes; no charity, no education fund, and, if he cannot get two millions, no New Zealand.

Choose you this day (not next year) whom you will serve—yourselves or the Foreign Bondholders.

Conclusion.

Now, friend readers, farewell; may we never meet again on such a topic; never again to draw that grinning skeleton out of the cupboard of the New Zealand nation. Scotch it! bury it! put an end to it! The principles that have cost me so much toil and pain to win from the land of the unknown for you, take them, teach them to your children. Work them out! Save yourselves and this splendid country from the fangs of the merciless tools who dare to assume the name of politicians.

Oh! you, the rich! Cease your greed! Dare to be generous! Let the world, delighted, see you fix to your lust for land a bound, a limit; learn of the heathen—

*Intactis opulentior
Thesauris Aral'm' et divitis Indiae,
Caementis licet occupcs
Tyrrhen' m' omne ink et mar' Apulicum
* * * non animum metu, Non mortis layueis expedit caput,*

Let these large estates be broken up, and the historian of the future, grateful child of ours, shall inscribe your names upon his lasting page—"The Fathers of the Country."

In presenting those bold outlines of the truths I have worked out for my country, I appeal from the facts to all calm, reasonable men. I have not striven to vilify my opponents, but only to expose their ignorance. Indeed it is hardly reasonable to put a largo Life Insurance Company, a Bank, a Railway Company, a Telegraph Company into the hands of men like Major Atkinson, Messrs. Bowen, Ormond, and Whitaker, who, however excellent morally, have had no commercial training. When such companies are started privately, we select suitable persons from commerce; why then do we violate all common sense by attempting to make men do that which they do not understand, and for which they have acquired no previous fitness? With excellent motives, and great nobility of soul, their ignorance, added to that of Sir Julius Vogel, has nearly brought ruin on this splendid country.

To the Marquis of Normanby : Sir,—To you, as the impartial umpire of the destinies of Now Zealand, I submit my work.

To the members of both Houses, I have to say that in this discussion I have put aside all malice and envy, and I ask the same treatment for my work. In pointing out the errors into which you have all fallen, I have done so from a mathematical point of view, losing the persons in the question. I have not striven to kindle the flame of popular passion; it entangles these questions, and hazes them. But you must admit it is high time, when the Ministry have such a skeleton in the cupboard, to pull it out and take it to pieces. I boast no wishes, but leave my work to work.

To the London Stock Exchange: Gentlemen,—It is now 20 years since I sailed down old Father Thames, and the six years that I spent in your Honourable House are a pleasant treasure of my memory. The statement here put forth—you, I know, can judge better than the New Zealand nation,—it is the truth. Accustomed to laugh at politicians, and to deal in politics, to weigh loans and securities, I have followed the lessons taught to

me by you. and the sum of my examination is—that New Zealand, with an entire fiscal reform, and with sound political economy, is one of the greatest and richest nations of the earth.

New Zealand, under her present rulers, is deficit, £825,000. Yearly loss—rails, £450,000; Loans, £21,000,000.

Wanted £2,000,000 More!

Wanted, also, places for place-hunters! land for sharks! and honours for the vain-glorious!

Printed. by the "Press" Company, Limited, Chrtstchurch.

Preface.

I HAVE caused the letters, &c., in this pamphlet to be printed under the impression that honorable members of the House of Representatives, who will be called on to adjudicate in this matter, will be better able to arrive at a conclusion on the subject of my claims against the Colony on account of emigration services, by having the gist of the matter thus placed before them than they could by cursorily turning over the piles of official manuscript bearing on the subject.

I would beg further to refer the candid reader to the Emigration Return D 2, placed on the table of the House this session, as some of the papers therein contained bear indirectly the strongest testimony in favor of the work I did in Ireland. Sir J. Vogel on p. 23, No. 22, declines the responsibility of abolishing the agency I established at Belfast for fear of prejudicing the Special Settlement that I initiated and successfully carried out. He encloses what he justly terms an interesting memorandum from Mr. Kennaway, in which that gentleman states that the Special Settlement above referred to influences emigration from the North of Ireland to such an extent that it would be no use sending a vessel to embark emigrants at Belfast for any other port but Auckland. Sir William Power, when acting as Agent-General, writes, there is now no difficulty in keeping up a stream of emigration from the North of Ireland in consequence of the numbers who have left there for New Zealand.

I would also wish to compare the results of my one years service, 1872-73, under Dr. Featherston, with the result of the various New Zealand Agencies in 1876, given on pp. 32 and 33 of D 2, premising that I laboured under the greatest disadvantages. I had to open the agency, which was necessarily a work of time, and then I had to contend against the open hostility of the Agent-General, and the concealed but none the less dangerous hostility of his office. The following extracts from some of the letters I received from the latter, show how easy it was to throw obstacles in my way. On July 29th, 1872, I received a letter saying "I regret your notes of 18th, 19th, and 24th have remained unanswered." Again on August 7th I received one saying "Several of your letters have been referred to me to answer." Again I got one "I am desired to acknowledge receipt of yours of 18th, 20th, and 28th." It will easily be seen that this style of conducting a correspondence placed me in a most awkward position, for those people requiring the information for which I had written would be calling daily at my office, and the surprise which they would at first experience, would culminate in indignation.

I find by the return in D 2 that in 1876, Mr. Burton, with the assistance of a Mr. White, was instrumental in sending out 247 emigrants at an expense of £863 14s 10d, and that Mr. Cochrane who superseded me, despatched in the same year 73 at an expense of £647 16s 9d. My first year, that is from July 1872 to the time of my dismissal June 1873, I despatched 217 at a cost of £700, but it should be borne in mind that in my case I not only had the difficulties to contend with enumerated above, but all my emigrants, with the exception of single women, had to pay some part of their passage money, as at that time there was no free emigration. My emigrants paid £1,136 towards their passages, exclusive of £1 per adult for ship's outfit, besides this they had to pay their own fares to London, this latter was a serious item, amounting as it did to 25s or 30s a head. Of course the above numbers do not refer in any way to the Stewart party.

With regard to my claim for compensation on account of my abrupt dismissal by Dr. Featherston, it will be seen that some similar cases cropped up when Sir William Power was reducing the establishment at 7 Westminster Chambers, these cases were referred to Messrs. Mackrell & Co., the law advisers of the Agency, who gave their opinion that a jury would consider a notice necessary, and notice was consequently given. In my case I hadn't a day's notice, but I was in a measure compelled to remain, and I did remain, doing the work without any payment whatever for six months, when Dr. Featherston sent over Mr. Cochrane to supersede me. Shortly after Mr. Cochrane's arrival I received my appointment as Provincial Agent from the late Mr. John Williamson.

I am quite aware that by publishing these letters, &c., I am laying myself open to the charge of bringing accusations against one who is no longer able to defend himself, and the much hackniad "*de mortuis nil nisi bonum*" argument will no doubt be a source of strength to those unfavorable to my claims; at the same time—

"A living dog 'tis said,
"Is worth two lions fairly sped."

And there are duties to the living as well as to the dead. Notwithstanding the treatment I received at the hands of the late Dr. Featherston, I always admired and respected him; in his lifetime I bore him no malice, still less do I do so now. But he was not faultless.

Roses have thorns and silver fountains mud,
Clouds and eclipses stain both moon and sun,
And loathsome canker lives in sweetest bud;
All men make faults.

Dr. Featherston was—as is well known—a man who having made up his mind, would have his own way, neither the definite orders of those put in authority over him or the opinions of his subordinates would cause him even to waver in the course he had marked out for himself. As regards myself, from the first he objected to my appointment, not from personal motives, for I am well assured that personally he was well disposed towards me, but he conceived he had not been fairly treated by the Government in having Agents forced upon him in whose appointment he had no voice, and he determined to disembarass himself of me at the earliest possible opportunity; as a preliminary to performing this "happy despatch" he endeavoured to utilize my services in such a manner that it would have been next to impossible for me to have shown any practical results arising from my agency. I maintain that it is most unfair that I should be made to suffer for the whim of one in authority—

Authority, though it err like others
Hath yet a kind of medicine in itself
That skins the vice o' the top.

I have suffered both in the estimation of the public and also pecuniarily in consequence of the course adopted towards me by the late Agent-General.

2nd August, 1877.

H. W. Farnall.

Correspondence, &c.

In January, 1872, I found myself compelled to visit England on private business, and received an appointment from the Fox-Vogel Government to assist Dr. Featherston in his emigration work. The Government now repudiate the idea of this being a distinct appointment, although, at the time of my receiving it, I held a seat in the House of Representatives, and was requested to resign my seat on accepting the mission. This appears in annexed letter of appointment. Had it not been a distinct appointment, they had no right to call upon me to resign my seat, and I might have proceeded to England, transacted my business, and returned in time for the following session.

Copy of Original Letter of Appointment.

P. W. D., Auckland, No. 5. Auckland,

15th January, 1872.

SIR,—

Referring to the arrangement made with you to proceed to England by the City of Auckland, for the

purpose of acting under the Agent-General in connection with Immigration,

I have now to inform you that Dr. Featherston will be informed by the next mail steamer that you are accredited to him, to act in the same capacity and on the same terms as Mr. Birch, of Dunedin, who, you are aware, proceeded to Europe on similar duty not long ago. It is understood that your services will be available either in Great Britain or on the Continent, as the Agent-General may require, and that the remuneration you will receive will be the same as is given to Mr. Birch; also, that the sum of eighty pounds will be allowed you for passage money to London.

It is understood that you resign your seat in the House of Representatives on accepting this mission.

I have, &c.,

H. ORMOND.

H. W. Farnall, Esq.,

Auckland.

On arrival in England I at once reported myself to Dr. Featherston, who informed me he saw no way of utilising my services. Subsequently he requested me to proceed to the North of Ireland and do what I could to procure emigrants from that part of the United Kingdom. The whole time I was working under Dr. Featherston he systematically thwarted and obstructed me in every possible way, by delaying or neglecting altogether to answer my letters, and by not keeping me supplied with the information necessary for carrying on my work. Dr. Featherston would not allow me an office or any office expenses: all my office and travelling expenses were paid by myself. No allowances were made me of any sort whatever. I appointed, with Dr. Featherston's sanction, a number of sub-agents in various parts of the North of Ireland. These sub-agents were paid by capitation fees. I instructed them in their duties, supervised them, and was responsible for their work. When I had succeeded in getting things in fair working order, Dr. Featherston took the control of these agents entirely out of my hands, and insisted upon their all corresponding with him and looking to his office for instructions and information instead of to me. I wrote the two annexed letters to try and get him to reconsider his determination, but to no purpose.

From Mr. H. W. FARNALL to Mr. A. O. OTTYWELL.

Dear Sir,—
Belfast,

Feb. 12, 1873.

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of 11th February, in which you say, on the part of the Agent-General, "I am of opinion it will be well to instruct the local agents to send the papers of applicants to this office direct; time will be saved in correspondence by this plan, and the commission accounts of the agents will be more easily adjusted."

As my opinion is the very reverse of this, and as I have devoted a great deal of time to obtain results the very opposite of those likely to be obtained should the Agent-General carry out the intention expressed in this sentence, I would feel obliged by your informing me, at your earliest convenience, whether the opinion expressed is simply intended as an opinion, or whether I am to look upon it as a specific instruction on the part of the Agent-General to alter the course of my procedure in this matter in future, I would venture to point out in support of my own opinion on this subject,—

1. That it is absolutely impossible to exercise from the London office that local supervision, and, if necessary, personal inspection of emigrants before approval, which at present acts as a wholesome check in preventing the selection of emigrants utterly unsuited for New Zealand,

2. That under the altered regulations, where much greater facilities are given for emigration, a still closer supervision is necessary; and if the new-regulation concerning money advances to emigrants (for passages to London) is to be administered by the sub-agents, the door will be opened for a considerable amount of abuse of these privileges.

3. I have taken great pains, and have had a great deal of trouble, in instructing the agents in their duties, which, simple as they are, required a deal of personal explanation and correspondence. I fail to see how transferring this business, hitherto transacted by this office, to the London office, will save the latter correspondence. I am at all times careful to see that the sub-agents' names are legibly written across the top of the forms, so there need be no difficulty in crediting each agent with his proper commission. I also keep books

showing what each is entitled to, in case of any difficulty arising.

4. Should the supervision of the Sub-agents and the inspection of emigrants be removed from me, I am at a loss to see in what my duties will consist.

With respect to the absolute necessity of local supervision, I would point out the disgraceful disclosures concerning the class of emigrants shipped on board the unfortunate North fleet, married men shipped as single, and men shipped as navvies that had never handled a pick or shovel * * *

From H. W. FARNALL to AGENT-GENERAL.

My Dear Sir,—
Belfast,

February 19, 1873.

I have received your letter of the 13th instant, in which you say you purpose communicating with me as soon as you are able to do so, on the subject of the functions and duties attached to my appointment under the New Zealand Government, about which there is at present some misunderstanding.

You will, perhaps, forgive me if I briefly state in what way I consider my services can be made most useful to the Government.

I entirely concur with you that my chief employment should be visiting the local agents, lecturing where advisable, and personally making known the emigration proposals of the Government, but I would desire to point out that I not only have no means of ascertaining what the sub-agents are doing unless they send their papers through me, but also unless they are aware that I am placed here for the purpose of approving of those emigrants they may select, as well as for the purpose of giving information about the colony of New Zealand, I lose that check over their proceedings which, in my position, I consider I ought to have. I hold that it is almost as of great importance to prevent those from taking advantage of our emigration scheme who are physically or otherwise unsuitable, as it is to help on those who in every way are fitted to become good settlers. I am willing to carry on all the necessary correspondence with the various sub-agents in this district at my own expense, and I will undertake that there shall be no delay in forwarding to you all papers when completed, together with the passage deposit made by emigrants, and I will, of course, also visit the agents in person.

I regret that you should have thought it necessary to make the observation that, in consequence of my letters being dated from Belfast, you are led to infer that my work has not been done as completely as the service of the Government requires, for I have spared neither pains nor expense in the cause for which I am at present receiving remuneration. I think it will be impossible to judge whether I have or have not done what is expected of me, except by results. Should it happen that a very large number of the best class of emigrants are gained to New Zealand from this part of Ireland in the next few months, it will be but fair, I think, to give me credit for having helped to this end. Should it, however, happen that a much larger number should be obtained from here than from its size and population would reasonably have been expected, then I think it should certainly be conceded that I have done my duty. For my own part, I feel confident of the result, but would much like to work out that result after my own fashion; and I sincerely hope that you will allow me to continue, and carry out, at all events for a time, the system I have adopted. If by chance there is the slightest hitch, or if it interferes in the slightest with the smooth working of your office, I will at once give way, but I think that on the contrary *it will very materially assist it.* * * *

Finding myself thus in a measure foiled in the matter of general emigration, I devoted my attention more to special emigration. Having met Mr Vesey Stewart, and finding he was in a position and disposed to carry out a scheme of special emigration, I arranged with him the preliminary details of forming a special settlement in Auckland, and then forwarded the proposal to Dr Featherston. Dr. Featherston neglected replying to my letter, so I forwarded the proposal to Mr. Gillies, the Superintendent of Auckland. Before I received a reply from Mr. Gillies, Mr. Stewart, unknown to me and not understanding how it was Dr. Featherston took no notice of my letter, wrote himself to Dr. Featherston; in reply, Dr. Featherston declined to entertain the proposal. Mr. Gillies sent me a telegram, in answer to my letter, countersigned by Mr. Vogel, to the effect the Government approved of the scheme, and that I was to hasten the departure of the emigrants. I forwarded a copy of the telegram to Dr. Featherston, who requested me to suspend all action in the matter until he received his despatches from the Government. The following are extracts from letters I received on this subject from the Agent-General's office:—

From A. O. OTTYWELL for AGENT-GENERAL to H. W. FARNALL.

May 5, 1873.

With reference to the subject of the telegram you have recently received from the Superintendent of Auckland, as the Agent-General has not received any instructions from New Zealand, he requests you will suspend all action in the matter until official communications are received from the Colony. These will, probably arrive by next mail.

From A. O. OTTYWELL for AGENT-GENERAL to H. W. FARNALL.

8th May, 1873.

The Agent-General feels (himself wholly unable to deal with the special emigration scheme—connected as it is with the homestead question—until definite instructions are received from the Government. On re-consideration you will no doubt see that it would be imprudent to lay on a vessel to embark emigrants at Belfast until it is known what inducements could be offered to intending emigrants to join the party you propose to collect * * * * *

On arrival of the mail I proceeded to London to consult with the Agent-General. That gentleman then informed me that I need not bother myself any further about the matter, as although he had not then read his despatches, he could tell me that my services were dispensed with.

On returning the following day to Belfast, I received the annexed letters from the Superintendent of Auckland, in which I am thanked for what I had already done, and promised *the cordial co-operation of both the General and Provincial Governments* in order to carry out the scheme.

"Superintendent's Office, Auckland.

"4th April, 1873.

"SIR,—I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your letter of 5th February, relative to the proposed Emigration of a considerable body of settlers from the North of Ireland, as described by you, and have to thank you for at once communicating with us thereon, as well as for the interest displayed by you in promoting the welfare of the Province by directing such a valuable class of emigrants to it.

"In reply to your enquiries, I may state that the information given by you as to the allowance of land to settlers under the Auckland Waste Lands Act, 1870, is correct, and I would be prepared to set aside a special block for these settlers, wherever they might select out of Provincial Lands. As you are aware, the lands south of Mercer are under the administration of the General Government, not of the Provincial Government; but I have very little doubt but the General Government would consent to give similar terms in respect of these lands to such a body of settlers, and I will at once communicate with them on the subject, and write you by next mail. As to giving a larger free grant to the leader of the party than 300 acres, the Provincial Government would willingly do so if they had power by law; but it can only be done in concert with the General Government, by the latter making regulations for the purpose, which they have power to do. On this subject, also, I shall at once communicate with them, and let you know the result by next mail.

"I may assure you that the Provincial Government are most anxious to encourage such a body of settlers as you describe, who are specially adapted for settlement in this Province, and everything that lies in the power of the Provincial Government will be done to meet the views of these settlers, and to enable them to settle on such a block of good land as may afford comfortable homes for themselves and the families.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your most obedient servant,

"THOMAS B. GILLIES,
"Superintendent.

"H. W. FARNALL,

"2½, Corporation Street, Belfast."

"Superintendent's Office, Auckland,

"17th April, 1873.

"MY DEAR SIR,—My cablegram this day sent with concurrence of the General Government will, I trust, long ere this reaches you, assure you of the cordial co-operation of both General and Provincial Governments in endeavouring to settle your emigrants to the very best advantage. We have arranged that the whole lands of the Province, whether Provincial or General Government, shall be open to your emigrants for selection of a block to suit them. The only point of difference is that the General Government desired that a block should be selected here at once, and set apart for them. I prefer (remembering my own experience as a colonist) that they should select on arrival. In whichever way, they will have our most cordial co-operation. In your letter you mentioned 300 acres as the maximum grant for a family under our Homestead Law. I find it is only 200, but this we (both General and Provincial) are prepared to stretch to 300. All this will involve a block of from 10,000 to 20,000 acres. Of Provincial lands there is only one first-rate block I know suitable—that is the Victoria Valley, near Mongonui. There is another block in course of purchase from the natives, equally good, if not better—the Mangakahia Valley, between the Wairoa (Kaipara) and Hokianga, which I think will be completed ere they can arrive, and which, from personal knowledge, I could recommend. The General Government have lands at Tauranga, and betwixt there and Opotiki, also good, and I think it best to give your people a choice for themselves. They may depend upon being liberally dealt with by both Governments. Let them come at once so as to arrive in spring. By the time they arrive I shall be out of office, but whoever may be my successor, which is at present very uncertain. I am sure he will adopt all I say and do in this matter; and, though out of office, I shall only be too happy to lend my aid to advising, assisting, and settling, such a body of settlers as you have described.

"With kind regard,

"I have the honour to remain,

"Yours faithfully,

"THOMAS B. GILLIES,

"Superintendent.

"H. W. FARNALL,

"2½, Corporation Street, Belfast."

Replies to Pregoing Letters.

From Mr H. W. FARNALL to his HONOR the SUPERINTENDENT, Auckland. New Zealand Emigration Office, 2½ Corporation street, Belfast,

June 12. 1873.

SIR,—

I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your two letters of 4th and 17th April, both of which reached me yesterday.

I beg to thank your Honor for the prompt manner in which you have taken up this matter, and for the heartiness of the support which you promise on the part of both General and Provincial Governments to carry to a successful issue the proposition contained in my letter of 5th February.

I regret that owing to the departure of the mail at 2 o'clock this afternoon, and my not having yet received any communication from the Agent-General with respect to any instructions he may have received by the last mail from New Zealand in connection with this special settlement scheme, I am unable to inform you what assistance I am likely to expect from the Agent-General to enable me to carry out the details (already too long

deferred) of the scheme, and upon the satisfactory working-out of which the success of the scheme so much depends.

I presume that in the course of a day or two I shall receive the necessary instructions from the Agent-General with respect to this matter, for as I informed your Honor in my last letter, I had been requested by the Agent-General to suspend all action in this matter until I received further instructions from him on the subject, I may say that in reply to this request of the Agent-General's, I told him that although I was willing to obey the spirit of his instructions, it was utterly impossible for me in this instance to obey him to the letter, as the substance of your Honors telegram to me had been already communicated by me to the parties chiefly interested, and it would have been fatal to the success of the scheme, had I actually suspended all action in the matter.

I trust, however, that now should the tenor of the Agent General's despatches by this last mail agree with the letter I have received from your Honor, he will give that assistance, which from his position is of course absolutely necessary, to the successful carrying out of the scheme.

"I have the honor to be, Sir.

"Your most obedient servant,

"HARRY WARNER FARNALL.

"His Honor, the Superintendent,

"Auckland."

From Mr. H. W. FARNALL to his Honor the Superintendent, Auckland.

2½ Corporation-street, Belfast,

July 10th, 1873.

MY DEAR SIR,—

Owing to the short time that elapsed between my receipt of your letter of 17th April, and the departure of the out-going New Zealand June mail, I was unable to take that notice of it that I intended.

I can assure you the difficulties of my position here have been so great, and the impediments placed in my way so vexatious, and the work that I have performed so unappreciated, that had it not been for the great interest I take in the emigration work itself, and the real pleasure that it gives me when things go on at all straight, I should long since have lost heart altogether.

Your letters, however, and the hearty manner in which you entered into the spirit of the scheme I proposed to you in my letter of February 5, contrasting, as they do, so forcibly with the manner in which the Agent-General has so persistently showered cold water on every suggestion that I have made to him for the furthering of the common object we have in view, have quite put fresh life into me.

When I left New Zealand, so impressed was I with the favorable position of a New Zealand labourer or mechanic compared with the same class in Great Britain, that I thought the difference had only to be pointed out to them to make them flock out to us in unlimited numbers, I found myself grievously mistaken, and at first the difficulties I had to contend against in trying to popularise our emigration scheme appeared to be almost insurmountable.

There must, I suppose, be a limit to emigration from any country, for no country can afford to part (and neither will she part) with more than the overplus of her population; and as far as Ireland is concerned, it appears that the annual emigration from it even now equals, if it does not exceed, its annual increase of population by excess of births over deaths, therefore we have to turn the stream, already flowing towards other countries, in our direction. In connection with this fact, it must also be borne in mind that the emigrating class have nearly always friends in either Canada or the United States, and they naturally not only desire to go where they know their friends are doing well, but in a great many instances their friends send them the cash to pay their passages to one or the other of these countries. Under such circumstances it is not easy to convince a man

that New Zealand, a place he has barely before heard of, and which he finds out it takes a three months' journey to reach, is really the best place for him to go to. Besides this, as you can easily understand, some of the agents for the other Colonies are not over scrupulous in spreading reports anything but calculated to engender confidence in New Zealand as an immigration field, reports in most instances with some foundation in fact, which, to ignorant and prejudiced men, makes them all the more difficult of explanation; over and above all this, any personal weight I might have brought to bear upon the subject has been greatly counter-balanced by the fact that I never have had any recognised authoritative position. I have been tolerated by the Agent-General, and that word just about expresses the very anomalous position in which I find myself.

As it appears that my services are the reverse of appreciated in New Zealand (a fact that by no means surprises me, considering that the Agent-General himself, who knows too well the difficulties I have had to contend with, has never given me the least credit for anything that I have done), I shall take the liberty of forwarding you one or two extracts from my correspondence with him, by which you will see that I almost implored him to allow me to make myself as useful as possible; but it was all to no purpose. When I first came over here, I found an entire absence of anything like organization, without which, I apprehend, no business, whether emigration or otherwise, can be successful. There were a few agents appointed, who were also agents for other colonies; and although they were doubtless willing to send emigrants to New Zealand, if they happened to wish to go there, they themselves took no personal interest in the subject, and they all expressed the greatest satisfaction that I had come over to superintend and keep them up to their work.

I then made several suggestions to Dr. Featherston—suggestions which, in my opinion would have at once considerably increased the number of emigrants. The answers that I invariably received from him were, that he did not see any necessity for adopting my suggestions, and that the emigrants were coming forward quite fast enough. I may say that several of my suggestions have since been acted upon, but I got no credit for originating them. One of my suggestions was that numerous local agents should be appointed, and as a tentative measure I recommended two to the Agent-General. The result was that one, although he acted as agent and subsequently received his commission, never received his appointment at all. The other received his, after six weeks or two months' delay, and after repeated letters from me to the Agent-General on the subject. After this comparative failure on my part, I did not care about recommending any more, as it of course, naturally enough, appeared to those I wished to appoint that my recommendation was worthless, and that I was of no account in the Agent-General's estimation. Some weeks after this the Agent-General himself requested me to appoint more local agents.

My idea when I came over as New Zealand emigration agent was that I should have a certain district appointed me, and that I should be responsible for all the work performed within the district; but I never have had a district appointed me, neither have I ever had any definite instructions from the Agent-General as to my course of procedure. It is true that in February last, after I had been here eight months and when I found that I was thwarted in everything that I attempted for the benefit of the cause, that I wrote almost in despair to the Agent-General, and he wrote and said that he would take an early opportunity of explaining to me what my duties really were; but beyond giving me to understand in that letter that I was expected to be continually on the move, he never did let me know, until quite recently he verbally informed me that "I was expected to travel about and hold conversaziones."

We shall never get the emigrants we require until there is really some well organised system maintained, why should there not be one responsible local agent in Ireland, another in Scotland, both, of course subordinate to the Agent-General who could personally superintend England, I know for a fact that the sub-agents in this part do not take anything like the same interest in their work, when working through an office in London as they do in working through a local office that they can appeal to at a moment's notice.

I also enclose copies of correspondence between the Agent-General and myself relative to the proposed Special Settlement in Auckland, also correspondence between Mr Stewart and the Agent-General on the same subject. This correspondence speaks for itself, as regards the latter correspondence I should think you could hardly have a better specimen of how not to get good emigrants than this correspondence represents, it will be necessary for me to say a word with reference to this correspondence between the Agent-General and Mr Stewart. I only became aware of its existence the other day, and then quite by accident as Mr Stewart had never mentioned it to me. It appears that Mr Stewart could not reconcile the sanguine manner in which I entered into the Special Emigrant Scheme, with the wonderful apathy in which the Agent-General took up the subject, he knew me then sufficiently well to give me credit for the honesty of my intentions, but being as I was in a subordinate position he thought it possible I might be taking too much upon myself, he therefore wrote to the Agent-General himself, with what success I will leave you to gather from his letters. Comment upon this correspondence is unnecessary, but there is one thought that must strike any one upon perusing it, and that is, Is Mr Stewart the only one whose enquiries have been met in this sort of spirit? and if this is the way the emigration department is conducted, is it any wonder that it does not do what is expected of it in New Zealand?

I am convinced that there are numbers of men of Mr Stewart's social standing and position who would gladly throw in their lot with us, if only a little pains were taken to give them all and the fullest information they require. I am now in correspondence with several gentlemen, all of whom are possessed of considerable means, and have almost made up their minds to emigrate to New Zealand. Three families. I know for certain, have made all their arrangements for going, and you will have the pleasure of receiving them in Auckland before the end of November in all probability. The class of men obtainable as emigrants from this part of Ireland are certainly equal, if they are not superior to those obtainable from other parts of the United Kingdom or Europe, inasmuch as from what I have seen of them they possess all those qualifications so desirable for making good colonists; they are thrifty, honest, sober and industrious, but they are very conservative, and it is in consequence far easier to reach them through the medium of those to whom they have for generations been accustomed to look to as their leaders, than to make a direct appeal to themselves, in point of fact they must know you before they will trust you hence the extreme importance of getting men like Mr Stewart to take a personal and lively interest in the matter. The importance of it in fact can hardly be overrated for there is a strong feeling on the part of landlords, and employers of labour, and openly advocated by the Press, against the wholesale emigration which has for some years been depopulating this country.

And now in conclusion, I would remark that notwithstanding all this delay and most unaccountable opposition on the part of the Agent-General, you will still get the emigrants, though you will not get so many this year as I had anticipated. The original intention was that Mr Stewart and the first body of emigrants should start in September, and had the scheme been properly encouraged by the Agent-General either on the subject first being started, or on receipt of your telegram, this might easily have been accomplished, now, however, Mr Stewart and in consequence the bulk of those who are going with him, have put off their departure until next year, and purpose leaving England so as to arrive in New Zealand about the end of August. Although this is a great disappointment to me, I cannot say but that I fully concur with the wisdom of the postponement, for I am fully alive to the great importance of getting the party out to New Zealand in time to have them fairly housed and started before the setting in of the bad weather. I am still in hopes of getting some twenty families to leave about the middle of October, but it will of course entirely depend upon the spirit in which the Agent-General takes the matter up, if it is entrusted to him, or to the manner to which he assists me, should I be empowered to carry on the scheme.

There is one suggestion I must make and that is, in order to make the scheme thoroughly successful, assisted passages must be given to the steerage emigrants. Take for example the case of a man with a family of six or seven or more children, suppose that by the sale of the tenant interest in his farm, &c., he becomes possessed of £300; this sum would be ample to start a working farmer on land of his own with every probability of success, but reduce this man's capital by the cost of six, eight, or ten full passages as the case may be, and you at once destroy all the charm the scheme has for him.

"I have the honor to be, Sir,

"Your most obedient servant,

"HARRY WARNER FARNALL.

"His Honor, the Superintendent,

"Auckland."

I forwarded copies of Mr. Gillies' letters to the Agent-General, and in reply received a letter requesting me to give him the fullest information about the proposed Special Settlement. This I did, and in reply I received a letter marked private in which he suggests that I should resign my appointment. I wrote back requesting an official answer to my previous letter, in reply I was told the Government had no further need of my services, the following is the-correspondence:—

7, Westminster Chambers, Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W.

June 16th, 1873.

SIR,—

I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 11th instant.

With regard to the proposed location of Special Settlers at Auckland I shall be glad to have as early as possible a full statement from you of what you have already done in the matter, of what you are doing, and

what prospect there is of your succeeding in the project. In the meantime I may state that I am most anxious to give effect to the wishes of his Honor the Superintendent of Auckland and to receive and consider any suggestions or recommendations you may have to make on the subject.

I am anxious to have the fullest information as the Government have cast on me the responsibility of deciding whether it is desirable to retain your services for the purpose of giving effect to these instructions.

I beg to call your attention to the enclosed copy of a memorandum received by the last mail on the subject of my having increased the salaries of yourself and Messrs Birch and Seaton. As you will at once admit it is out of my power to pay you more than Eighteen shillings per diem from the 1st of the present month, and I ought to add that to judge from the terms of the Honorable Mr. O'Rorke's memorandum it is quite possible that the Government may call upon you to refund the amount paid to you in excess of that which it was the intention of the Government that you should receive.

"I have, &c., Sir,

"Your most obedient servant,

"I. E. Featherston,

"Agent-General for New Zealand.

"Harry W. Farnall, Esq.,

"Belfast.

New Zealand Emigration Office, 2½Corporation Street, Belfast,

18th June, 1873.

SIR,—

I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your letter of 16th inst., and am glad to find that it is your intention—at least I infer from your letter that it is your intention—to lend your aid and assistance in order successfully to carry out the projected scheme of forming a special settlement in the Province of Auckland.

I shall be happy to give you, as you request, a full statement of what I have already done in this matter, what I am doing, and what prospect there is of carrying the scheme to a successful issue; and I trust that now the matter may be vigorously pushed forward, as too much time has unfortunately already been lost since the subject was first mooted, and I need not point out to you that delays act very prejudicially against a scheme of this sort, which requires to be met promptly and liberally, and carried through before the first ardour of the projectors has been allowed to cool.

As you request the fullest information, it will be necessary for me to go back as far as January last, in which month I first communicated with you on the subject of the proposed special settlement.

I may say here I have always been impressed with the desirability, I might almost say the absolute necessity, of inducing capitalists to emigrate to New Zealand in order somewhat to counterbalance the number of penniless emigrants now being drafted to her shores, it has indeed appeared to me that without some counterbalancing capital, the success of the New Zealand Public Works and Immigration scheme, would be indefinitely retarded. I have equally been convinced of the great advantages to be derived by the colony of New Zealand, and more especially the province of Auckland, from the formation of special settlements composed exclusively of working farmers and men with sufficient means to employ labor, and since I have been employed as Emigration Agent under the New Zealand Government I have always at every opportunity advocated this form of emigration.

In the beginning of December 1872 I first commenced a correspondence with Mr. George Vesey Stewart of Lisbeg House Ballygawley, County Tyrone, with reference to the suitability of New Zealand as an emigration field for gentlemen with capital. A long correspondence and several interviews took place between us, and at last he became convinced of the great advantages to be derived by himself and all connected with the scheme if a body of working farmers and capitalists could be got together, if possible from the same district, and located together in New Zealand. He then cast about among his friends and acquaintances in order to find out who and how many would be likely to take part in such a scheme should the opportunity be offered them. In January last, when some twenty or twenty-five families had promised to join him, and on Mr. Stewart finally making up his mind, in the event of the New Zealand Government meeting his proposition, as I felt sure they would, in a liberal spirit, to emigrate to New Zealand in company with such a party, I wrote to you, requesting your advice

and co-operation in the matter. As it happened, my letter, as subsequently explained in a letter I received from your office, remained unanswered, through inadvertence, until some time after the departure of the outgoing February New Zealand mail; therefore, as Mr Stewart was extremely anxious to get the matter settled, and as I considered that in consequence of this large party wishing to occupy land in the Province of Auckland—it was more a provincial than a public question—I wrote direct to Mr. Gillies (the Superintendent of the Province of Auckland) by the outgoing February New Zealand mail, on the subject, and, as will be seen by enclosed letters, both Mr. Gillies and the General Government appear to have taken up the matter in the most liberal spirit.

Mr Gillies, you are aware, telegraphed to me from New Zealand when he had been successful in obtaining the promise of assistance from the General Government to the effect that the proposed Scheme was approved, and that either General or Provincial lands should be placed at the disposal of the Emigrants concerning whom I had written. I at once communicated the contents of this telegram to Mr Stewart and to yourself. Mr Stewart expressed himself as perfectly satisfied with the wording of the telegram and at once took steps to circulate amongst his friends that the Special Settlement Scheme was "un fait accompli." With the copy of Mr. Gillies telegram that I forwarded to yourself I enclosed a draft copy of a circular, that, subject to your approval I purposed forwarding to some of your local agents, drawing their attention to the proposed Special Settlement, and requesting them to make the Scheme known in their several Districts. In reply you requested me to suspend all action in the matter until you received further instructions from the New Zealand Government, and as it was of course impossible for me to act in the matter without your full concurrence and co-operation, the subject has remained in abeyance until now. As regards the probable success of the undertaking there is little doubt but that from forty to fifty families will be forthcoming to proceed in the first vessel which will be a decided success. It was originally proposed that the first vessel should sail early in September, I am much afraid, however, that it will be practically impossible now to get the party together so soon as that, but the matter will be pushed on as rapidly as possible, and I will take the earliest opportunity of informing you at what date the pioneers of the party will be prepared to start.

I am obliged for your offer of receiving and considering any suggestions or recommendations I may have to make on this subject and I would suggest:—

I. That I should be permitted to acquaint your sub-agents both here and in England with the project, a draft copy of circular to carry which into effect I enclose.

II. That I should be permitted to advertise the project in the North of Ireland papers and in one or two of the English papers, my object I may say in advertising in the English papers would be to draw the attention of men of means to the subject, many of whom I think might feel inclined to join a well organized party of this description.

III. That a prospectus should be used something after the manner of one I have drawn up and proof copy of which I enclose.

IV. That the first vessel sailing to Auckland in connection with this Scheme should sail from some port in the North of Ireland.

V. As it appears from your letter that upon yourself the responsibility is cast of deciding whether taking into consideration the importance of this scheme, my services should be retained in order to assist in carrying it out, ergo my services would no longer be required by the Government were it not for the importance of the scheme I have in hand, I would further suggest that I should be permitted to undertake all correspondence in connection with this matter, whether with the Sub-Agents in their capacity as Agents or with private individuals, that all applications for passages should be referred in the first instance to me, and that all enquiries on the subject should be answered by me.

I am of course unaware what (if any) specific instructions may have been received by you from the Government of New Zealand with reference to this projected Special Settlement, as the long extracts forwarded to me from the Honorable Mr O'Rorke's memorandum of 14th April, 1873. relate wholly and solely to the subject of the remuneration made to Messrs Birch, Seaton, and myself, concerning which I may say as far as regards myself, Mr O'Rorke falls into one or two very serious errors, in the first place I have never received, neither was I ever offered 18s per diem as salary, the only sum ever named to me by you was 25s per diem and this was for expenses, a sum, if I remember rightly, you said at the time was quite inadequate. I can quite understand in the absence of all information on the subject, the dismay of the Government and the indignation of the New Zealand public at hearing that Messrs Birch, Seaton and myself were drawing out of the public purse salaries of £700 per annum. The question of my own remuneration is one upon which it hardly becomes me to make any comment. Of one thing, however, I am convinced and that is that much as the Government of New Zealand would reprobate, and justly reprobate and the people of New Zealand exclaim against the wasting of the public funds, neither the Government or the people of the Colony would allow anyone, engaged as I am on a matter of great public importance, to bear the expenses or any part of the expenses in connection with such matter on his own shoulders. I shall therefore feel obliged in the event of your deeming it desirable to retain my

services, by your in forming me what sum (if any) I may consider myself entitled to for such services, and what sum (if any) for expensee, otherwise I might be (as I have been before) led into expenses on account of emigration utterly disproportionate to the amount received by me as payment of such expenses.

I have, &c.,
HARRY W. FARNALL,

[Private.] 7, Westminster Chambers, Victoria-street, Westminster, SW.,

June 22, 1873.

MY DEAR SIR,—

I have not been able to give the Special Settlement scheme the careful consideration it requires, but your proposals cannot be entertained.

The Government agrees to set aside a block of 10,000 acres of good hind for a special settlement of some fifty families. To the members of these families it will give, on certain conditions, a certain quantity of land; to the leader of the body of settlers (Mr. Stewart) it will give an extra quantity of land. But the Government certainly requires two things—1st. That the settlers are either capitalists or belong to the class of small farmers, each with an amount of money sufficient to work the land given to them; and 2nd. That all these settlers themselves defray the cost of their passages, whether they go as first, second, or third class passengers.

Any laborers they may wish to engage will be taken out for them under the existing arrangements.

The leader and fifty families will about absorb the whole 10,000 acres. You have given the Government to understand that some twenty-five families had already agreed to join Mr. Stewart, and that there will be no difficulty in largely increasing the number.

There seems, therefore, no reason why this body should not be got together, and be ready to start in three or four months.

It seems desirable that the selection of the whole body should be, as far as possible, entrusted to Mr. Stewart. It is intended that they shall be taken from the North of Ireland. There cannot, therefore, be any occasion to advertise or to issue regulations. Mr. S. has simply to invite others to join him, in the terms above specified. As soon as the number is made up, it can easily be arranged to have a ship from Belfast or any other more convenient port.

The scheme is, in all its main features, simply a revival of the forty-acre system, only on a very limited scale.

I don't know that you can be of much service to Mr. S. in carrying out his arrangements, but shall be glad to hear from you on the subject.

As you are aware, the Government have declined to give you more than 18s. per day. They have further, after censuring me for the salaries and travelling allowances hitherto paid to yourself, Messrs. Birch and Seaton, thrown upon me the sole responsibility of either continuing or dispensing with your services, expressing, at the same time, their own extreme disappointment of the results of your labors. Mr. Seaton's engagement was determined last month, and in a note received a few days ago from Mr. Birch I gather that he is anxious to go abroad. Pray let me know your wishes.—I have, &c.,

I. E. FEATHERSTON.

NOTE.—Although Dr. Featherston, in the above letter, states that the Government declined to give me more than 18s. per day, yet Mr. Samuel Cochrane, who superseded me, was, and is still, paid £.500 per annum and all his expenses.

H. W. FARNALL to Dr FEATHERSTON. 2½ Corporation street, Belfast,

June 23, 1873.

MY DEAR SIR,—

I am in receipt of yours of yesterday's date marked *private*, I think you will at once see that as the subject concerning which I wrote you is strictly official, there can be no necessity for our having any private correspondence on the subject, I shall feel obliged, therefore, if you will either give me an official answer to my letter of June 18th, or let me treat your last communication as an official document.

Yours faithfully,

HARRY W. FARNALL.

7, Westminster Chambers, Victoria street, Westminster, S.W.,

June 28, 1873.

SIR,—

I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your letter of 18th inst., and in reply beg to intimate that after recent advices from the New Zealand Government, I do not feel myself any further justified in continuing your services as an Emigration Agent. You will be entitled to the cost of your return passage to New Zealand.

I have, &c.,
I. E. FEATHERSTON,
H. W. Farnall, Esq.,
Agent-General.

2½, Corporation street, Belfast.

[The conversation previously alluded to, in which Dr Featherston verbally informed me my services were dispensed with, took place about a fortnight before the date of above letter, and, of course, prior to the correspondence which this letter closes.—H.W.F.]

My pay ceased from the date of my letter of dismissal, although from the nature of my operations it was quite impossible to bring them to an abrupt conclusion.

I telegraphed to Mr, Gillies, informing him that Dr. Featherston had dismissed me.

The General Government sent me a telegram to the effect that they would recognise my services if I succeeded in inducing the Stewart party to come out. This never reached me in the shape of a telegram; the information reached me through the post. The following, bearing on this subject. is an extract from evidence taken before the Public Petitious Committee of the House of Representatives during the session of 1876.

Public Petitions Committee.

Mr. T. KELLY, CHAIRMAN,
In the Petition of Mr. H. W. FARNALL.
Mr. O'Rorke, M.H.R., being in attendance, was examined :—
[Extract.]

"By Mr. Farnall:

"*Question.*—It was in consequence of a memorandum of yours to Dr. Featherston that he took upon himself to dispense with my services. Was it your wish at that time that he should dispense with them?

"*Answer.*—In instructing Dr. Featherston, I said if Mr. Farnall was carrying out a scheme of special emigration in terms of the wish of the Superintendent of Auckland he should be kept on. This direction will be found acknowledged by Dr. Featherston in letter of July, 1873, D. 2 c. p. 10.

"*Question.*—Then it must have taken you by surprise to find he had dispensed with my services?

"*Answer.*—He wrote back in effect, saying that you were doing nothing and that your talk about emigration was all moonshine. Subsequently it turned out that the settlement was being proceeded with, and in consequence of what you did has been established.

"By Mr. Hamlin :

"*Question.*—What is the name of the settlement?

"*Answer.*—Kati-kati settlement.

"*Question.*—As far as you know, has that settlement progressed?

"*Answer.*—I think it is the most prosperous settlement established in the Colony within my memory. From what I have heard, and what I have seen from a petition brought to this House, it seems that some thirty houses have been built within nine months of occupation, and fifteen hundred acres of land put under fencing or cultivation.

"*Question.*—Was Mr. Farnall instrumental in getting that body of settlers out?

"*Answer.*—I think the settlement is due altogether to Mr. Farnall.

"By Mr. Farnall:

"*Question.*—When you were Minister for Immigration do you remember a telegram being drafted and sent to me from the Government?

"*Answer.*—When the Government, at the request of the Provincial Government, undertook to assist the Province of Auckland in getting this body of small farmers to come out as settlers, it was deemed advisable by me to reserve some of the land at Tauranga from sale, and it was thought by me desirable to encourage Mr. Farnall, who had shown so much anxiety on the subject, and had arranged matters at Home, by giving him some land in the settlement. However, the Government decided it would be better not to make any definite pledge as to land, but sent him a telegram to say his services would be remembered if he succeeded in inducing this body of settlers to come out."

My services have not been recognised, although I did succeed in accomplishing the work, and even in the matter of my disputed accounts with Dr. Featherston, in which my figures were proved before the Public Petitions Committee to be correct, I was not paid in full, being, in point of fact, awarded the sum of £8 6s. 8d. less than I ought to have had paid me by Dr. Featherston in London, and this after having to come to Wellington, and remain a whole session, to prove my claim.

The following letters show that Mr Stewart and the original promoters of the special settlement scheme fully appreciated my exertions in the matter:—

His Honor the SUPERINTENDENT, Auckland, to the Hon. the MINISTER for IMMIGRATION. Auckland,

November 15, 1873.

SIR,—

Referring to certain correspondence (semi-official) which I had the honor to submit to you during last session of the Assembly, from Mr. H. W. Farnall, relative to special immigration from the North of Ireland, I have now the honor to annex copies of letters received by me per last English mail from G. V. Stewart. Esq., of Ballygawley, and also from Mr Farnall.

From the former you will see that the first instalment of Mr Stewart's party would probably leave last month, and that they expect the block of 20,000 acres in which they are to settle to be set apart for them prior to arrival. This should, therefore, be done without delay. Though in a few days I shall cease to be Superintendent of the Province, my services will be gratuitously at the disposal of your Government for the purpose of making the required selection on being informed of the lands at the disposal of the Government. I would suggest the Tauranga district.

On the disagreements between Mr Farnall and the Agent-General I presume to offer no opinion, save that they seem to be very unfortunate for the progress of a very promising scheme of immigration to this Province.

I have, &c.,

THOMAS B. GILLIES.

The Hon the Minister for Immigration, Wellington.

Enclosure 1 in above.

Mr STEWART to Mr GILLIES. Lisbeg, Ballygawley,

August 13, 1873.

DEAR SIR,—

Though I have not had the pleasure of hearing from you personally, yet as Mr. Farnall has sent me copies of your letters to him, in which you have explained yourself in such kind and favorable terms with regard to my proposed special settlement in the Province of Auckland, that I think it only due to you to return you my best thanks for the warm and energetic manner in which you have taken up the matter. It is, of course, a serious responsibility to break up a long and well-established home in this country; however, I have duly weighed all

the circumstances, and acting on Mr Farnall's representations of the Colony have made my arrangements to enable me to leave this country (d.v.) next spring.

The first vessel under the special scheme will sail to Auckland in October, and I have not the slightest doubt but that the block of 30,000 acres will be taken up by my party. I would therefore ask you to be good enough to reserve for me my lot of 1000 acres (to which the number of my family will entitle me), out of the best portion of the 10,000 or 20,000 acre block.

The first emigrants arriving may naturally prefer to receive the best lots, but I firmly believe it will be for the true interests of the success of the scheme, if I did not go with the first party, as by following in May will enable those who are in doubt to make up their minds and follow with me, on hearing good reports from those who have preceded them in October.

In conclusion I must bear my humble testimony as to the manner in which Mr Harry Farnall is conducting the business and representing the interests of the Auckland Government in this country. I have found him most kind and courteous, sparing himself no trouble or exertion in meeting the wishes and long letters from his numerous correspondents on this subject. It is said "comparisons are odious" but I can truly state that had I received from Mr Farnall the same kind of reply as I received from the New Zealand Government Office in London, on the subject of emigration, you would never have heard anything about this proposed settlement, which I know will be a great success. I have one Presbyterian clergyman, who has promised to follow me with thirty families of the upper respectable class of yeoman farmers, if I give him good encouragement on reaching the future land of my adoption.

Yours, &c.

His Honor T. B. Gillies,

Auckland.

GEO. VESEY STEWART.

Enclosure 2.

Mr. STEWART to Mr. GILLIES. Lisbeg, Ballygawley,

3rd September, 1873.

DEAR SIR,—

I enclose you a requisition, signed by a few of the persons interested in the proposed emigration scheme to Auckland Province.

My experience has been that the arrangements will never be worked out satisfactorily in London : and, further, in such matters people should not be tied down to the hard-and-fast cord of red tape. * * * * *

Yours most faithfully,

His Honor
GEO. VESEY STEWART.
T. B. GILLIES,

Auckland.

Sub-Enclosure to Enclosure 2.

Messrs. STEWART, ANDREWS, and others to Mr. GILLIES. Lisbeg, Ballygawley, Ireland,

26th August, 1873.

DEAR SIR,—

We, the undersigned, being the original promoters of the special emigration to Auckland, regret that Mr. W. Farnall, your agent in this country, so far from receiving the support and assistance he deserves from the official representative of the New Zealand Government at home, appears to have been thwarted in every possible way; and, were it not that we place implicit confidence in Mr. Faruall's representations, we should in consequence have given up all idea of further prosecuting this movement.

We have therefore to request that you will be good enough to give, as far as possible, full authority to Mr. Farnall to make such arrangements as he may consider advisable to the success of the enterprise, and consequent interests of the colony.

We make this request solely on our own responsibility, and without any previous communication with Mr. Farnall on the subject.

Waiting your reply,

"We remain, faithfully yours,

GEORGE VESEY STEWART, J.P.,

(For self and several emigrant families).

MICHAEL JOHN ANDREWS.

THOMAS ADDERLY, Clerk, Incumbent, Ballygawley.

JAMES M. CLEANE.

ANDREW M'MASTER, Surgeon, Carrick Dispensary, County Tyrone.

The Katikati Settlement.

[From *New Zealand Herald*, Auckland, October 11, 1876.]

The following extracts from Auckland newspapers show that the settlement has progressed :—

"This settlement, although in its very infancy, has already made considerable progress, and is likely to become one of the most prosperous of the North Island. The settlers, without exception, are of an industrious, thrifty, and persevering class, and the improvements they have effected in cultivation, fencing, gardening, and house-building, in the comparatively short period of one year, Astonish visitors to the settlement. The Katikati block consists of 10,000 acres, which was at first considered to be sufficiently large for the purpose for which it was set apart, but which is now found to be too small, and there is consequently a desire on the part of the settlers to enlarge it."

The Visit of the Hon. Dr. Pollen to the Katikati Settlement.

[From *New Zealand Herald*, Auckland, January 22nd, 1877.]

"KATIKATT,

January 18.

"The Hon. Dr. Pollen arrived here on Tuesday night, in the Government boat, from Tauranga. He was accompanied by Captain Turner, the district Resident Engineer. On arriving at the head of the Waitara River, bonfires were started on the property of Mr. Fitzgibbon, jun., C. E., which were speedily followed by similar demonstrations of welcome on the properties of Mr. Latimer, Mr. H. Fletcher, and others, thereby illuminating his entire progress up the River to his arrival at the Witara Pioneer Store, which has been so successfully started by the enterprising proprietors, Messrs. Shepperd and Wylie. Dr. Pollen was received on landing by Mr. Robert Hunter, who drove him in his tax cart to his residence, where Mr. George Vesey Stewart and a few of the

principal settlers had been invited to meet him. On the following morning a large and influential deputation of the settlers presented him with an address, from which I make the following extracts :—'We are a prosperous, contented, and united community. Our anxiety is to confer similar benefits, which we enjoy, upon our relatives, friends, and countrymen. With this view a proposition has been made by us to the present Government, through our leader, Mr. Stewart, for the extension of the block by 10,000 acres, which, we were rejoiced to find, had met with the favourable consideration of the Hon. the Premier. We, however, regret that the terms proposed by the Waste Lands Board in Auckland will totally preclude our taking action in the matter, thereby frustrating the friendly intentions of the present Ministry towards us. Steps having been taken to open up a road communication between this district and the Hauraki gold-fields, we trust that shortly we may enjoy increased postal facilities and an additional ready market for our agricultural produce, to our mutual benefit: We have the pleasure to inform you that since our arrival upon the block, the most friendly relations exist between the natives and ourselves.'

"Dr. Pollen thanked the deputation for the warm and cordial welcome that he had received. As a general rule he was opposed to special settlements, as he found that they did not generally come up to the expectations that were formed; but the Katikati special settlement was certainly an exception to the general rule, and he formed his opinions not only from the appearance of the settlers themselves, the substantial and comfortable houses and homesteads that he had seen, but from the earnest and unanimous expressions of contentment and satisfaction conveyed to him by the large and influential deputation that he had the pleasure of meeting." THE following extracts taken hap-hazard from agents' and sub-agents' letters are given for the purpose of showing that owing to the difficulty experienced by these people in obtaining information, &c., from the London office, they always looked to me to assist them out of their difficulties, even after I had ceased to be officially connected with the Agent-General's office, and before I received the Provincial appointment:—

Mr JAMES STEWART, Agent, Derry, to H. W. FARNALL.

22nd March, 1873.

"I have received eight applications but cannot complete them, not having the necessary forms under the new regulations which I have applied for."

From the SAME to the SAME.

26th March, 1873.

"I have now seventeen applications, but not having received the new forms, &c., I am unable to complete them.

Mr W. J. KANE, agent, Cookstown, to H. W. FARNALL.

"I see from circular sent me that I will have to send applications to London instead of Belfast as usual. I must say that I have received from you the greatest kindness and best instructions, instructions that will be of use to me so long as I am employed as an Emigration Agent."

Mr FRANCIS REA, Agent, Newtownard, to H. W. FARNALL.

3rd April, 1873.

"I am sorry that I will have to correspond with the Agent-General direct, as the manner in which you conduct the business gives the Agent what I consider his proper position in connection with his appointment.

MR JAMES SMYTH, Agent, Portglenone, to II. W. FARNALL.

27th May, 1874,

"I have more applications from young men, and I don't know what to do with them as so little attention is paid in the head office, London."

The letters from which the following extracts were taken were written to me after I was dismissed by Dr. Featherston:— "W. J. KANE to H. W. FARNALL.

"8th July, 1873.

"In my opinion, it would be more convenient to communicate through a local office, for when communicating with you I was able to give the emigrants decided answers immediately, Belfast being so convenient, and you paying such regular attention to my letters, which were numerous."

"JAMES SMART to II. W. FARNALL.

"10th September, 1873.

"Have written to the Agent-General for pamphlets, and can't get any, nor even a sufficient supply of posters.

From SAME to the SAME.

"12th September, 1873."

Many thanks for yours of yesterday, with pamphlets, just received. Wrote Agent-General again about them yesterday. Cannot get sufficient supply of posters: 40 is of little use to me for three months."

From the SAME to the SAME.

"28th September, 1873.

"Kindly direct the bearer as to the station he should go to in London, cheapest way to get to the docks, &c. I sent sixteen *via* Glasgow, and hope to have at least forty for 14th. I cannot imagine what they are thinking of in London. I have had to write and telegraph eight or ten times about this man, and can't get any definite reply."

From the SAME to the SAME.

"24th October, 1873.

"I have written three times to the Agent-General for dates of sailings. No reply."

From SAME to the SAME.

"30th October, 1873.

"I have been an agent about fifteen years, and can give immediately a decided answer to any question I may be asked connected with the Colony I represent, but can't do so with New Zealand. I can't understand what they are thinking about (if they do think) in the London office. What do you think of a letter I received yesterday, signed A. O. Ottywell, in which it is stated—4 The people taking their passages from Glasgow are all nominated by their friends in New Zealand, and therefore no commission is chargeable. *Vide, &c., &c.*"

"I wrote him back that he must be mistaken, as none of the people whom I sent had been nominated; and that, moreover, Mr. Andrew had remitted me the amount of my commission.

"I sincerely hope you will not cease to be connected with the emigration, as I have always received from you immediate and satisfactory replies to my inquiries. I have applied for pamphlets till I am tired of doing so; all I got from them was two, but Mr. Andrew sent me some on Otago."

The SAME to the SAME.

19th November, 1873,

"Thanks again for your information. I am not at all surprised that I received no reply from the Agent-General to my letter; the same thing has now occurred so often that I should have been more surprised if I had. I do not suppose for one moment that he can personally reply to all inquiries, but I presume his post is a very lucrative one, and that he could employ responsible persons who should do so."

Mr. SMART to G. V. STEWART, Esq.

20th November, 1873.

"Mr. Farnall writes me that he also intends going in the "Mongol." I think it is very much to be regretted that any misunderstanding should have occurred between the Agent-General and him. I am under great obligations to him for his invariable kindness to me since I became connected with the emigration, in giving me immediately the fullest information on every matter which I have had occasion to apply to him for, as well since his connection with emigration ceased as before, and I hope their differences will be satisfactorily arranged."

ALEXANDER SCARLETT, Agent, Omagh, to H. W. FARNALL.

30th December, 1873.

"I am pushing the free emigration as well as I can, but I am not getting good assistance from the office in London. I am half inclined to throw it up."

JAMES SMART, Agent, Derry, to H. W. FARNALL.

8th March, 1874.

"In place of things improving in London they are getting much worse. When I do get any replies from them, which is seldom, it is generally after a lapse of about twelve days. So about the 26th of this month I shall be expecting replies to my letters, written this week, concerning the "Queen of Nations." I sent ten days since applications for passages for five young women and a man; have no reply. What to do or what answers I should give to the numerous inquiries I really don't know. People here are beginning to say plainly that it is a humbug altogether. I can't help comparing it. and not favorably, with the steady, quiet, perfect way in which Mr. Andrew (the Otago agent) manages his business. I hope by some means or other there will soon be an improvement. I have inquiries for the April and May ships, but know nothing of them, although I have written at least half-a-dozen times. Could you kindly send me a list. A gentleman here intends to avail himself of the opportunity of acquiring land; he called at the Agent-General's office the other day, but got no satisfactory information. I will tell him to call on you next time I see him."

The SAME to the SAME.

16th March, 1874.

"The London people are now worse than ever. I can get nothing from them; no answers to letters, no forms or any information whatever. I am sure I have applied at least a dozen times for sailings for April and May without effect. Yesterday I had seventeen applications, and what to do or say to them I know not."

ALEXANDER SCARLETT, Agent, Omagh, to H. W. FARNALL.

June 18th, 1874.

"I can get no dates of sailings from London, though I have written three times for them. Unless better arrangements are come to, I will wipe my bauds of the lot."

JAMES SMART. Agent, Derry, to H. W. FARNALL.

20th September, 1874.

"I cannot get replies from London. Things really appear to have gone from bad to worse in the Agent-General's office. I have applied at least half-a-dozen times for sailings for next month (can you let me

have a list); also for forms; but it is of no use. Neither can I get my account (£40), for quarter ending 30th June, settled, although the vouchers with my receipt was returned three or four weeks ago. I am happy to see by papers received by last mail that there is likely to be a change. I hope it will be for the better; it cannot be for the worse. I wrote, asking for handbooks, which I sec have been published. I need not say with what result. Can you assist me in any way? I am sending out a great many, but it takes two or three weeks for replies, and the applicants lose all patience. I am under many obligations to you, and shall feel still further obliged for any papers or information you may afford me."

JAMES SMYTH, Agent, Portglenone, to H. W. FARNALL.

October 15th, 1874.

"Could you have sent out for me four emigrants, by Glasgow, on the 30th Instant, to Otago. Please send forms and instructions."

W. J. KANE, Agent, Cookstown, to H. W. FARNALL.

19th December. 1874.

"Please let me know if any ship will soon sail for Auckland; if so, I will send them there. You might also be so kind as send character forms. I know nothing of dates of sailing to New Zealand any more than a person who is in no way connected with the office, nor do I know the ports of embarkation. For Queensland, I can give full information, as I am regularly supplied with it."

G. V. STEWART, Esq., to H. W. FARNALL.

13th March, 1875.

"Not a scrap can I get from Dr. Featherston, or from Albert O. Ottywell. I wrote a beseeching letter to that gentleman, begging of him to get Dr Featherston to reply to my letter, and also to send nie application forms. No reply; no forms."

G. ANDREW, Otago Agent, to H. W. FARNALL.

Otago Home Agency, 3 Hope-street, Edinburgh,

25th April, 1875.

"I regret very much that you are to return to New Zealand with such unpleasant recollections of your work here."

JAMES SMYTH, Agent Portglenonc, to H. W.

ARNALL.

4th May, 1875.

"I am in receipt of your letter; also parcel of papers, &c. I do, with the deepest sense of gratitude, thank you most sincerely for your past and present attentions. It was through you I got my agency, which has been of considerable gain to me. I do, indeed, say I am exceedingly sorry you are leaving Ireland."

Correspondence between H. W. Farnall, as Agent for the Province of Auckland, and Mr Ottywell, in consequence of the latter having, on the part of, the Agent-General, declined to grant a free passage to Daniel Burnse on the plea that workers in iron foundries were not eligible for free passages:— AGENT-GENERAL to Mr M'CONVILLF, Belfast. 7, Westminster Chambers, Victoria-street, S.W.,

June 23rd, 1874.

SIR,—

I am in receipt of your letter of the 20th instant, and in reply, I beg to inform you labourers in iron foundries are not eligible for free passages through the New Zealand emigration agency. I regret, therefore, I cannot approve Daniel Bums' application.

I have, &c.,

For I. E. FEATHERSTON, A. O. O.

From H. W. FARNALL to Mr. OTTYWELL.

Auckland, New Zealand Provincial Government Emigration Agency, Belfast,

11th October, 1874.

DEAR SIR,—

A letter has been shown me, written to a Mr. M'Conville, of this city, and initialed by yourself, relative to the granting a free passage to a man named Daniel Burns, a worker in an iron foundry. In this letter Mr. M'Conville is informed that labourers of this class are not eligible for free passages to New Zealand

As agent for the Provincial Government of Auckland, I feel it my duty to inform you that labourers of this class are in great request in the Province I have the honor to represent, and are sure of receiving employment immediately on arrival.

It is hardly I think necessary to point out to you that although the Province of Canterbury and the other Provinces (with the exception of Auckland) may be unable to absorb other than agricultural labourers, the wants of the Province of Auckland will be best met by sending out a careful selection of all classes of skilled labour.

I have, &c.,

NOTE.—The remark in previous letter with reference to Canterbury and the other provinces was "sarkasum," Mr. Ottywell being agent for Canterbury,—H.W.F.

A. O. OTTYWELL to H. W. FARNALL.

12th October, 1874.

DEAR SIR,—

I have received your letter of 11th instant on the subject of the application of workers in iron foundries for free passages to New Zealand, and will take the instructions of the Agent-General immediately on his return from the Continent, expected about Friday next.

I have, &c.,

H. W. FARNALL to A. O. OTTYWELL.

21st October, 1874.

DEAR SIR,—

Referring to your letter of 12th instant, I shall be glad to hear what further instructions the Agent-General may have given you, regarding the granting of free passages to Auckland to workers in iron foundries.

I am, &c.,

A. O. OTTYWELL to H. W. FARNALL.

23rd October, 1876.

DEAR SIR,—

I have received your note of 21st instant. The Agent-General has directed me to intimate to Mr. Cochrane that a few carefully selected workers in iron foundries may receive free passages to the Province of Auckland.

I have, &c.

H. W. FARNALL to A. O. OTTYWELL.

24th October, 1874.

DEAR SIR—

Your letter of yesterday's date received, and I note that the Agent-General has directed you to intimate to Mr Cochrane that workers in iron foundries may receive free passages to Auckland. With reference to this I would beg to observe that Mr Cochrane knows so well the class of emigrants required in Auckland, that I am sure he would never have thought of declining to receive applications from eligible laborers of this class.

The man Daniel Burns, concerning whom I wrote, applied direct to the London Office, and was refused a passage; by far the simplest plan in similar cases to this would be (as I have frequently pointed out) to refer the applicant to your local agent.

I have, &c.

A. O. OTTYWELL to H. W. FARNALL.

26th October, 1874.

DEAR SIR,—

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 24th instant, on the subject of the approval of ironworkers, &c., for the Province of Auckland.

I have, &c.

THE following unique specimen taken from an official list of Agents issued from the Agent-General's office, shows the extraordinary hash made of Irish addresses in that office, and proves the absurdity of their taking the Irish correspondence out of the local agent's hands :—

In December, 1874, while I was still in Ireland, Mr. John Williamson, the then Superintendent of Auckland, sent me an authority to act as agent for the Province of Auckland, enclosing at the same time a copy of the 44 Auckland Waste Lands Act, 1867, "under which he appointed me. I replied, accepting the appointment. Six months afterwards he wrote me, telling me the clauses in the Act under which he had appointed me had been repealed, but they would be restored in the Waste Lands Act before the Provincial Council, then in session, and by the Assembly, shortly about to meet. Meantime I was to continue to act as agent. These clauses were restored and passed in the "Auckland Waste Lands Act, 1874." I never heard again from Mr. Williamson. Subsequently, after having acted as Provincial Agent for eighteen months, entirely at my own expense, I returned to New Zealand. On my return I applied to Sir George Grey, who was then Superintendent of Auckland. for payment of my salary and expenses for the eighteen months I had performed the duties of agent. He informed me that, as the Provincial Council would not again meet, and as Provincial institutions would shortly be abolished it was impossible for the Province to deal with the claim, and that my only course was to petition the House of Representatives.

I did present a petition during the session of 1876, and gained nothing by it, except a bald report from the Committee that my appointment from the Superintendent was illegal, but that I had some claim upon the Province.

The following is a copy of the original letter of appointment from Mr. Williamson, and the second letter from him above alluded to, together with my replies:—

From His Honor the SUPERINTENDENT to Mr. H. W. FARNALL. Superintendent's Office, Auckland,

10th December, 1873.

SIR,—

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated the 2nd October, in reference to Mr. Stewart's party of intending immigrants, and to assure you that the Provincial Government of Auckland will gladly co-operate to the extent of their power in promoting the success of your scheme.

I forward copies of "The Auckland Waste Lands Act, 1867," and request that you will be good enough to act as agent for the Provincial Government under that Act. Your attention is particularly directed to the "special Settlement" clauses (54-46); but, as you will observe, no provision can be made under this Act for granting 100 acres of land, as desired by Mr. Stewart.

The Waste Lands Act of 1870 has not yet been extensively brought into operation within the Province, owing to the requirements of section 3 as to trigonometrical survey not having been complied with.

I have, &c.,

J. WILLIAMSON,
Superintendent.

P.S.—Instructions have been given for the special reservation of certain blocks of land for the location of immigrants "expected to arrive," respecting which I will write to you further, so soon as the blocks have been gazetted.

Harry W. Farnall, Esq., N.Z. Emigration Office,

2½, Corporation-street, Belfast.

J. W.

From Mr. H. W. FARNALL to his Honor the Superintendent, Auckland. Auckland New Zealand Provincial Government Emigration Agency, 2½ Corporation-street, Belfast,

March 10th, 1874.

SIR,—

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your Honor's communication of 10th December, in which you request me to act as agent for the Provincial Government, under the terms of the "Auckland Waste Lands Act, 1867," copies of which you forwarded to me.

I have much pleasure in acceding to your Honor's request, and assure you that I will use my utmost endeavors to promote suitable emigration for the Province of Auckland, and trust that future events may prove that the confidence you repose in me is not misplaced.

There are one or two points in connection with my work, upon which it is necessary I should be enlightened; and I should feel obliged by your giving me as early a reply as possible to the queries contained in this letter. They are of such importance that I would suggest that replies be sent by telegram.

The two most important questions are: 1st. May I issue land orders to those who are receiving free or assisted passages to Auckland, or rather I should say, may those to whom I give land orders take advantage of the free (or assisted, as the case may be) passages offered by the Government. I am quite aware that the various land regulations for the giving of free grants are based upon the assumption that those receiving such a grant defray the whole cost of their passage, and the Agent-General some time since, when this same subject was in dispute in the matter of Mr. Stewart's party, informed me that he had consulted with Mr. John Hall, of Canterbury, on the subject, and they had come to the conclusion that my proposal, to allow assisted or free passages and free grants of land, was perfectly monstrous.

It seems to me that unless the free passages are allowed to that particular class of emigrants, most needed by our Province, we shall be most unfairly dealt by, and shall have to pay our share of the immigration debt without reaping any adequate advantage.

If we pay our share towards introducing the classes of emigrants most suitable for the other Provinces, why should we not be allowed to introduce on the same terms the class most needed by ourselves?

I pointed out in a former letter to your predecessor in office that those tenant farmers and others, who might, by the sale of their properties, realize enough to guarantee their success as settlers, would altogether lose that probability of succeeding were they called upon to pay £15 or £16 per adult for their passages.

This is a matter in my opinion that calls for most serious consideration. The responsibility of issuing the Land Orders to emigrants receiving free passages should, I think, be left to your local agent, who should take the greatest pains to ascertain, prior to granting the order, whether the applicant is in possession of sufficient means to warrant his receiving it.

The second subject upon which I wish to be advised is whether terms similar to those obtained by Mr. Stewart would be extended to another raising a party of a similar description.

I observe in the postscript to your Honor's letter you state that certain "blocks of land are to be reserved for the location of immigrants."

It would very materially assist me in my work were I supplied with a map showing the blocks referred to, their locality, acreage, &c., I would further wish to be informed whether any blocks of land have been reserved for Special Settlements. If not whether you would, on receipt of a telegram from me, informing you that I had got a sufficient number of emigrants together, reserve for their special occupation any block that I might specify?

I wrote to the Agent-General on receipt of your Honors letter informing him of your having appointed me Agent for the Provincial Government. In reply, he informs me that he has received no intimation whatever from either the General or Provincial Governments of my appointment. I then wrote and requested him to inform me in what position I was to consider myself as respects his office, but to this I have not yet received any reply. I presume Dr Featherston will have been instructed by the Colonial Government of my official position, if not and he continues to repudiate my proceedings, as he has done for the last eight months, I shall be very seriously embarrassed, and my work rendered most difficult.

The frequent postponement of the departure of the ship advertised to sail for Auckland from Belfast, on January 4th, and which has now been fixed for March 16th has given great and general dissatisfaction and the public not unreasonably compare our bungling operations with the smooth working of the other Colonial Agencies.

I have, &c.,

His Honor The Superintendent, Auckland.

HARRY W. FARNALL.

From his Honor the SUPERINTENDENT Auckland, to Mr W. H. FARNALL.

Superintendent's Office, Auckland,

12th May, 1874.

SIR,—

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated the 10th March, in reply to mine of the 10th December last.

In reply I have to state that, until after the question of modifying the present land laws of the Province has been considered by the Provincial Council (now in session) and by the General Assembly (shortly about to meet) no further instructions can be conveyed to you. The power to issue land orders under the Act of 1867 cannot be exercised until the authority for such issue has been renewed by the Legislature.

In the meantime, you are at liberty to act in every other respect as Immigration Agent on behalf of this Province, without reference to any instructions which may be given by the Agent-General in London.

I hope, within a few months hence, to be in a position to entrust the agent for Auckland with as full powers as are now exercised by agents for other Provinces, who are authorised by the Superintendents to act independently of, but as far as possible in co-operation with, the Agent-General of the Colony.

I have, &.,

J. WILLIAMSON.

Superintendent.

Harry W. FARNALL, Esq.,

2½ Corporation Street, Belfast, Ireland.

[The powers contained in repealed clauses of "Auckland Waste Lands Act, 1867," were restored in clauses 56-61 of "Auckland Waste Lands Act, 1874."]

From Mr H. W. FARNALL to His Honor the Superintendent, Auckland. Auckland, New Zealand, Provincial Government Agency, 2½, Corporation-street, Belfast,

July 27, 1874.

SIR,—

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letters of 12th May, 1874, and 15th May, 1874, the latter covering the correspondence that has taken place between the Government and Mr G. V. Stewart, in reference to the location of his party at Katikati.

In your Honor's letter of May 12th, you inform me "the power to issue land orders under the Act of 1876 cannot be exercised."

As your Honor is by this time aware, several land orders have already been issued by me under the authority given to me in your first letter, bearing date December 10th, 1873. In that letter I am requested to act as agent for the Provincial Government in accordance with the provisions of "The Waste Lands Act, 1867," copies of which Act were forwarded to me.

The 21st clause of this Act empowers the "Superintendent to appoint Emigration Agents who shall be authorised to grant land orders."

I have, therefore, up till the date of receiving your last letter been acting as I imagined in strict conformity with your wishes.

I will, however, now, until further advised by you, confine myself to issuing land orders only to those proceeding to Auckland to take up land in the block selected by Mr. Stewart.

I have carefully perused the correspondence between the Government and Mr. Stewart, forwarded to me by

you. It appears to me to point only to one conclusion, namely, that it was extremely ill-advised on the part of the Agent-General to despatch Mr Stewart to New Zealand on such a mission as that forced upon him, and to plunge him—a perfect stranger to the workings of our complicated Governmental machinery—into the vortex of General and Provincial party politics and local jealousies.

It is unnecessary for me to point out the great gain to the Province of Auckland by locating in it such a body of settlers as those represented by Mr Stewart, in fact, were the land he has selected fifty times more valuable even than it appears to be, the wisdom of the policy of granting it for the purposes required could not be questioned.

In pressing the advantages of Auckland on intending emigrants, I have frequently been taunted with the illiberal treatment received by the holders of free-grant land orders in former years. A considerable number of what are known as "forty-acre men" were tenant farmers from the North of Ireland, and had strict faith been kept with them, and the promises made them not literally but honestly fulfilled, there would, in my opinion, be little necessity now for an Agent to advertise the advantages and capabilities of our Province.

The bulk of the settlers north of Auckland were introduced into the Province under the forty acre system, and they are a community of whom the Province and the Colony may be justly proud, for they have held their own and established themselves on their lands under an accumulation of difficulties that it is not necessary for me here to enumerate, but which your Honor is well aware, to less energetic men would have proved insurmountable. How much better would be the position of these first emigrants now, and how much better would it now be for the Province, had none but good land been offered to them for selection, and had the various settlements in which they were located been brought in direct communication with the capital of the Province?

I can assure your Honor that the settlement about being formed by Mr Stewart has excited a great deal of anxious speculation amongst the tenant farmers of Ireland; if strict faith is kept with him, and if the expectations held out to those taking part in the scheme be realised, there will be no difficulty in populating the remaining waste lands of the Province with the same class.

I am a very strong supporter of Special Settlements, and if the Province is unwilling any longer to give away her lands, these Special Settlements might still, I think, be formed on a system of deferred payments, with, if possible, assisted passages. The Government might easily recoup itself by reserving certain sections in each block so set apart for Special Settlement, for future sale. At the same time, great care should be exercised in the selection of those allowed to take part in any Special Settlement scheme, and those selected should be either *bona fide* working farmers with some means, or else capitalists.

It may appear perhaps to some that taking into consideration the large number of emigrants, now being forwarded to Wellington, under the auspices of the "New Zealand Emigrant and Colonists Aid Corporation" for the Special Settlement at Manawatu, that there is practically no difficulty in obtaining the class required if sufficient energy be brought to bear on the subject. The class of emigrants, however, forwarded by the above Association are not at all the class likely to prove successful in the forming a prosperous settlement, as the following extract, taken from a paper published under the sanction of the Company, and obtained by me at their office in London, will I think prove. The extract is from a paper headed "Notes of a visit to the Feilding Settlement" by a Special Correspondent, and is as follows:—

"Many of your readers will no doubt be at first sight inclined to question the wisdom of locating the Immigrants for six months in the townships. Mr Halcombe, however, decided upon this plan on good and well-considered grounds. *Most, if not all of the immigrants are utterly unaccustomed to bush life and have no experience in agricultural matters, and would have no chance of success if located on their farm sections*"

I may observe the passage underlined by me is not italicized in the report from which the above extract is taken.

I beg to enclose duplicate of land order (No. 9,) for 40 acres, issued by me to John Thomas Brown. This is the tenth land order issued by me in connection with the Stewart Party, the aggregate amount of capital taken to the province, by six of these emigrants, as ascertained by me is £4,450, of the remaining four, two are capitalists and two are *bona fide* working farmers, whose friends are to send after them whatever capital they may require.

I have, &c.,
HARRY W. FARNALL.

His Honor the Superintendent, Auckland.

The following is the report of the Public Petitions Committee on the matter of my claim against the Province of Auckland:—

The Committee having examined petitioner and the late Provincial Secretary of Auckland, Mr. Sheehan, M.H.R., have directed me to report as follows:—

The petitioner was appointed Immigration Agent by the Superintendent of Auckland in 1873, under the provisions of the Waste Land Act, 1867; but, at the time the appointment was made, the 21st section of the Act of 1867, which gave the Superintendent authority to make such an appointment had been repealed by the Auckland Waste Land Act, 1870. The Committee consider the appointment was not legally made, as no salary was appropriated by the Provincial Council for the service : but, as the petitioner appears to have accepted the appointment in good faith, and performed some service for the Province, the Committee consider he has some claim on the Province for the service he rendered.

(From the *Belfast News Letter*, January 14, 1874.)

The following newspaper articles and extracts are published in order to show that my exertions in the cause of emigration were fully recognised in the north of Ireland :—

In another column will be found a letter from Mr. H. W. Farnall, who is well known here as a New Zealand emigration agent, giving extracts from a speech of Sir James Fergusson, the ex Governor of New Zealand. Sir James Fergusson is, no doubt, to a certain extent an impartial witness, and what he says speaks highly in favor of that isle of the Pacific, and of the energy of its handful of settlers. Our opposition to emigration, as far as Ireland is concerned, is well known. We have repeated over and over again, and we repeat once more, that Ireland is capable of profitably employing twice the population that we have at present: but in default of keeping our people here, it is a melancholy pleasure directing them to our own colonies when, as in the case of New Zealand, according to Sir James Fergusson, the much talked of "working man" must be in a position to satisfy his most exacting friends. One is inclined to take rather a romantic interest in New Zealand. It is the most distant and the youngest, with the exception of Fiji, of all our Colonial possessions. It has gone through more vicissitudes and had more tricks played with it than perhaps all the other Colonias put together. We cannot forget how the late Liberal Administration met the earnest appeal of the New Zealand colonists in their sore need with cold neglect, nor can we forget how it was pointed out to them that they acted as a drag: on the State coach wheels of this great Empire, and that the Empire would be better without them. It is not due to Mr. Gladstone and his party, but rather to the sound wisdom that prevailed amongst the local rulers, that New Zealand at that time, did not fall away from allegiance to the mother country. Had it done so. not only would one of the brightest jewels have fallen out of Britain's diadem, but in falling out the setting of the others would certainly have been loosened. These facts, and the pluck with which the colonists numerically few, have entered upon a great policy of emigration concurrently with the formation of railroads and other public works throughout the length and breadth of the two islands, throw a romantic and patriotic halo over that distant dependency that cannot but be felt and appreciated by the people of the United Kingdom. New Zealand has certainly been fortunate in having men like Mr. Farnall to act as her representatives at home. The full significance of the importance of the settlement about being formed under the auspices of Mr. George V. Stewart, in New Zealand, has yet to be realised. It not only means the departure of a class of men from our shores that we can ill afford to lose, but it also means, if the prospects held out to those who accompany Mr. Stewart are fully realised by them, a steady emigration in future years to a colony that, up till now, has received but an infinitesimal quota of the enormous number that are annually leaving us. It is certainly time that something was done by those at home who are supposed to be responsible, unless they wish to see the country drained not only of the bulk but of the best part of its population,

(From the *Belfast News Letter*, October 17, 1874.)

NEW ZEALAND.—The meeting of those interested in Mr. George Vesey Stewart's scheme of special emigration to New Zealand took place yesterday, according to advertisement, in Mr. Farnall's office, at 2½, Corporation-street. The meeting was well attended, there being almost more than the office could well accommodate. Mr. Stewart arrived punctually at 12 o'clock, and shortly after commenced to give a most interesting descriptive account of the block of land he had selected, after personal inspection, in New Zealand—the nature of the soil, its capabilities, its great natural advantages, &c. He had several maps, diagrams.

See., which greatly assisted him in giving the necessary information. Mr. Farnall read the contract made by Mr. Stewart with the New Zealand Government, and explained the various clauses where required. The terms of the contract are most liberal, a free grant of valuable land being given to those who join the party, the only condition being that the land so given is occupied and cultivated. Several of those present gave in their names at the termination of the meeting as willing to take part in the undertaking. Mr. Stewart was thanked for the great trouble he had taken in the matter, and the meeting terminated. The proposed settlement may be considered as already successful, and it is only just that we should add that the colony is under great obligation to Mr. Farnall, with whom the project originated, and who is giving valuable assistance to Mr. Stewart in carrying it out.

(From the *Belfast Weeldy News*, October 31, 1874.)

LECTURE ON NEW ZEALAND.—On Tuesday evening, 27th inst., George V. Stewart Esq., J.P., Lisbeg House, delivered a lecture on the above subject in Ballygawley Presbyterian Church, to a large and highly respectable audience. Rev. D. G. Smyth, *pastor loci*, opened the proceedings of the evening by devotional exercises, after which he moved Major Mann, of Dunmoyle Lodge, to the chair. Captain Stewart, of Martry House, seconded the motion, and Major Mann took the chair amidst loud applause. The chairman then introduced the lecturer in a most appropriate and eloquent speech. Mr. Stewart was received with applause, and proceeded to deliver a most eloquent and instructive lecture, and for more than two hours he interested the entire audience by his glowing description of the most flourishing colony of the British Empire, viz., New Zealand. At the conclusion of brilliant and entertaining lecture, a vote of thanks was proposed by Dr. Scott, of Aughnacloy, and seconded by Rev. Mr. Irvine, incumbent of Dunmoyle. and in a most complimentary manner was conveyed by the chairman to Mr. Stewart, who replied in suitable terms. The chairman then introduced Mr. Farnall, from Belfast, provincial agent for New Zealand, who, in an eloquent speech, confirmed and supported all the statements made by Mr. Stewart regarding New Zealand. Rev. D. G. Smyth proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Farnall. which was seconded by the Rev. John Moutray, incumbent of Ballynasaggart, duly conveyed by the chairman, and acknowledged by that gentleman. Rev. S. Adderley, the incumbent of Ballygawley, then proposed a vote of thanks to Major Mann for his dignified conduct in the chair, which was seconded by Dr. Scott, and heartily received by the entire assembly. The chairman replied in a most felicitous and effective speech, after which the meeting came to an end, and the large assembly separated before ten o'clock, greatly pleased and much instructed and entertained by the proceedings. Afterwards a large, select party enjoyed the kind hospitality of Mr. and Mrs. Smyth in the manse.—*Correspondent*.

(From the *Belfast News Letter*, Friday, November 27, 1874.

GLENWHERRY.—Pursuant to notice, a lecture was given in this place in the Presbyterian Meeting-house, by George V. Stewart, Esq., in conjunction with Mr. H. W. Farnall, the agent of the Auckland Provincial Government, on the subject of "New Zealand, the special advantages held out by that colony to emigrants," and more especially to explain the terms upon which small capitalist farmers would be allowed to join the party Mr Stewart is organising for forming a special settlement at Auckland. The meeting-house was crowded. There could not have been fewer than 500 people present, several having come from long distances. Edward Killen, Esq., J.P., took the chair, and introduced Mr Stewart to the audience, who was received with acclamation, Mr Stewart then delivered his lecture. He gave a graphic description of his journeying through New Zealand, and explained his arrangement with the New Zealand Government for the promotion of the special settlement of farmers from the North of Ireland. Mr Stewart was listened to with attention, and was loudly applauded on the conclusion of the lecture. Mr Killen then introduced Mr Farnall, who gave an address on the advantages possessed by New Zealand over any other colony, and more especially the prospects held out to those who may choose the Province of Auckland to settle in. The Rev. Mr. Morrell then moved a vote of thanks to both gentlemen for their kindness in coming there to lecture, and for the extremely interesting and valuable information they had imparted to their hearers. H. Gibson, Esq., seconded the vote of thanks, and Mr Stewart, in suitabli terms, acknowledged the compliment. Mr. Stewart and Mr. Farnall held a similarly successful meeting in Larne Court-house, on Tuesday evening.—*Correspondent*.

(From the *Belfast News Letter*, December 3, 1874.)

NEW ZEALAND—CONNOR—Mr. G. V. Stewart and W. H. Farnall delivered lectures on New Zealand and the great advantages possessed by that Colony, and more especially the Province of Auckland, as a field for emigration, at Connor, on Monday evening. The meeting, as previously announced, took place at the Connor Parochial Schoolhouse at 7 p.m. A perfect torrent of rain had been falling incessantly during the day, and the evening, if anything, was worse. Notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather, the schoolhouse (a building capable of holding 400 people) was inconveniently crowded, and a number of persons outside were unable to obtain admission. The Rev. Walter Johnson moved that the meeting should adjourn to the Presbyterian Church (kindly offered, if required, by the Rev. S. Lyle.) This was carried, and the large audience proceeded to the above church. This building can accommodate 1,200; there was, therefore, no inconvenient crowding. Rev. Samuel Lyle was moved to the chair, who introduced the lecturers in suitable terms. Mr. G. V. Stewart gave an interesting account of his voyage to New Zealand, and of his visit to the Colony, and explained the protracted negotiations which had taken place between the Government and himself, and which resulted in his obtaining a large grant of the best agricultural land in the Province. This land is given free, under certain regulations, to farmers from Ulster. Mr. Farnall then gave some most interesting statistics, and pointed out the advantages offered by the province of Auckland as a field for emigration to single girls, single men, or married agricultural laborers or mechanics. Votes of thanks having been moved to the lecturers and chairman, and responded to in suitable terms, the meeting separated, highly pleased with the information they had received.—*Correspondent.*

(From a Belfast paper).

DEPARTURE OF MR. FARNALL.—We observe, by advertisement, that Mr. H. W. Farnall, who has been a very successful agent for the Provincial Government of Auckland, New Zealand, is about to leave Belfast, and that his office is now closed. Certainly during Mr. Farnall's residence here he did his duty to the Colony; and, while we do not dispute his merits as a gentleman, we are glad his occupation as an emigration agent has come to an end. Emigration agents are desolating our country, and we should have no objection to hear they had all gone with Mr Farnall. We have nothing against them personally, but we are conscientiously hostile to their avocation, and we wish our people would seek advice at other sources.

(*Belfast News Letter*, June 5, 1875.)

THE STEWART SETTLEMENT IN NEW ZEALAND.—We understand that the Carisbrook Castle leaves the lough today for New Zealand, carrying about 400 em grants. Amongst the passengers is H. W. Farnall, Esq., who has been nearly three years in Belfast, during which time he acted as a New Zealand Government agent; and, with all our opposition to wholesale emigration, it is only our duty to say that Mr. Farnall's demeanour throughout in Belfast was of the most gentlemanly type, and he now leaves with the good wishes of all who knew him. He was mainly instrumental in promoting the Stewart settlement project.

How the Native Land Court and Land Purchase Department Behave on the East Coast.

A Series of Letters From an "Occasional Correspondent" To "The Otago Daily Times." With a Preface by "Argus."

William Atkin, General Printer High Street, Auckland 1877

W. Atkin Printer, High Street, Auckland.

Preface.

SINCE the tragedy of Cain and Abel made our first parents acquainted with the crime of violence in its most hideous form, down to the news of yesterday, which tells of "Bulgarian atrocities" and incipient anarchy pervading regions rendered immortal by the story of Noah, the Ark, and Mount Ararat, the art, or rather science of government, has engrossed,—probably from sheer necessity,—the attention, and enlisted the sympathies of the greatest minds in every country, no matter what stage of civilisation that country may have reached, or

perhaps failed to reach. Jerusalem, Sodom, Babylon, Rome, Athens, Venice, Madrid, Warsaw, Paris, Berlin, Washington, Constantinople, Mexico, London, and a host of other names serve, at least, to point a moral as to the direct effects of pure, or corrupt administration, upon the nations which these cities represent to the student of history. I have been led into the foregoing reflections by perusing, from time to time, a series of temperate articles from the pen of "An Occasional Correspondent" (a recent traveller, I learn), which have been appearing in the *Otago Daily Times*, upon the Native Office in general, and the Land Purchase Department at Poverty Bay in particular, and, if only one tithe of what is stated in such judicial, as well as judicious language by the writer, be substantiated during the coming Session, then the sooner we settlers in the North Island, are prepared to firmly demand the total abolition of that remnant of the Vogelian age—the Native Office—the better it will be for ourselves, and for our children.

Even while I write, rumours are rife anent yet another Native Lands Act to be presented to Parliament this Session, and here, I may point out to the "powers that be," the anomaly of the Native Minister sitting in the "Lords," and at the same time, possessing no subordinate to represent his department, and to answer questions, (perhaps this would be distasteful,) in the Commons. The Prime Minister of England at present sits in the Upper House, but is represented in the Lower one by Sir Stafford Northcote. The Foreign and Colonial Secretaries are also Peers, but are represented by their Under-Secretaries in the House of Commons. Of course, our Under-Secretaries are Civil Servants, and consequently ineligible for Parliament, but this fact only strengthens the objection to the Hon. Dr Pollen representing the most important department of our administration in the nominee Chamber, and thereby leaving the snubbing of inquisitive members of the Lower House to be effected by the hair-splitting subtleties of the Attorney-General, the Police Court platitudes of the Minister of Justice, or the Cromwellian diatribes of the Premier.

There is doubtless a reason for all this which my philosophy has not permitted me to grasp, or even to dream of, so I pause for a reply, from Her Majesty's Opposition.

A bad workman is said to quarrel with his tools, and if the present case of Mr J. A. Wilson, not to mention those of (now) Judge Heale, and Major Gordon, be borne in mind, the Atkinson Government must either be very bad, or so awfully clever, that they can afford to dispense, at least with good tools, if they do not employ bad ones instead. I should explain that the letter marked No. 3 and which is the sinning despatch *in extenso*, addressed by Mr J. A. Wilson to the late Native Minister, Sir Donald McLean, and which was the direct cause, I believe, of the so-called Royal Commission being appointed, has been substituted for letter No. 3 of the *Otago Daily Times* series, containing merely extracts from that famous despatch, with "An Occasional Correspondent's" comments thereon. This course has, unfortunately, been rendered necessary by the inability to obtain a copy of the *Otago Daily Times* of that date, in time for publication here.

I may add in conclusion, that my object in presenting these letters to the public in pamphlet form, is simply to endeavour to rouse the North Island settlers to a realisation of the fact, that one of the fairest portions of the earth's surface is being kept unproductive and desolate, through the blundering, if not the plundering also, of a Department provided for out of their pockets, and which nothing but the knife will now cause to relax its sinister grasp in the future.

The recent collapse of the Auckland Steam Packet Company,—a company, be it remembered, which was launched with the special object of fostering and extending trade between this city and the North and East Coast settlements—is worth a bushel of homilies upon the infallible "flour and sugar" policy of the late Sir Donald McLean. While Dunedin is slowly, but no less surely, pushing Auckland out of the carrying markets around her own unrivalled port, a critic of the disgraceful meddling and muddling of the Native Office, may well exclaim to his readers, "By their fruits ye shall know them."

But before consummating the richly deserved "happy despatch" upon the Native Office, let us compel the Government to account for every penny of the £700,000 voted to purchase "a landed estate" for the North Island.

"Argus."

Auckland, June, 1877.

Native Land Purchases.

Letter No. I.

Wellington.

I shall not attempt to describe the scenery and the attractions of the famous lake district of Rotorua and

Rotomahana, nor the wonderful hot springs in their neighbourhood. They have been already so well described in your columns that it would be needless repetition. But, on my return, I happened to get to Gisborne when the now well-known Commission was sitting to inquire into the report of Mr J. A. Wilson, the Government land purchaser of that district, who had made in that report some grave statements respecting difficulties thrown in his way as an officer of the Government by other officers. He stated that the effect of their action and of that of the Native Lands Court itself had been to facilitate the purchase of native lands by private individuals, to the prejudice of the Government and of the public service. I took much interest in this inquiry, and have accumulated information about the whole system, and the conduct of these land purchasers in particular, which will, I think, be of interest to your readers. It is a system peculiar to the North Island. In the South there are few who know anything whatever about it; yet it plays, and has long played, a very important part in the secret history of New Zealand politics, and has moulded them materially during the last few years. It rallies now round the Government—a powerful body of influential (because wealthy) supporters—and it is charged with demoralising both the Government and the branch of the public service devoted to this peculiar duty of native management and native land purchasing. Certain it is that on all sides I am told that officers who honestly and faithfully did their duty, and who refused to connive in any way at the alienation of these lands to wealthy private buyers, were not in favour, and stood little chance of promotion. Those, on the other hand, who were more pliant or less scrupulous, were the pets of the Native department, and brought indirectly no small political support to the Ministry in this part of the Colony. This is one of the charges generally made and openly talked about in connection with the native land purchasing. Other charges of favouritism in behalf of friends and connections, and even of personal corruption, are not less freely made. The report of Mr Wilson, to which I have referred, brought the matters to a head. It was sent to the late Native Minister in June last, and was kept back by the Government, on various pleas, from presentation to the Assembly. The chief plea -was, that it contained grave charges against the officers and against the Judge of the District Lands Court, which it would be unfair to make public until they had been fully inquired into. This plea was admitted by the House after several angry discussions. Sir Julius Vogel denounced what he called "the leakage" of this report, and its existence having been allowed to become known. He regretted that honourable members should have put themselves into communication with Government officers merely to obtain information for party purposes—an insinuation levelled at Sir George Grey, but which every one in the House knew to be unfounded. I have since learned, on the most unquestionable authority, that Sir G. Grey and Mr Wilson have not for years held the slightest communication with each other, and that they were not, in fact, on very good terms, from former differences of opinion on native affairs between them. Sir Donald naturally did all he could to prevent its publication, and between, them the report was not presented.

After the session, a Committee was appointed to inquire into it. The Commission consisted only of Dr Giles, the Resident Magistrate of Wanganui, and of Major Brown, the head of the Native Office in that hot-bed of difficulty from native land purchasing—Taranaki. These gentlemen were both of them Government officials, dependent on the Government for their welfare, and with a natural *esprit* to which such a report as that of Mr Wilson would appear a heresy. Personally they may be all that could be desired, and for my own part, I know neither of them. But a Commission, to command the public confidence in so grave a matter, should assuredly have been composed of others than Government servants only. The Commission sat for some weeks, and conducted the inquiry in a way that called for frequent protests from Mr Wilson. It took evidence and rejected evidence at its pleasure, and finally reported that the statements made in the report were not substantiated. Dr Pollen, the new Native Minister, at once dismissed Mr Wilson, and the whole matter will now, I am informed, be brought up by that gentleman before the Assembly. I am also told that no copy of the Commissioners' report was sent to Mr Wilson, and no chance given to him of commenting in any way upon it. Summary dismissal followed its receipt by the Government. Yet Mr Wilson—if he erred at all—could only have done so in his zeal for the public service and in his desire to faithfully perform the duties of his office. His personal character stands, and has always stood, as high as possible. Not a shadow of suspicion has ever attached to him during a long service. He has the complete confidence of the natives, and was in every respect one of the best officers in the Native Department. But he has always had strong opponents among those whose path in land purchasing he crossed. All his own interests pointed to quietness and *laissez aller*. Promotion and the goodwill of powerful Government supporters in his district would thus have been secured. He acted otherwise. He did his best to protect the public interests. There is not the least imputation of other motive against him on any side, and yet he, after purchasing over half-a-million acres, has been treated as though he were an enemy instead of a zealous, faithful, public servant.

A report which involves such enormous interests as these land purchases represent, and which has met with so singular a reception, will be sure to excite much comment before it is done with. I have not been able to get a copy yet, but am promised one, and will send it to you when I receive it. I have heard enough, however, to enable me to describe it as a clear and masterly statement of the difficulties in the way of successful land

purchase unless the Government and all its servants honestly, vigorously, and firmly support their own land purchasers, regardless of personal or political considerations. These difficulties I cannot pretend to give from Mr Wilson's report till I have the expected copy. But from my own inquiries, the most serious have arisen from the manner in which the Native Lands Acts were officially administered. Officials are said, in effect, to have played into the hands of those private purchasers who have acquired great landed estates in defiance of the law, and to have given them unfair advantages over those who were acting for the Government. The latter have no secret service money at their command for the bribery of natives and others, and the purpose of every penny of expenditure has to be openly stated, and accounted for to the satisfaction of the Colonial Auditors. Of course there can be no complaint of this last. It is perfectly right and proper that it should be so, but it is also right and proper that officers so placed should receive the cordial support and aid of all officers of the Government, to enable them to overcome the difficulties inherent in their position.

Some of these points were touched upon in Mr Wilson's annual report. It caused a profound sensation at the time among those aware of its character, and the gravity of its statements. They were only statements that had been made a thousand times before by private persons, and public writers, but it was the first time they had been officially made by one conversant with everything that had been done. It is also commonly said that so long as land purchasers could show big acreages in their returns, the Government cared very little if the acreages consisted chiefly of sand hills and inaccessible and barren lands; while, at the same time, private persons (but only rich and influential private persons) were walking off with the fat lands in smaller acreages in the same district. The shells fell to the public. The oysters went to those whose friendship the Government valued, and whose enmity no Government has yet had strength or courage to face. It is admitted on all sides that this has been done, and that, while hundreds of thousands of acres have been bought by rich men, or companies, there is no single instance of a man having been able to purchase a hundred or a few hundred acres for his smaller requirements and personal settlement.

Another grave consideration in connection with these land purchases, is that the Maoris are made dissatisfied and discontented. They feel they are being "done," and their minds are further poisoned by private agents whom they find practically supported by Government, and with greater means at their command than the agents of Government possess. The real owners also often find themselves opposed by other claimants intentionally set up by these private agents to induce the owners to come to their terms. I was astonished, on inquiry, to find how serious this last matter had become. To understand its full import, you must remember the innumerable peculiar bases on which a Maori title can be rested. There are, for example, asserted personal rights from all kinds of asserted relationship, asserted gifts from chiefs long dead, asserted occupation or conquest, asserted marriage dowries, or asserted gifts for alleged aid in helping the tribe of the reputed owners to revenge themselves on some other tribe at some remote date, perhaps ten or twelve generations past. The shifting of boundaries is another good pretext; but these are only a few of the thousand-and-one grotesque grounds on which native land titles are often based and disputed. Nor should that most complex of all titles—the Mana—be forgotten. This Mana is the right universally recognised by all Natives in the chief of a tribe to prohibit the alienation of land belonging to any member of the tribe. The Mana, from its vagueness, is a great card among manufacturers of bogus claims to land for opposition sake. But, when genuine, it is a very serious matter to overlook it, as we had reason to know when the first Taranaki war broke out. That war was proximately caused, it will be remembered, by the obstinate refusal of Mr M'Lean, as Chief Land Purchase Commissioner, to acknowledge Wi Kingi's Mana over the Waitara land sold to the Government by Te Teira.

Enough for this letter. I will go into the matter again as soon as I have the papers which are promised to me, and I think you will find them extremely interesting. I have said enough to give you an idea, I hope, of the general character of Mr Wilson's report, and of the notorious and long-talked-of evils of the system. You can readily see how important a part the Land Court plays in dealing with claims, and how many and various are the questions depending on the right judgment and freedom from bias of its judges. The Courts are called together when and where the judge pleases. He hears the case as he pleases, and admits or rejects what evidence he pleases. Counsel is not allowed, and from the nature of things, the difficulties and tedium of proceedings, largely conducted in a foreign tongue, and the out-of-the-way places in which Courts are often held, there is practically no publicity, and the judge's authority is supreme. Happily, complaint against the judges has not been heard in any case until now. There is, therefore, the greater reason why the statements made so clearly, and with such evident sincerity, by Mr J. A. Wilson should be thoroughly investigated by others than the mere subordinate officials to whom that investigation has been so far relegated.

Letter No. II.

Mr J. A. Wilson's case is of so extraordinary a character that it is sure to be brought prominently before the

Assembly. As I understand it—and I am informed the same view is taken of it in Auckland—the Government have been shamefully backward in protecting a zealous and conscientious officer, entrusted with duties of a highly important character, and anxious only to perform those duties faithfully. Public interests of a very important character crossed private interests, and the public interests have been made to go to the wall. That is the whole case in brief, and it will demand the most stringent investigation next session, so as to find where the blame lies. Meantime your readers will be glad to know how land purchasing is conducted, and especially as, so far as my observations go, this Native land question is the one great difference between the North and South Island. It permeates the whole policy of the Government, and is the key to public affairs in the North Island from one end to the other. It has meant, and still means, great fortunes to those who gain possession of these lands, and that in its turn means powerful support or powerful opposition, as the case may be, to the Government of the day, through the tools of these land purchasers, both in Parliament and out of it. They command great wealth, and with it necessarily great influence in a hundred directions. Of all the hot beds for surreptitious land dealings, the east coast of this Island has been notorious for many years as the hottest. The Government were supposed to favour one particular set of men, and to wink at their purchases in this part of the Colony. Having done so, others were encouraged to enter the field, and so the circle of private purchasers has spread until it is a very general belief now, both in Auckland and in this Province, that the sooner Government is relieved of the whole business, and negotiations left entirely to private persons, the better for the public and for the public service.

It may be necessary to state that before native land passes the Court—as the process of establishing the legal title in certain native claims is styled—it is held for the most part tribally. The principal voice in negotiating rests generally with a few leading individuals, but the members of the tribe are all more or less interested. The greatest delicacy is required when a particular chief is found to exercise a *mana* over the land. This *mana* is almost always an ancient right. It is held sacred among the Natives, and its origin in any particular case may either be lost in antiquity or susceptible of being traced. In either case, there can be no doubt of its existence where it has been long recognised in any chief by the Natives themselves, and to disregard it is dangerous, as we found in the dispute with Wi Kingi, which led to the Taranaki War. It will be manifest also that this right of *mana* may be falsely claimed by chiefs in opposition to each other—or by a chief set up for the purpose of private speculation, to worry the real owners into acquiescence with their terms. To discover and recognise the true owner is one of the objects of the Court, and the deliberate setting up of these false claimants both to *mana* and to ownership, who are always backed by any amount of Native evidence, tendered from ill-feeling or from motives of gain, is one of the chief sources of irritation to the genuine owners in dealing with Native lands. When private individuals are concerned, compromises are possible, but when the Government is the purchaser, the question is more difficult, and leads to disloyalty and disaffection. The only safe rule is to be careful not to buy, at any price, land which is the subject of hot disputes, but against this there has always been, unfortunately, the desire of Government to show as large an acreage bought, or in course of negotiation, as possible.

Again, as to the mode of payment, private individuals, except in Hawkes Bay, where I was told the contrary practice had prevailed, always pay in cash. The Government has fallen into a system of enticing the Natives into debt by freely giving them orders on storekeepers for goods and drink, called "rations"—*raihana* in Maori phrase. It is obvious that this system is open to great abuse. There are storekeepers to favour, and constant opportunities of overcharging and swindling on a great scale. I was told in Auckland that the debt of the Ohinemuri Natives was actually in this way swelled to £26,000. When it had reached this pretty figure, the Government Agent was down upon them. They must either pay for the articles or give land to the value. They could not pay, because they were not allowed to sell the land to private purchasers, so after much haggling and a very great amount of ill-feeling, they came to terms, and sold at the Government's own price. Generally, the Natives take their revenge, if report be true, by passing off, in these cases, the worst land they can at the money. The Government's object is achieved when it can lay a return before Parliament showing the successful result of the year's operations in so many hundred thousand acres bought or leased, and so many millions more "in course of negotiation." I do not say that all the Government purchasers proceed in this way, and Mr Wilson was mentioned to me at Gisborne—the centre of his district—as a marked exception. But it is said, and as far as I could learn, it is said with truth, that the purchasers who deal in these *raihana* and who thereby show the largest acreages, are always the most favourably regarded and the most strongly supported at head-quarters.

When Natives desire to offer a block of land for sale, or are induced to do so by the representations of the Government purchaser, a meeting of the whole tribe is convened. Every transaction, to be safe, should be conducted openly and in the broadest daylight. If the meeting is in favour of the sale it will say so through the principal persons interested—*i.e.*, through those who, by inheritance, or by any other title, possess the largest share of the land in question. If the meeting be averse to the sale, the negotiations should be at once abandoned, for the greater the apparent desire of the purchaser the greater will be the reluctance of the Natives to sell. If the

decision be favourable, other meetings will be requisite, and at these meetings the price and all other matters should be settled in writing, and in the fullest detail as to claimants, boundaries, &c. The signatures of as many claimants as possible should also be obtained. They should undertake to see the survey carried out, to assist in the execution of the same, and to pass the land through the Court at the first opportunity, so as to obtain the order for the issue of a memorial of ownership. The "order" remains in abeyance for seven months to allow time for appeal from other Natives if there be any adverse claimants. If there be none—and there seldom or never are any if the negotiations have been properly conducted, and no private influences to set up false claimants have been brought to bear—the "memorial" is issued to the persons named therein. This may be exchanged for a Crown grant, or Crown grants, according to the desire of the parties themselves. On the strength of the "order," any of the persons named in it may sell his or her individual share, and the purchaser in that case comes in (on the division of the land) for the Crown grant to which the original seller would have been entitled.

On the completion of the agreement to sell, by the signatures of the parties agreed upon at the meeting as the genuine owners, an advance of one-fifth the purchase-money is generally made. This advance is made to the principal chiefs, whose duty it is to distribute it among the tribe and its subsections, according to the rights of each in the land sold. It is an affair entirely among themselves, with which the purchaser is never called upon to interfere.

In a future letter I will put together such information as I have been able to glean about the difficulties often thrown in the Way of land purchasers in the performance of their very difficult duties. I shall only now say that the more I inquire into the matter the more I am satisfied that this land purchasing by Government has been and is a great mistake. It demoralises both the Government and the public service. It often creates the bitterest ill-feeling on the part of the Natives, who find themselves confined to one customer in whom they have not the least confidence. It has led to the Government playing, for political purposes, into the hands of wealthy speculators. It has exhibited the shameful spectacle of wealthy speculators being able to buy hundreds of thousands of acres, while it is purely impossible for the smaller settler to obtain the least quantity for his own purposes. This is easily to be understood when considering the difficulties and cost of negotiation under the existing system, and when the Government can do so much to impede or assist the operations of the buyer. On all sides I found the opinion expressed that the sooner there is free trade in native lands, under proper supervision, to secure legality of title, the better for the Colony, for the progress of settlement, and for the restoration of good feeling on the part of the Maori towards the Government, which he has learned both to mistrust and detest. I could not learn of any difference that had arisen between settler and native when the former had bought directly from the original owners. As it was pointed out to me, if the former did not take full care to have a good title, he could not get possession, and possession for any period became, proof of that title in itself. When Government interferes, the case is different. The Natives are compelled to give possession, but they do so under silent protest, and reserve to themselves the right to reclaim possession whenever an opportunity offers. The question is a large one, but, like all other large political questions, half the difficulties disappear when it is approached with an honest desire to settle it, and not with the ulterior personal views to which it seems to have been too long made subordinate.

Letter No. III.

LAND PURCHASE OFFICE, Gisborne,

June 6, 1876.

HON. SIR D. MCLEAN, K.C.M.G., Native Minister, Wellington.

SIR,

I have the honor to report, as Land Purchase Officer for the East Coast and Bay of Plenty District, that a number of transactions have been effected, and that the following business has been done:—

I.—FORMER NEGOTIATIONS COMPLETED.

I regret that under this head there should be nothing to record. This arises from no fault or shortcoming in my department. The lands have been negotiated, deposits paid, agreements signed. Their surveys have been executed, and applications in writing by the Natives to the Native Land Court (in too many instances repeatedly) to have their claims heard.

Moreover, on the 25th of October last, I requested that the Native Land Court might be moved to commence to take cases in the middle of February last, in which the Land Purchase Department is interested in this district, "as my plans would then be ripe for passing 23 Block through the Court, containing 270,000 acres."

Yet notwithstanding this, I regret to state that excepting certain lands to be hereafter mentioned (where private parties have interfered to obstruct my operations, and where the unprecedented proceedings of the Judge and District Officer have militated seriously against them), that not a single block has passed the Court, nor has a case been called.

This statement applies equally to all blocks included in former negotiations, and in negotiations entered into during the current year.

I should say that at my request the Natives have applied to the Court to have their claims investigated to 259,670 acres. The whole of the said lands have been negotiated and surveyed at the expense of Government, while the tracings of the plans of 214,170 acres of them are in my office. The balance of their area, 45,500 acres is estimated, because although the surveys are finished upon the ground, the plans have not yet been sent in.

Of these lands none have been heard.

II.—FRESH BLOCKS PURCHASED.

During the year under report I have purchased fifteen new Blocks, containing a total of 101,037 acres at an average price of 1s. 10d. per acre. The surveys of all these Blocks except three are completed. The Blocks are scattered throughout the district, are a good average quality, and may be considered to be desirable acquisitions.

III.—LEASED LANDS PURCHASED.

Under this head I have to report that 142,709 acres of leased lands have been converted by purchase during the past year. They have been bought at an average cost of 1s. 8¼d. per acre, and 68,652 acres having passed the Native Land Court in previous years, are now held by Crown title.

IV.—FRESH BLOCKS LEASED.

No fresh leases have been made because I have found myself able to purchase and have therefore invariably refused to lease.

V.—MONEYS PAID.

From the foregoing it appears that the purchases during the past year are 243,746 acres. The payments made on these are:—

VI.—AREAS.

Excluding transactions completed previously.

The surveys performed show that the areas of the lands had been slightly under-estimated; 226,000 acres estimated were found by survey to contain 230,926 acres.

VII.—The total area I have purchased and leased in this district, the same having been surveyed, or about to be surveyed during the ensuing summer, is 594,882 acres.

VIII.—Opposition and intrigues of Europeans who have interfered with my negotiations.

This has formed the most prominent feature of the conditions against which I have deemed it my duty to contend.

I had to advert to this subject in my annual report last year and I find myself compelled to mention it again.

The evil has not diminished, although its organisation and ramifications may have become more apparent.

And, first I would say, that where settlers have had prior transactions, and possessed prior claims, that I have made it my rule to abstain from interfering with those transactions, but at the same time I have requested them to refrain in like manner from interfering with the negotiations I have entered into on behalf of the Government.

More than this on part of Government would not be acceptable to Europeans, and less than this on part of the latter would not be just to the Government.

It seemed necessary, therefore, to draw a line somewhere, and I have endeavoured to draw it where the equitable and legal rights of the public should be protected from the efforts of individuals—*be they who they may*—who may seek to interfere and deprive the public of those rights.

The necessity of such a rule appears to be in proportion to the means of the individual either by ability, wealth, influence &c.; a rule is necessary too, to meet that class of persons who jump claims to be bought out.

Now it has been my lot until quite lately, *i.e.*, until the land was gazetted under the Immigration and Public Works Acts, to be compelled to struggle single-handed more than twelve months with a very powerful and a very remarkable European opposition. An opposition that I feel sure has spent directly and indirectly (their expenditure in public-houses alone is enormous) far more, perhaps five times as much, money as I have paid, but whose utmost effort has proved quite inadequate to create more than a passing European difficulty.

The persons instigating this opposition have possessed means and influence so large, that had I been less firm or less assured of the justice of the cause represented, I should not have been able to prevail hitherto, as I have.

The stake they have in view being, as I conceive, not merely the land interfered with, but the supremacy in land purchasing, and the power to filibuster with impunity, and to dictate to Government in all future land transactions.

I have characterized this opposition as remarkable, and in doing so I may say that it is remarkable in itself; it is remarkable also in the unusual facilities and protection it has received from the Judge, and the District Officer, separately and combined.

In itself it is remarkable in the unscrupulous character of the means employed, in the nature and extent of its schemes, its extraordinary avenues of official information, and its hitherto reckless and largely secret expenditure.

While in unusual facilities and protection received, it is noticeable in the District Officer, Mr Locke, having granted permission to execute surveys in favor of Europeans over extensive tracts of country, at a time *when he knew that* I was negotiating the same, and had paid considerable sums upon them.

It is noticeable in, that on the 7th July last the District Officer brought Captain Read, one of the Europeans interested, to me, and asked me to give him, Captain Read, money upon these lands, with which request I refused to comply, on the ground that the land belonged by agreement to the public, and that I would not pay over again for it.

Further Mr Locke, supported by Judge Rogan, by representations based upon an imaginary Native difficulty, did defeat an attempt of mine, supported by Mr Clarke, to obtain a proclamation under the Immigration and Public Works Acts, whereby for many months they became the means of shielding from the operations of the law the proceedings and actions of the Europeans who had interfered with the purchases and leases of the Government.

Now that the land is proclaimed, opposition will be futile where judgments are given and title is established.

Opposition has been very strong, however; in illustration of it and of the spirit abroad among those who have considered themselves specially exempt, I may instance the case of Mr Campbell, Resident Magistrate at Waiapu, who, under cover of an authority from Mr Locke, caused land to be surveyed that I had leased before him, that I had advanced rent upon, and was surveying.

The Natives of his survey party seized my surveyors' instruments twice, stopping the party. The cost to the country by these seizures in pay to the survey party during detention, in expenses of interpreters, &c., was about £100.

Mr Locke knew that I had acquired the land for Government before he granted the permission to Mr Campbell's surveyor, and when I asked afterwards for an explanation, he made a statement that I do not deem expedient to repeat here.

Mr Campbell, junior, as the agent or partner of his father, the Resident Magistrate, had been informed in writing before he treated for the land, or had paid money upon it, of the prior right of the Government, yet a higher bid was made, and Natives who had taken money from me were induced to go over to him, excusing themselves on the plea that we both were Government men.

I have mentioned this matter somewhat fully to show the nature of the spirit, against which I have been compelled to contend, as well as the unexpected quarters from which it has emanated, not from any desire to attach particular value to the opposition as raised on this occasion.

The case is quite different, however, in the Blocks called Waingaromia, Nos. 1, 2, and 3, otherwise known as Arakihi, Parariki, Tauwhareparae, and Waihora, where Messrs Read and Cooper have interfered. In these my difficulties are increased by the forced and unprecedented action of the Native Land Court in this district.

On the 7th of July last I refused to pay money on Mr Locke and Mr Read's request.

On the 9th the Judge and Read drove to the country house of the latter, where they were accustomed frequently to reside together.

On the 11th I was informed that the Judge was trying to get Read and Cooper's surveys at Waingaromia placed upon a special Gazette by telegram.

On the 12th they returned to town, and by that time the lands had been telegraphed and hurriedly notified at the head office at Auckland, not on the usual printed form under seal of the Court, but with the seal of the Court on a *manuscript*.

I venture to affirm that this was an exceedingly improper proceeding, and an abuse of power. It was a violent action, the effect of which was to displace the cause of the public, and to injure it by giving Read's interests priority. It was to make claimants of the Opposition, and to give them the right to reply. It was to take the hearing of our lands upon their hasty and indiscriminately—I had almost said promiscuously—made surveys and plans. It was to impart prestige to one side, and humiliate those who had sold to the Government. It was to diminish in the eyes of the people the respect due to the Government in its business transactions, by rendering those transactions subordinate to the interests of Europeans who were known to have interfered with them.

Suitors in all cases in the Native Land Court are required to comply with the forms of the Court. They are required to make their claims to the Court in writing, and have, in point of fact, to fill an elaborate form of application for hearing with scrupulous exactness, failing which, their applications are returned to them for correction. But the Natives with whom Messrs Bead and Cooper were in treaty were excused delay where time was an object, and were granted a special advantage.

And here I may say, that, had the Court and District Officer permitted business to flow in the ordinary channel, and had surveyors been furnished in March, April, and May, 1875, when I applied for them; and further, had a Judge of the Native Land Court presided here, who could have taken Government business sometimes, instead of cases in which Mr Bead is interested always (I believe one solitary case excepted), that the time of the Court in my district during the year under report has been entirely engrossed in adjudicating where Bead requires titles, while not a single case has been adjudicated in which Natives claim who have parted with their land to Government. Had these conditions been permitted to obtain, then the Government would have had its deeds, and the Natives their money long ago.

But to return, on the 29th of July the Session of the Court specially convened to hear cases in which Messrs Read and Cooper were interested was opened in this district, and sat and took evidence without having caused due notice to be given in the district in the manner prescribed by the letter—or even in compliance with the spirit—of 36th section of the "Native Land Act 1873."

On the same day the Court closed, or rather adjourned—it was alleged—upon application. An application was certainly made by a Native at the request of Mr Locke, but he had been put up merely to cover the retreat of the Court. The real cause was of another kind. I had taken an unusual step, and had almost rendered myself liable to censure from yourself.

On the 6th of the following month some of the notifications of the sitting of the Court arrived by mail at Gisborne. The Court had opened, and taken evidence eight days before preliminary documents required by law were received in the district.

It is not for me to say what the legality of such unprecedented proceedings may be worth, but if that Court was *ultra vires*, its adjourned sittings and proceedings are *ultra vires* also.

After this the Government surveys of this land were prosecuted and completed, and Arakihi and Parariki portions of them were gazetted for hearing on the 10th March last at Waiapu, a place three days' journey from Gisborne on horseback.

Many of the Natives went to Waiapu to attend the Court on the 10th, but the Judge did not go. He remained at Gisborne, and sent an agent, who adjourned the Court.

On the 14th the Judge suddenly advertised a Court for the same land under the name Waingaromia, to sit at Makareka, Gisborne, on the 16th.

Thus a notice of 48 hours was allowed for Natives who were away at Waiapu, and this while Read and Cooper's supporters who had not gone to Waiapu, were near the Court House, at Makaraka.

To this impracticable proceeding I again objected on various grounds, among others that the Governor had called for further information prior to deciding whether he would exercise his pre-emptive right over the land, and that the present precipitate action of the Court might prejudice and forestall that right.

Notwithstanding this, however, the judgment of the Court was given upon one Block, Waingaromia No 3. A rehearing was immediately asked for by the Natives with whom I had dealt.

The Governor's proclamation was issued over this and the other Blocks six weeks after the judgment of the Court had been given.

The other Waingaromia Blocks Nos. 1 and 2 were adjourned to Tologa for the 3rd April, where they were heard with judgment reserved.

The proceedings the first day were very painful on both sides.

On the one hand the Judge was irascible, impracticable, and threatening to the Natives who had dealt with me; on the other their spokesman openly accused him in Court, and the Natives out of Court, in a manner which

I refrain from repeating.

The scene had lasted too long, when the Court broke up in confusion.

On the following day the Judge conceded the reasonable request of the Natives, and evidence was thereupon given.

I do not wish to comment on the way the evidence was taken, nor have I space to do so here. Suffice to say, that as I watched I became convinced, I say it emphatically, that it would be necessary to hear the cases over again before another Judge.

Here I wish to note, that I reserve a point arising out of something said by the other side that may be required at another stage.

I believe the Aotangahauiti Natives are only waiting for judgments to be given to appeal against them.

I stated, in an early part of this section of my report, that I had been compelled to contend against a very remarkable opposition. I have not given all my reasons for making that statement—space does not permit—but I have adduced a number of circumstances in support of the position, that it has received unusual facilities and protection from the Judge and District Officers, separately and combined.

I have to add another matter, however, in reference to the remarkable character of the opposition itself.

I hold evidence from several respectable European witnesses, showing on his own statement, that Mr Cooper, a principal and manager, did deliberately frame his arrangements upon an assumed and asserted partiality of the Court for Read.

In conclusion, I will say for myself that, in the absence of the District Officer from the Court at Tologa, the sudden and unexpected introduction by the Court of a third party, Captain Porter, between my clients and the Court, was injurious to the interests of this department. My line of action was departed from, a foreign claim upon Parariki was set up by Natives, among whom, I believe, Mrs Porter is interested. I do not state this in any spirit unfavourable to Captain Porter. His position was unofficial and anomalous (he characterized it as improper), he was dissatisfied at it, and offered to abandon it, should I request.

Captain Porter is Land Purchase Officer and District Officer in his own district, where his experience in one capacity serves him in the other; but in my district briefs are made up, and it is injurious to thrust a stranger among them, and especially where money has been paid, it is undesirable to disturb existing arrangements.

A Land Purchase Officer in one district ought not to interfere with the clients of an officer in another district, nor do I think that a Judge should ask him to do so, on any pretext whatever.

If the officer so interfering has work elsewhere, he is precluded from knowing the conditions amongst which he places himself, and to appear suddenly upon the scene where a European opposition is interested, an opposition part of which asserted its reliance among other things of *the doubt being given in its favour*, and to call clients together in the Court-house, at the opening of the Court, to tell them what should be done, and how the case should be taken, is neither just to the Land Purchase Officer of the district, nor to the public interests that he represents.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

(Signed) J. A. Wilson,
Land Purchase Officer.

Letter No. IV.

I have received notes of a considerable portion of the evidence taken by the Commissioners at the investigation in Gisborne, in the case of Mr J. A. Wilson's now well-known report. Some of them disclose an extraordinary condition of affairs, which seems to have existed for a long time past, and only now has the light thrown upon it. I single out for this letter a very singular scene described as having occurred in April, 1876, when the Native Lands Court was sitting at Tologa Bay, on the East Coast. Mr Wilson in giving his evidence says, "When the Court began business, the Natives were most orderly. The Court was full of Natives. I sat next the Judge, a little behind him. The Chief Henare Potae, was in Court before any case was called, and was proceeding to address the Court on some subject in a proper strain, as it appeared to me—certainly in a respectful manner—when he was asked by Judge Rogan, why he had risen without his name being called. He was told he was setting a bad example to his tribe, and was ordered to sit down without another word. The

Judge's manner was angry on the occasion; Potae's manner was quiet, and he sat down without saying another word. I do not know what he was going to say; he had not spoken ten words before he was caught up. As he is an intelligent man, a leading chief on the Coast, and the head of his tribe, I think he would have said what was proper. The case Waingaromia No. 2 was then called. Potae rose again. The Judge wanted him to sit down again. He declined on the ground that he appeared as spokesman for the counter-claimants. The case of the claimants had been heard many months before. Counter-claimants had now the right to speak. The Judge wished Wi Pewhairangi, who was sitting close by, to appear as spokesman. Wi Pewhairangi said Henare was the man to speak. I took no written notes at the time. I am trusting to memory as to what passed in the Court. My memory to me seems very clear on the matter. I made no note afterwards; the subject was distasteful to me. Henare Potae, on rising the second time, asked first that Waingaromia No. 2 might be heard in conjunction with Parariki and Tauwhareparae blocks. These two blocks were claims, otherwise gazetted—at any rate Parariki, but it is doubtful whether Tauwhareparae was gazetted at the time there were Government claims to come on for hearing, Potae wished them to come on as substantive claims. The *prima facie* case of Waingaromia No. 2 was closed. Potae wished them all heard together. The Court did not consent. He then asked that Waingaromia might be heard in two parts—the portion claimed by one tribe as one part, and the portion claimed by another tribe as another part. The Court would not consent to this either. Potae then said if the Court persisted in mixing up the affairs of the two tribes, his side would not plead. Potae himself comes in with both tribes as a principal man. The Judge then said, if the counter claimants did not plead, judgment would be given against them, and in favour of Pita Te Huhu. By this time the affair had assumed almost the character of an altercation. Both parties were becoming warm, but the Judge was the warmer of the two. Potae, when he found the Court persisted, said 'You will not agree to my request because you are the paid servant of Read'—pononga utu was the phrase used, I believe. I noticed it particularly, because it is not a phrase generally used in this district. It is a Waikato phrase. The Judge then said to Potae, 'you are drunk.' Potae retorted, accusing the Judge of drinking. The expression used was, 'You drink worse than I do,' &c., &c. The Court broke up in confusion. It was a very painful scene. I do not think Henare was drunk on that occasion. I know him very well. I have often seen him drunk. He was excited, and being lame, his gait was uneasy. He could hardly walk from swollen feet. He suffers very much from his feet. Whenever he becomes intoxicated he begins to speak English. He did not do so on this occasion. Seeing the unfortunate position of affairs, I called a public meeting outside the Court-house; about 200 Natives were present. I urged that Henare's objections should be overruled; that he himself should agree to give way, and that the claims should be heard in any way that they could arrange with the Court, in order that business might not be stayed. But Potae was very firm. He would not concede an iota. In fact, he was obstinate. I never saw him so obstinate before. I went and spoke to the Judge after the meeting broke up. The Judge appeared inclined to make some concession, but during this time the Natives had got drunk—Potae among the rest. Nothing more was done that day. Potae was drunk in the afternoon, and very drunk before the evening was over."

Mr Wilson continues: "Late the same evening Captain Porter arrived in the *Luna*. He had a conversation with the Judge. When the Court opened, the Judge conceded what Potae had asked, and took the Parariki portion of the block separately. This arrangement was made through Captain Porter, to whom the map of the Court was given up for the purpose. The arrangement was made inside the Court-house. I asked Porter if he was in any official capacity. He told me he was not. I asked him why he came between me and my clients in making this arrangement. He said because the Court asked him to do so. I am not quite sure whether he said the Judge, or the Court. He said it was against his wish—that he knew it was not fair towards me. His words were—'The Court is making an improper use of me;' and he offered to retire from the position if I requested him to do so. I said, 'No—not if the Court had asked him, as I could not oppose any wish of the Court.' This conversation occurred during the adjournment for lunch. The Court opened about 10 a.m. Rutene Kuhukuhu then appeared as spokesman for Parariki instead of Henare Potae, who had appeared on the previous day for both Parariki and Tauwhareparae. This was because the Natives thought Henare had made himself obnoxious to the Court, and it was better some other spokesman should be put up. Rutene Kuhukuhu gave his evidence, and from the way his evidence was taken I became convinced it would be necessary to hear the case over again before another Judge. He gave his evidence clearly. He was brow-beaten, and—if I may use the term—bullied by the Judge During . . . the conversation I had with Captain Porter at lunch time, he said to me, to my surprise, that the Judge was going against me in these matters 'out of personal animosity to myself.' Captain Porter volunteered this statement. I shall call him to give evidence on this point. I have also his handwriting to the same effect. I told Porter I did not believe this, for I had never given the Judge any cause. He said I did not know what sort of man the Judge was, that he did not require a cause."

I will pause here to note an incident that seems to me to reflect very strongly on the management of the inquiry by the Commissioners appointed by the Government to look into the matter. Captain Porter in his evidence, when it was given, denied having said that the Judge was working against Mr Wilson from feelings

of animosity, and in reply to Mr Wilson, answered: "I did not write nor say anything to any Native about the animosity of the Judge towards yourself." Upon this Mr Wilson put into Court an original letter addressed by Porter to Henare Potae, in which he told Henare that he regretted the turn things had taken, and that it was all owing to the Judge's bad feeling towards Wilson. On this letter being read, Porter objected to its being handed in as evidence. He objected because the letter was a private one written to Henare Potae, who was related to him through his wife. Upon this, the Commissioners strangely decided that the letter was irrelevant, and could not be admitted as evidence. The exact letter as translated before the Commissioners was as follows.—

"TURUNDA,

4th August, 1876.

"SIR—salutations—

"I have heard of the going of Mr Rogan to Wawa. I am dissatisfied, because you are made victims to the ill-will cherished between him (Mr Rogan) and Mr Wilson. I have communicated with Sir Donald M'Lean, urging a rehearing of these lands. But you had better make application also, forwarding same through me, and I will support it with the Government. I have informed Mr Rogan that it is my intention to take this course. We are well, and the children, and the Hereweka. Enough.

"From your affectionate brother-in-law,

"FROM Porter."

Captain Porter was indignant at production of this, which he styled a private letter, but clearly, as it was voluntarily produced by Henare Potae, and dealt with public action to be taken by a public officer in a public matter, the Commissioners went far in refusing to receive it. I am informed that there are other letters of other persons—some of them in much higher positions, which will yet be produced to show the ramifications of the intrigues in connection with this land buying. Government agents bid and work against each other to obtain influence for themselves individually, and to destroy the influence of others. They play into the hands of favoured persons—favoured by the Ministry and their friends, and if half the reports be true, those agents often play into the hands of Ministers themselves. Very loud was the outcry against Sir George Grey for what he said, and wrote, and did, in his efforts to expose this land swindling, which is done at the cost of so much Native discontent, and at the risk of a Native disturbance some day. It is very hard to get at the exact evidence necessary to substantiate a case. Had Sir George been allowed to be Native Minister for a month he could have done this. But there is one thing very significant: loud as was the outcry against him for false and malicious statements, none ventured an action on the strength of them in a Court of Law. Yet Sir George Grey is well known to be a good mark in a pecuniary point of view, and well worth powder and shot. Mr Wilson was better able to prove his case; but the Government seem to have been bent on stifling and crushing him, and not on having the whole affair probed thoroughly in the interests of the Public Service only. It was said openly in Auckland and in Gisborne that some of the Ministers had been and were themselves too deep in the mud to tolerate complaint—that they only went into the Government to secure the lands they had bought, and to buy more, and that when they had done this, the colony might keep them in or turn them out as it liked, for their interest in public affairs would have ceased till there was more land to be got, or some other job to be worked by patriotically making a new appearance on the public stage. It is not a flattering view of public men; but I heard it so often expressed, and by people of such opposite opinions, that I was forced to remember the old adage, and to admit that, where there is so much smoke, there is very likely to be some fire. The sooner the colony washes its hands of this Native lands buying altogether the better, especially for us in the South, who know so little about it, except that we are paying so large a share of the waste it engenders, and taking so large a portion of the risk in the disturbances it may create.

Letter No. V.

The budget grows in volume, and I should despair of giving you a fair idea of the matter, if it were not for the ample space you are good enough to accord me. I am sure the space will not be ill-bestowed, for the subject is one of great public importance, not only in itself, but on account of the extraordinary proceedings of the Government and of the Commission in connection with it. Why should they have abruptly dismissed a valuable public officer without giving him a chance of even seeing the report of the Commissioners on which the dismissal was based? Why, too, so long keep back from the Assembly the report sent by Sir J. A. Wilson? Both reports are public property, and there cannot be the smallest public reason for still preserving secrecy in

connection with them. As it is, Ministers have, without any known reason, thrown the whole of the land purchasing in Mr Wilson's district out of gear, and have wasted the labour bestowed by him during the last two years, dismissing him just at the critical moment when that labour was producing its full fruition.

Among the papers I have now received, are some that have already appeared in print, but which will not be the worse for a wider circulation than the *Poverty Bay Standard* gave them. It appears that a petition was sent from Gisborne to the General Assembly, "praying that the report of Mr Wilson, Land Purchase Agent, be laid on the table." It was forwarded by the Chairman of the Highway Board to Captain Bead, who was then the sitting member, for presentation. Captain Bead's return, it will be remembered, was disputed by Captain Morris, and Captain Bead was unseated thereupon. The *Standard*, of 23rd September last, has a leader on the non-presentation of the petition sent to Captain Bead, and soundly rating him for presuming to withhold it. To exonerate the Chairman of the Highway Board, it publishes the letter sent to that gentleman by Captain Bead. I give it *verbatim et liberatum*:—

"Wellington,

August 9, 1876.

"The Chairman of the Gisborn Highway Board and others signing the petition enquiring into the conduct of the Government Agent for purchasing Native lands; also, of his Report on the actions of his Department on the East Coast. The Friends of our Cause here advise me not to present the same until after my Committee have Decided my Case now before them, as the Report will have a very damageing effect on my case, he haveing brought into his Report allmost every one in Gisborn as haveing done many things against the Government which would have a bad effect on our Case now Pending.

"Yours truly,

"G. E. Read."

The *Standard's* comments on this singular espistle from their representative are strong, but I need not reproduce them : The letter speaks for itself.

In another paper, the *Poverty Bay Herald*, I found a letter from Mr Cooper, who is Mr Read's agent in land negotiations at Gisborne. He denies that Mr Wilson had purchased the lands scheduled in his report to the Native Minister—declares the schedule to be "entirely false"—and "thinks this is a matter that demands a thorough inquiry." He goes into details, which are taken up one by one, and refuted by the editor of the other paper, the *Standard*, in its issue of 4th October, especially as to the amount of advances made by Mr Wilson, which are grossly overstated in Mr Cooper's letter. Considering the relations between Mr Cooper and Mr Read, as subsequently disclosed in the evidence taken before the Commissioners, the following extract will be sufficient to give an idea of the whole :—"The people in Gisborne," says Mr Cooper, "are always complaining about having no public money expended in this district; but this is all false, for there has been some £20,000 to £30,000 of public money squandered by Mr Wilson amongst the Natives in this district, for which the Government will hardly see one acre of land with a good title. I think it is a great pity for this district that the Government will not allow Mr Wilson to spend any more public money. There is no one who will feel the loss of him so much as myself and the storekeepers and publicans." When Mr Cooper wrote this he must have been perfectly aware that Mr Wilson had only advanced £7,509 on 343,746 acres of land, which were all properly surveyed, and that of these advances £4,175 had been made on lands with Crown title. Also, that Mr Wilson had stated in his report, "I hold evidence from several respectable Europeans to show that, on his own statement, Mr Cooper, as principal and manager, did deliberately frame his arrangements upon an assumed and asserted partiality of the Court for Read." Mr Cooper's letter, like Captain Read's to the Chairman of the Highway Board, when perused by this light, speaks for itself, and, also, needs no further comment.

More extraordinary, and more to be regretted, is the hasty action of Judge Rogan himself in the matter. I may here state that I heard no charge against the Judge of corruption in any way. He is popular, and not mixed up with any land purchases himself, but seems to have got completely under the influence of Captain Bead and his circle, and to have connected himself with them in, at the least, a most injudicious way. On the 20th September he, too, rushes into print in the columns of the *Poverty Bay Herald*—the organ of Bead's party. He says :—

"Having seen in the *Standard* of the 20th inst., a schedule headed 'Land purchases in the North Island,' in which are included a number of blocks of land in the Poverty Bay district, stated by the Hon. the Native Minister in the House of Representatives to have been purchased by Mr J. A. Wilson, I enclose a translation in Maori of the lands named in that list, and request that you will publish it in the *Herald* for the information of

the Native owners of land in this district.

"For the information of those to whom it may be interesting, I desire to state that the quotations of land purchased, alluded to by the Native Minister, are nearly all false statements as far as Mr J. A. Wilson's purchases are concerned; because in the column headed ' Purchased' instalments on account of land have only been made, and one or two blocks of land only have been purchased.

"An inquiry into the nature and extent of these purchases will probably soon be made, when I propose to show, that a large amount of public money has been expended in advances to Henare Potae and others, for which no title can be proved. I will not particularise here, but will mention—

"Large sums of money have been paid to Natives on these and other large blocks of land, exclusive of survey charges, for which Mr Wilson will be alone answerable.—I am, &c., JOHN BOGAN."

The first thing that must strike everyone in this letter, is the extrajudicial statement, that "no title can be proved" on land which was to come before his Court at an early date for the express purpose of inquiring into the title. This conduct is without precedent. Again, Judge Rogan says "an inquiry into the nature and extent of these purchases will probably soon be made;" but wherever he got the information, it was incorrect. No such inquiry ever has been, or apparently ever will be, made voluntarily by the Government. It was what Mr Wilson so earnestly himself desired; but the Commission, when it did sit, would not go into the matter, and probably was not empowered by Government to do so. Again, the quibble as to the word "purchasers" was unworthy of one in Judge Rogan's position. He must have been aware that the word was always used in returns, and that its meaning, as so fully illustrated by the report, could not possibly have been misunderstood by the Native Minister, or anyone else. He must also have known that Mr Wilson could not do more than pay "instalments" until the land had passed through the Court, and that his chief complaint was of the great difficulties thrown in his way in the effort to pass them through. The last paragraph shows that Judge Rogan must have been very much out of temper when he penned it, but the main question occurring to most people will be : Why was the letter penned at all? In no other part of New Zealand than Poverty Bay, so long secluded from the world, could such a thing have occurred, as a Judge entering the arena, and forejudging matters yet to come before him for investigation.

The surroundings of the case are thus, you will see, sufficiently interesting in themselves, and they would be more interesting still, if the inquiry had branched off into the action taken by Ministers in connection with Mr Wilson's report. The Commissioners, however, being only Government departmental officers, this was impossible, and it is to be hoped a Committee of the Legislature will yet take it in hand.

It is also to be observed that Judge Rogan admits "that one or two blocks have been purchased" by Mr Wilson. Now, a block contains anything from 10,000 to 80,000 acres. The three blocks mentioned in the Judge's own letter contain 157,000 acres, yet Mr Cooper had just stated the Government could hardly see "one acre of land with a good title," on Mr Wilson's purchases. Judge Rogan's letter was made, however, to do a sacred duty. It was telegraphed to the Wellington papers, and appears under the heading "Napier," as follows:—

The special correspondent at Gisborne of the *Napier Telegraph* states, that a letter appears in the *Poverty Bay Herald*, this morning, from Judge Rogan, alleging that the statement made by the Native Minister in the House, relative to extensive purchases of land by J. A. Wilson, are nearly all untrue, as only three blocks (Judge Rogan, by-the-bye, only said one or two) have been completely purchased, and merely instalments have been paid on the remainder to Natives who, in most cases, can prove no title "to the land." Innocent Southern members, reading this telegram in Wellington in their papers, could have little thought that the J. A. Wilson referred to is one of the most honourable, one of the most widely known, one of the most experienced, and one of the most zealous of Native Officers, who has filled high positions, and who knows the Maori, his language, his manners, and his land tenures, as well as any man, be he whom he may, in the Colony. Yet I was assured on all sides, that this was Mr Wilson's position and character, that right through, from beginning to end, Judge Rogan was made the tool of astute, unscrupulous, and low but wealthy men, and that Ministers sacrificed Mr Wilson because he stood in the way of these men, and others of their political supporters, relations, and friends. My own conclusion was that Native land-jobbing may be well enough in its way; numbers of people have made, and are making, great wealth by it, but when Ministers or Ministers' friends are asserted to be mixed up with it, they would do well to court at once the fullest publicity, and the most thorough investigation by independent men. The Colony cannot afford a Piako Swamp scandal every session. Under any circumstances, the sooner that Native land purchasing ceases to be a branch of Government business at all, the better. A very high-minded despot, with a very strong sense of public duty, might succeed in it. Governments constituted like ours, and composed, as a rule, of men brought up from their earliest days in a desperate hard struggle to make money, never can.

Letter No. VI.

It appears to me on calmly studying the voluminous notes of evidence in the Wilson inquiry, which I now have before me, that one of its most important aspects is that which affects the honour of the Government, so far as the Government is responsible for the conduct of the inquiry. The Commission issued to the two gentlemen who formed the Commission will, I presume, be called for at the next session. From it we shall learn, what was the purpose for which they were appointed, but at the outset it is evident that two members of the Civil Service, dependent more or less on favour of Ministers, were not fitting persons to conduct an inquiry in which friends of Ministers, and even some of the Ministers themselves, were alleged to be concerned. One of the Commissioners, Dr Giles, has since been promoted to an Under Secretaryship, and (without reflection upon him personally) the promotion will cause people to scan more closely his conduct as a Commissioner during the investigation. There are many things that, so scanned, call for explanation. I will cite one or two, by way of illustration.

The letter written by Captain Porter to Henare Potae, in which the latter was commiserated as suffering from the ill-feeling entertained by the Judge towards Mr J. A. Wilson, is one of these illustrations. On being cross-examined by Mr Wilson, Captain Porter had denied that he ever said or wrote anything about the animosity of the Judge towards him. To refute this, Mr Wilson produced the original letter in Maori, with a translation. Captain Porter did not deny the authorship of the letter, but objected to its being handed in as evidence. His objection was "on principle, the letter being a private one." Commissioner Giles objected to the letter being produced in evidence, and "considered it irrelevant." Captain Porter then said he had no objection to the letter being read, as it was only an expression of his own opinion, losing sight, apparently, of the fact, that the existence even of such a letter had been just before denied. It is with the conduct of the Commissioners, however, in this matter that we now have to deal. Mr J. A. Wilson, after the letter had been read, held that it had been given to him by Henare Potae to make use of, and that it was indisputably a public letter. It was written on public business, and, he might have added, that it was calculated to damage him in the eyes of the Natives, and to impress upon them, that Captain Porter was the only man who had the influence that could save them from this injury, and get them a hearing from Sir Donald McLean. At the close of the discussion that ensued, the Commissioners—according to the notes I have before me—"expunged a portion of Mr J. A. Wilson's evidence" that they had already taken. The portion so expunged bore both on this letter, and on the conversation which Mr Wilson had described as having occurred between himself and Captain Porter. It is hard to imagine any possible justification for this course on the Commissioners' part. They might fairly enough say that Captain Porter's opinion of Judge Rogan's motives did not commit the Judge himself; but the letter was assuredly a strong point as affecting the soundness of Captain Porter's memory generally. The Commissioners first took Mr Wilson's evidence, and said they would call Captain Porter with reference to it. He denied the truth of what Wilson had stated, and, if the letter had not been produced, this denial would have placed Mr Wilson in a very invidious position, as having made another statement "which he had not substantiated," and which statement was in itself "of an improbable nature." The letter is produced, and the tables are turned at once by the Commissioners, who coolly refuse to receive it, and who proceed to expunge from their written minutes all the evidence they had previously taken in connection with it. Such conduct is inexplicable. Mr Wilson had a perfect right to examine Captain Porter, at least as to the grounds on which the opinion expressed by him in that letter was based. It might have been surely borne in mind, that one prominent purpose of the investigation was to see if he had reasonable grounds for complaining as he did of the difficulties thrown in his way, or if he had been actuated by personal and improper motives. The case did not present itself to the Commissioners in this light, but it cannot be a matter of surprise, that Mr Wilson should complain of a Commission—so acting—as having burked the inquiry, and that he should be now demanding a rehearing of his case by a more competent tribunal.

A second, and even more notable illustration, is the mode in which the Commissioners dealt with a charge of improper facilities given by the Lands Court to Mr Cooper, who had been long associated with Captain Read, in the opposition of which Mr Wilson had complained. The incidents connected with this and the Commissioners' treatment of it are worthy of special notice. Let me first remark that, in order to save confusion, I am obliged to use Mr J. A. Wilson's full initials whenever mentioning his name, as Mr Wilfrid Wilson, a solicitor *ia* Gisborne, was employed by the other side to appear for them throughout the inquiry. They had thus the advantage of legal representation. Mr J. A. Wilson was compelled to plead his own cause, and one would have thought this fact alone sufficient to cause any impartial tribunal to give him the full consideration due to the double difficulties of his position.

It is necessary, in order to understand the bearing of what follows, that your readers should recall the description I have already given of the mode of conducting land purchases. The Natives, after getting their land surveyed by an authorised Government surveyor, and going through certain other formalities, are said to have their land "in Court." A day is then advertised in the Gazette for the hearing, and all claimants are expected to appear. If all be correct, "an order for a memorial of title" is issued. This order is of no practical value till seven months have elapsed. During that time, an appeal against it may be made. At the end of seven months, the

memorial itself is issued, and the Natives who are named in it, or the persons to whom they have sold their interests, are certified as the owners. On this memorial being issued, the Chief Judge of the Native Lands Court reports it to the Government, and recommends the issue of a Crown grant, which then follows, as a matter of course. Now, Mr Cooper had been dealing with the Natives for three blocks of land, which Mr J. A. Wilson had before him purchased from the same Natives, on which the latter gentleman had made advances, and which he had surveyed at the public expense, in the ordinary course. The blocks were brought before the Court by Mr Cooper, while the Government representative, Mr Locke, was absent; and the Judge, in his evidence before the Commission, speaks on this point as follows:—"The first intimation I had from Cooper was from my interpreter, Mr Carroll. He told me privately that Cooper, by some means or other, Mr Wilson not having arrived, had, through Ferris (an interpreter), and before Campbell (the Resident Magistrate referred to in Mr Wilson's report to the Native Minister), paid money and got Natives to sign for these blocks. I went to call upon Mr Campbell. I saw an immense crowd of Natives. Ferris and Cooper were there, and Natives were signing. I asked Campbell what was going on, and he told me. On the evening of the 19th July, 1876, before the Court closed, Cooper came to me and informed me that he had purchased these three blocks and other land besides, and that the Natives would come into Court next morning and acknowledge to having signed deeds and to having taken money for these three blocks. My reply to Cooper was, "do you know what you are doing?" I know something of Natives mentioning to me having sold to Mr Wilson. I know perfectly well that the proclamation (prohibiting, I should here explain, all private persons from dealing with the Natives for these lands under the Immigration and Public Works Act) exists. Mr Locke (the District Officer) called my attention to the fact on a previous occasion, when I declined to proceed with the Waingaromia cases (the Waingaromia blocks, it should be observed, however, are not the same blocks that are now being referred to). Sir Donald McLean then telegraphed to the District Officer: "The Judge has nothing to do with the proclamation." If the District Officer makes an objection to a case proceeding, I should adjourn it. Cooper came next morning. Hone Pete, Carroll, and others were present. I told Cooper that I could not witness his deeds. An argument ensued. The result was "whatever legal question might arise between the Government and Cooper, he would take the responsibility." I had no responsibility. Cooper said; "I take all responsibility." It was on an understanding that Cooper should hold me indemnified in the event of a difference with the Government, and should make no claim upon me, that I agreed to do what he wished. I put my endorsement on the orders for memorial of ownership—not on the face of the deeds. After seven months, a different endorsement is made on the memorial of ownership. (The deeds were here presented for the information of the Commissioners.) On a deed being presented to the Judge, he assesses the duty. Mr Carlile—a private solicitor in Napier, it should be added, gave it as his opinion that I must assess these deeds. I asked Mr Locke to produce the telegram he received from the Native Minister, re proclamation under 42nd clause of the Act, but I have not received it. I told Cooper that I ignored all responsibility with respect to lands within the proclamation. Government can withhold memorial of ownership. Cooper did not know properly what he was about. I have nothing to do with issuing the memorial of ownership—which, it may be observed, is issued by the Chief Judge in Auckland. I merely give the order.

A good deal of other evidence was given by Judge Rogan, after the above, on the same day. It led ultimately up to the statements made by him against Mr J. A. Wilson in the advertisement which has been already sent to you. These statements were absolutely denied by Mr Wilson, and he desired to go into them before the Commission. The Judge replied, that he had already received a severe reprimand from the Government for having published that advertisement. He did not, it should be observed, withdraw the charges contained in it, but he requested the Commissioners to withdraw the matter altogether from their consideration, and to make his own reply to the Government. Upon this, Commissioner Giles (Commissioner Brown seems to have been nowhere throughout the investigation) came to the extraordinary decision that "Judge Rogan is not bound to enter into charges contained in that advertisement." Mr J. A. Wilson here protested. The charges were made against him by public advertisement, and he had a right to have them investigated. It was a mere matter between Judge Rogan and the Government. But Commissioner Giles was inexorable. He decided that Judge Rogan could withdraw the advertisement. Mr Wilson still expostulated. It was on the basis of this advertisement being gone into that he had withdrawn his first protest. The Hon. Dr Pollen had stated in the Legislative Council, that the matter would be inquired into. Mr W. Wilfrid Wilson here rose as the lawyer for the Judge, and said, "We admit the advertisement with regard to the charge of money paid by Mr Wilson on land for which the Government will see no title; we will merely take one or two cases." With the advertisement thus emasculated, the Commissioners then proceeded to deal, regardless of the palpable injustice done to Mr J. A. Wilson, in depriving him of an opportunity of showing the operations of those whose opposition to him in the performance of his duty, he had felt himself compelled to report.

The breach of all law, and custom, in these judicial dealings between the Judge of the Native Lands Court and Cooper—dealings so dangerous, that the Judge felt himself obliged to obtain an indemnity from the suitor in whose favour he was deciding—is too striking to need comment. It is more extraordinary, when further

inquiry shows, that among the persons entitled to these blocks of land were minors, who had no power to sell to Cooper, and whose existence and rights were officially known to the Court, which had actually appointed certain Natives as trustees to act for them, till they came of age. Despite all this, the leaning of the Commissioners towards Judge Rogan and his side, appears from the evidence before me to have been as marked, as the reverse was shown in their treatment of Mr Wilson. They allow the one to withdraw charges publicly made at pleasure; they expunge the evidence of the other after taking it down. They accept evidence calculated to throw doubt on Mr Wilson's statements; they refuse to receive a confirmatory letter by which that doubt was effectually dispelled. They refused three other letters from three several persons when they were tendered in evidence by Wilson, and they did so on the ground that "the writers being absent, the circumstances under which the letters were written could not be ascertained." On another occasion, they refused to receive a letter for the very opposite reason, "that the writer was present, and would speak for himself." They refused evidence wholesale, and at their good pleasure, declining to call the witnesses Mr Wilson had brought to the Court, and declining to summon other witnesses whom Mr Wilson desired to examine. One cannot but feel astonished at the whole course and conduct of the so-called "investigation," and at a loss to see what its object could be. It certainly was not the "searching investigation" into the statements made in Mr Wilson's report, which Ministers made an excuse for not presenting it to the Assembly. It ceased to bear that character, when the Commissioners refused to take cognisance of the advertisement of Judge Rogan, and other of what they called "irrelevant matters." Nor was it an inquiry into the mode of conducting these land purchases generally. Had it been so, the Commissioners could not fail to have been struck with this unprecedented "indemnity," given by a suitor to a Judge, against the consequences of the Court's decision in his favour. Nor could it have overlooked the mode in which the rights of the minors, who were part owners of the blocks thus irregularly transferred to Cooper by the Court, were ignored. Practices of this kind have made the East Coast notorious. They laid the foundation for the bitter lawsuits and deep Native discontent still agitating the Province of Hawke's Bay. They array on the side of injustice and wrong, influences so powerful, that few private individuals, and no Government officers—till Mr J. A. Wilson felt himself bound to undertake the onerous duty—dared to raise their voices in this Island against them. These influences are still all-powerful in the North, and it will be for us in the South to see, that the honour of the Government, and the peace of the colony, are not perilled at the pleasure of a few rich, greedy, and unscrupulous land sharks, whose desires increase with their wealth, and are insatiable.

W. Atkin, Book and General Printer, High Street Auckland

Mr. Vogel's Address at Tokomairiro.

The Land Policy.—Local Government Scheme.

On Friday evening, (3rd July), Mr J. Vogel, M.H.R. and Provincial Treasurer, addressed a public meeting in the Volunteers' Hall, Milton (Tokomairiro), in consequence of a requisition from the electors, asking that he would state to them his "views on the various questions likely to occupy the attention of the approaching General Assembly, and, in particular, those which affect existing Provincial Institutions." The requisitionists added, "We are aware that it is not usual to make such a request; but the present critical state of the country having already—in a neighboring district—called forth an expression of opinion from one who is not their Representative, we venture to hope that you will likewise favor us with an explanation of your views." The Hall was nearly filled, there being about 180 persons present, amongst them being—J. Elder Brown, Esq., the Mayor; Messrs Clark, Muir, and Murray, the representatives of the district, in the Provincial Council; Messrs Forsyth, W. A. Murray, Marry at t, &c.

Mr BROWN was called to the chair; and he briefly commenced the proceedings.

Mr VOGEL, who was very warmly applauded, acknowledged the compliment paid to him by the requisition he had received. If, as seemed to be implied by the form of the requisition, it was desired that he should not address the meeting upon Provincial matters, he should readily comply with that desire. But the course of events lately—and his position, personally, and as a member of a Government which had been very much assailed by a minority, but still a minority worthy of attention—made him anxious to have the opportunity of replying to those attacks—(applause); and if the meeting did not signify objection to such a course, he would speak upon Provincial matters, as well as those relating to the General Assembly.—(Hear, hear.) There had been industriously circulated a series of misrepresentations, having for their object bringing into disrepute the

Government of the Province. Those misrepresentations had been circulated so industriously, that many persons had given credence to them, because the Government had not had opportunities of contradicting them, equal to those of the persons who had circulated the misrepresentations. If he could go fully through, the proceedings of the last session, he thought his hearers would recognise that the opposition to the Government had not its origin in tiny strong public feeling—that the Land Policy, upon which the opposition was ostensibly based, had very little indeed to do with the matter—but that the opposition sprang from a double source. Upon the part of a very large section of the minority in the Council, the origin was simply a desire to change seats with the Government—(applause, and a cry of "No")—while, upon the part of another section, the origin of opposition was a determination to secure an end very much cherished—that of bringing Provincial Institutions into contempt, with a view of doing away with them. There were, with that object, very shrewd and active leaders, and very weak and foolish followers.—(Hear, hear.) Those who might not be inclined to admit that they belonged to the latter, would perhaps agree or think that they belonged to the former section. As to those who desired to change seats with the Government, there were amongst that section of the minority some who were so anxious that they did not care upon what sacrifices they obtained office. There was no member of the Government to whom overtures were not made to join an Opposition Executive, or to admit an Opposition member or two into the then Executive. One member of the Government was told, forcibly, if not elegantly, "If you are not satisfied with your present 'screw,' we will put on the Estimates any amount that will satisfy you : only do join us." A member who left the Government was, up to the last day of the session, most pesteringly annoyed by applications that he would consent to move a vote of want of confidence in his late colleagues; and the number for Port Chalmers was offered by Mr Haughton the office of Secretary for Land and Works, if he would only go into the ranks of the Opposition. But the Government resolved not to do that which would have been helping to bring Provincial Institutions into contempt—not to yield to a minority; and also that they would go out of office unless they could hold it with a Ministry formed out of their own supporters.—[Mr Vogel referred to the proposals of want of confidence during the session, and to the resolution as to a dissolution of the Council.] He did not question that it would be very advantage-out if some members could be weeded out of the Council. There were in the minority many members who supported a dissolution who also expressed great regret that a dissolution would necessitate the Superintendent going out of office—a feeling which it was sought to meet by the resolutions brought down by the Government, because the Government felt strongly that it was a great evil that the elections for the Council should come immediately after the election of Superintendent. But a remark was made to him recently, by a gentleman who had taken an active interest in politics, which remark, as applied to the tactics of the Opposition on the dissolution question, made him feel that something was explained which was not sufficiently explained before. The remark was, "Major Richardson is the most popular man in the Province, just now. If there was a vacancy in the Superintendency, he would be sure to get in."—"Oh! oh!" and laughter.) As to a dissolution of the Council, there were a good many members, who, to prove the necessity for a change, need do no more than stand before the public and say, "I am a reason for it."—(Loud laughter.)

The Land act and the Land Policy.

Now (continued Mr Vogel) I wish to refer to the Land Question.—(Applause.) A handle was made of that question, upon which to hang the opposition to the Government, to which I have referred; and especially was there opposition to the course of the Government, in insisting that, before they would aid with their recommendation any resolution of the Council as to Hundreds, there should be proper investigation as to the land which it was wished to have declared into Hundreds. I have never met, outside the members of the Opposition, any one, no matter how extreme an advocate of Hundreds he was—and I have heard it said by one person that he thought the whole Province should be a Hundred—who denied that the course taken by the Government was a proper and just one. The Government asked, that when a request for a Hundred came from a private member, there should be an examination by a competent authority. The Provincial Council has no better authority for such a purpose, than a Committee, carefully chosen, of its own members.—(Hear, hear.) The Government, having the right to name the Committee, made no attempt to "pack" it. When an objection was made to my being on the Committee, I yielded the place at once to the Provincial Solicitor; and subsequently two members, notoriously in favor of a large addition to Hundreds, were added to the Committee. The Government said to the Opposition, "You ask that these lands should be declared into Hundreds. It is not well that the question should be tied up. If, without previous investigation, a recommendation is sent up to the Governor, it will be disregarded. Have evidence on the question taken; and then, if the Council approves of these Hundreds, the Government will either resign office, or will agree to do all in its power to carry out the recommendation of the Council." What course could be fairer?—(Hear, hear.) The particular cases to which I refer were examined into; the House adopted the recommendations of the Select Committee; and those recommendations have gone, or will go—it is simply a question of time in preparing the necessary maps—to

the Governor, with the recommendation of the Superintendent and the Executive, that they be complied with. Whatever you may have heard on this subject, I ask you to judge of it from what I have now stated; and to say whether the course pursued was not—not only perfectly fair, but—the course which any sensible persons desiring to see Hundreds declared would have themselves adopted.—(Hear, hear.) I must say a few words as to the Land Act. I opposed the Bill, in the Assembly, to the very utmost; because I felt quite certain that the people of the Province did not understand its nature, and, what is more, I believe that but a very small section of the people understands it yet. I consider that the Bill was, to a great extent, a sham: while it pretended to provide for the extension of Hundreds, it did not, and it could not, do so. I felt that the old system of Hundreds, as it was developed in the earlier days of the Province, could not be provided for by that Bill, nor by any Bill providing for an extension of Pastoral Leases. You had three conditions when the system of Hundreds was brought into operation. Firstly, you had a large and plentiful quantity of good land; Secondly, you had an Improvement Clause, which was supposed to be operative, which deterred capitalists from investing largely; and, Thirdly, there was very little capital here to be invested. But when capital became plentiful and good land scarce—and when it was found that the Improvement Clause had no effect—the declaration of fresh Hundreds simply led, as experience elsewhere suggested would be the case, to the lands being bought in large quantities by those who possessed capital. Major Richardson, who has recently spoken, at the Clutha, in a way which would lead people to suppose that the Government were opposed to principles which he is in the habit of saying are very dear to him—Major Richardson has frequently said, before Select Committees, and otherwise publicly, that if there was no Improvement Clause, and if the best land was not reserved from the grasp of the speculator, it was impossible to carry out the Hundreds principle in its integrity.—(Hear, hear.) Now, the really best agricultural land in the Province has been to a great extent parted with—and the question of Hundreds resolves itself into this other question, "Who shall have the grazing rights—who shall have the pastoral occupation of a considerable portion of the country?"—(Hear, hear.) I say again, when the Land Bill was in the Assembly, it was my opinion that the people of Otago did not understand its nature. If it was really desired that the Hundred system, as it had been, should be carried out, the only way of doing it was by allowing the Pastoral Licenses to run out, and renewing, or giving leases, over only a limited quantity of country-, leaving the rest for Hundreds or Commonage. I did all that man could do to oppose the passing of the Bill: Mr Burns, Mr Reynolds, Mr Mac-andrew, and myself, in fact, did all that we could. There was quite sufficient excuse for not passing the Bill, for the Resolutions, as sent up from the Provincial Council, were so far unintelligible, that it was most difficult to know what the Council desired; and besides, the Council, when it passed the Resolutions, was in its last throes, being about to be dissolved. But the Assembly refused any postponement, and the Bill was carried. It was understood that that Bill was to be a final Bill. It happened, that I shortly afterwards became connected with the Provincial Government; and then, that operation had to be given to the Bill, or a refusal to be given as to the granting of Pastoral Leases. I thought—and the different result surprises me still—that the clause as to those leases would be taken advantage of only for those runs, the licenses of which were about to fall in. I could not understand why a runholder not so situated should agree to pay 7d a head for sheep, for, say, seven years of his license period, because of getting thereby another 10 years by way of lease. To my astonishment, however, all the runholders, almost, came in under the clause: there was a clear understanding that if the Government did not refuse leases for the licenses about to fall in, the holders of long-dated licenses would come in. I, as Treasurer, had the opportunity presented to me, of securing a Pastoral Rental commencing at L50,000 a-year, and increasing to L80,000. Could I advise flying in the face of the law, which provided that leases might be given for licenses, and so throw away this magnificent rental? It was impossible for us to say that we would fly in the face of the Council and of the Assembly, by a wholesale refusal of licenses. We were, in reality, called upon to refuse all, or to grant all. It may be supposed by some persons, that the Government had the opportunity of saying to a runholder, "We will grant you a lease over part of your run only but, owing to the want of a provision in the Act, by which the license could be continued over the part of a run for which a lease was refused, the result would have been, that if a runholder got a lease over only part of his run, he would have forfeited his right to the rest of that run. It was very certain that no runholder, for the sake of substituting a lease for a license over part of his run, would have consented to sacrifice the other part. So, then, we had to refuse or to grant leases as a whole; and, that being so, we did this—which cannot prejudice the Province, and which may be most valuable to it: we required those who took leases to sign covenants that they would give up a portion of the land for sale, if they were required by the Government to do so. During his tenure of office as Superintendent, even Major Richardson was wont to complain, that he could not sell blocks of land, within runs, for purposes of revenue. We have secured that power; and I say that the covenants of the run-holders represent a very large money value to the Province. I have pointed out to those who have complained of the action taken in this matter, that the Government can at any time burn the covenants—and the runholders will be delighted if the Government do so; but I do contend that, in what they have done, the Government have not been unmindful of the interests of the Province. I want to show you that, whatever may be our opinions of the

Hundred system, its old purpose—that of leaving land ready to be bought up from time to time, as people required it—cannot, under present circumstances, be secured, nor could not have been at all under the Land Act, unless we had refused to lease a large portion of the pastoral estate. Taking the Hundreds that were proclaimed in 1805, I find that in Awamoko, there are only 16 licensees for the year, and that three of them hold, respectively, 10,000, 6,781, and 4,500 acres. It is most evident that the proclamation of that Hundred has not answered its purpose, of keeping 80 and 100 acre farms ready for immigrants. In the Kakanui Hundred, there are only four licensees, and their holdings are 8042, 8000, 5900, and 50 acres. Has that Hundred been declared for the benefit of small farmers or immigrants? In neither the Waikawa nor Catlins Hundred is there a single licensee; but it must be said that the country is very bushy. In the Tukurau Hundred, there are 18 licensees; and three of them hold 1400, 1000, and 1000 acres. In the Mokoreta Hundred, there are 12 licensees; in Toi Toes, 9; and in Maruwhenua (only 8000 acres remaining unsold in the Hundred) there are but three licensees, who hold respectively 4500, 5100, and 4500 acres. In the Pomahaka Hundred, which was declared in 1801, there is only one licensee; and he has the right of running cattle over 15,000 acres of country. Many of you have seen the Hundred system in operation in the early days of the Province, when I believe it worked excellently; and you have, and rightly, a veneration for an institution which has served you well. But it does not follow, that you ought not now to look reasonably into the matter, so as to see whether, while you still use the name "Hundreds," the course of legislation has not shut you out from giving effect to the principle you formerly recognised under that name.—(Hear, hear.) In opposing the Land Bill, I left it open to the Province to have, to some extent, regained the power of giving effect to that old principle; and those who opposed me and others in the Council, and who supported the Bill in the Assembly, have cut away from those who wanted to attempt to carry out the old principle and spirit of Hundreds, all possibility of their doing so. We have not to deal with theory, but with practice. The Government have acted with perfect fairness on the Land Question. I ask you, "In the course which the Government took as to Hundreds, did they not do more for Hundreds than they would have done if they had simply allowed resolutions to be passed, without any evidence being taken?"—(Hear, hear.) I ask you also, what pretence there can be, for saying that the Hundreds question was at the bottom of the Opposition during last session? I wish you to understand this, very clearly: It must not be understood that the Government mean that any obstacle should be thrown in the way of the obtainment of such land as is required for purposes of settlement. Any persons administering the Government of Otago should, and must, see that there is ample land open for sale to those who require it for settlement. There is no difficulty in the way of doing that. We have a Pastoral Rental of between L50,000 and L60,000; and, even if we have to buy for the purpose, I say we must take care that there is plenty of land available for settlement. I had the curiosity yesterday, to ascertain what land there now is surveyed into sections and open for sale. There are persons who do not scruple to say that there is no land to be obtained but, what is the fact? There are now 1330 lots surveyed, in small farms, say from about 25 to 500 acres, ready for applicants. And we must not forget that there is a new system in operation over a portion of the country, the Goldfields—that of agricultural settlement. There are now 246,000 acres open for agricultural lease on the Goldfields, and more land is being, from week to week, acquired for the purpose. I find that we have already granted 599 such leases, and that there are 216 applications under consideration. As you no doubt know, an agricultural lease means taking up 50 acres under lease, with a clause giving the right to purchase at the end of three years. With these things as facts, it cannot be fairly said that the Government is unmindful of the obligation to keep land open for settlement; and another fact is, that the Government is endeavoring to obtain fresh land. With the money put at its command last session, it is possible that one of the best pieces of land in the country will be obtained and be opened under the old system of Hundreds. The Government is sincerely anxious to steer clear through the difficult course created by the Land Act. The Government is determined to do justice to the obligations incurred; to see that there shall constantly be land open for settlement; and to obtain that land at the very best possible advantage for the Province.—(Applause.) I beg of you, do not be misled by designing persons. Do not suppose that there is not a very difficult problem to be worked out under the Land Act: and do not for a moment suppose that, by putting a set of dummies on the Government benches, you will get that problem worked out.—(Applause.) Very great capital was made, during the session of the Provincial Council, about a proposal to sell at 10s an acre, land in Hundreds. That was a principle which I believe, in the first instance, was eminently unfair to those who had purchased in Hundreds, and who were entitled to expect the right to remain to them of running cattle over the unsold portion of the land, until it fetched L1 an acre. But, in any Land Act, there was required to be included a principle of selling land in quantity, for revenue. The Council and the Assembly determined to give effect to the principle of sale at 10s an acre, after Hundreds had been declared seven years: and that was the revenue-raising principle embodied in the Land Act. The Government last session saw that it was absolutely necessary that revenue under the 10s clause should be obtained. Land in the southern Hundreds had been sold under that clause; and the question arose whether the Northern Hundreds should be similarly dealt with. A violent opposition was got up—an opposition based upon no principle, except that the proposal seemed; to be a

popular one to attack the Government upon. Mr Reid was amongst the opponents of the Government on the point. When it was proposed, formerly, that the sale at 10s might be after a Hundred had been declared three years, Air Reid proposed to substitute seven years—and I think he did very rightly. As the law stands, the 10s clause cannot be put into operation without the consent of the Provincial Council; but Mr Reid's plan was to sell without such consent. find that, in the Council, Mr Reid proposed the following amendment:—

That the following be substituted for the portion of the clause embraced in the *memo.*, viz. "Provided always, that alter the lands within any Hundred, either already proclaimed or to be proclaimed under the provisions of this Act, shall have remained open for selection and sale for a full period of seven years from the time of the same having been first opened for selection and sale, the portion thereof remaining unsold after such period of seven years may be offered for sale at a price of ten shillings per acre."

Another gentleman who took a very prominent part in the Opposition last session—a gentleman who was a member of the Government which will be historically known as the "No-New-Works Government"—(laughter)—and who, I believe, boasts of being a very extensive landed proprietor and farmer in the Clutha district—Mr Thomson, I mean, who almost led us to believe that he would prefer to "die upon the floor of the House" rather than yield upon the 10s clause—this gentleman, I find, absolutely proposed that, instead of 10s the price should be 5s an acre. This was his proposal, as an amendment, directly after Mr Reid's was negated:—

That the following words be added, v'z:—"And any portion thereof remaining unsold after a period of seven years, may, with the sanction of the Superintendent and Provincial Council, be offered for sale by public auction to all bidders, at the upset price of five shillings per acre, upon the terms and under the provisions contained in sections 53 54, 55, and 56 of this Act."

Yu may have, now, a fair idea of the casistency of those who took so prominat a part in obstructing the business of the Council last session.—(Hear, bear.) I and to call your attention to this point, wich seems to be very much forgotten: We are not now in the position we were a few years ago, when it was almost understod that the population of the Province was divided into two classes, calling for superlative attention—the Agricultural and the Pastoral. We have now a third class in the Province, which is essential to its progress—the Industrial.—(Hear, har.) If the landed estate is to be mnipulated purely with a view to profit a few persons, agricultural or pastoral—if we are to overlook the heavy burdens of the country, which the industrial class tae their share in bearing—I say that we shall be altogether shutting the door to this industrial class, which is one of the most valuable the country can possess.—(Applause.) Major Richardson, in his speech at the Clutha, led his hearers to brieve that the whole of the taxation neessarily falls upon the purchasers of lad; and he managed, by implication, totell them, that the farmers had the burden to bear. He said that the runhoders and the merchants "sit lightly upon the surface of society:" that they could get away at a moment's notice, almost, and that the purchasers of land weld have all the burden to bear. I say that a statement of that kind is not only crude—it is mischievous.—(Hear, her.) The industrial portion of the community has a large claim to consideration—n equal claim to that of any other class.—(Applause.) The laboring class, the manufacturing class, the trading class, do not "sit lightly upon the surface of society." If we have wise legislation, thee are ties cemented through residence in he country, by other interests than the mere possession of freehold land, which disentitle us from saying that such persons "it lightly on the surface of society." A mm with freehold estate might realise his property much more easily than a tradesman or a merchant, or a manufacturer, could close his business and dispose of his stock of goods or machinery. Am I to be toll that a man who starts a brewery, or a paper manufactory, or anything of the kind, does not benefit the Province? In other days, before we had realised our larded estate, this matter might have been looted upon very differently: but now, we have realised a considerable portion of that estate—we have incurred heavy liabilities—and we must recognise the industrial element in our midst, which includes mining, of course. I believe that one of the greatest faults found with the Government is simply that the Government conceive that one class of the community is not entitled to exclusive consideration. I may be addressing those who are interested in agricultural pursuits; but I must say, that while agriculturists are entitled to have their interests watched over and protected, they are not entitled to exclusive protection—(applause)—and that, let them agitate as they may, they will find that they will lose by claiming any such thing—for it always happens that where any persons pretend to a dominant influence they are not entitled to, they obtain less consideration and influence than they really are entitled to. I believe that if you were to poll those who follow agricultural pursuits, you would find a large majority who do not claim to occupy the position of having a right to ask from the Province a larger share of protection or attention than is given to other classes of the community.—(Hear, hear.) The Government has been honestly and anxiously desirous to promote all the interests which are represented in the Province. They have desired to give assistance to the agricultural, the manufacturing, and the mining interest. I believe that very little time will elapse before there is a Sugar Factory in the Province. There is already on the way here, a large quantity of the very best kind of Sugar Beet seed; and it is proposed to distribute it with a view of obtaining seed, so as to cultivate Beet

extensively. There is reason to believe that a Woollen Factory will before long be established in Milton—(hear, hear)—and another is talked of in Dunedin—under the stimulus of the bonus offered by the Government. There is another matter which the Government has taken in hand most warmly—which the Government will never rest satisfied until it has carried out—and which is quite as important to you as the question, whether this or that farmer is able to obtain grazing rights beyond his immediate neighborhood. I say, that the day on which a Railway to the Clutha is commenced, will be a grand day for Tokomairiro—(applause)—and the Government will never be content until that work is commenced. Had it not been for the new idol—this "most popular man in the country, Major Richardson"—we should last session have got the Otago Southern Trunk Railway included in the Public Debts Act, and so have got money at 6 per cent, instead of having difficulty in getting it at 8 per cent.—(Hear, hear.) It is from the present much-abused Government that you get the L2 to L1 subsidy for Road Districts—(A Voice: We can't get it)—and for towns. It is very well for Major Richardson—but perhaps you think that I am referring too much to him; so let me put the matter in a fair light before you. Major Richardson comes down, and, for about the fifth time, he makes "his last appearance" on the political stage. When public performers or others make last appearances and take benefits, once or twice, people are lenient with them; but when the thing is repeated five or six times, folks are liable to begin to inquire into the matter. Major Richardson comes down here at a time when the Government have just had a very hard fight upon many matters: he comes down possessed of considerable influence, and a grace of manner and style in which he is not excelled by any public man in New Zealand, and he speaks—very innocently, no doubt. But we can see through it all, and can discern its object—which is, simply, to strengthen the feeling of dissatisfaction which is abroad in the Province.—("Hear, hear," and applause.) At a time when money was as plentiful as money well could be, did the Road Districts get their L2 to L1? No, it has been left to this Government to give practical effect to the many fine theories on that subject.—("Hear, hear," and applause.) You are asked to make, and told that you ought to make, great organic changes in your institutions. I ask you to consider well, before you give up what you have.—(Hear, hear.) I think that Otago, notwithstanding all its difficulties, has much of which to be proud. Are our Educational Institutions not such as we may be proud of? Are they suffering, in the hands of the Provincial Government? Since we have been in office, we have had very difficult departmental reforms to carry out. The Gaol department and the Pilot department were in a wretched state of disorganisation. They are not so now; and it is really not easy to re-model departments. I need not speak of the difficulties thrown upon the Government by the seizure of the Goldfields. But for the strong action of the Government, would not that most important portion of the Province have been made into a County, like Westland, or on the model of Timaru? Personally, it matters very little to me whether you agree with me on these things: in a public point of view, it matters to me very much, because I feel a very keen interest in public matters, [think it is right that those who have control of the affairs of the Province, and that its electors, should well understand what they are about, and should not lightly sanction changes which they may have occasion to regret.—(Hear, hear.)

The General and Provincial Governments.—Local Government Scheme.

I now come to the Provincial and General Government question. We are told that there is very general discontent with the present relations between the Provincial and the General Governments, and, in fact, with Provincial Institutions altogether—that there is a "great cry" of discontent throughout New Zealand. But, I ask you, how is it possible that there should be satisfaction with our institutions, when those who have it in charge to conserve and preserve them, are doing all that they can to sow-dissatisfaction? When the General Government, by its members or its agents, is going up and down New Zealand, month after month, sowing discontent with existing institutions, how is it possible that the people can be content? It is easy even for members of the Provincial Council, by persistency, to create discontent: how much more easy is it for those who, with the large powers of the General Government, go about preaching that Provincial Institutions are so bad, they must be swept away! If we had here in New Zealand a really perfect Constitution, those who have charge of its working could always create dissatisfaction as to it, by a course of conduct such as that of which I am complaining. And what is one result of such conduct? This: The moment a Provincial Government or Council exercises its powers for right—the moment a stand is made upon any point against any suppliant—the retort is, "We will appeal to the General Government!"—(Hear, hear.) There is a constant bidding going on by the General Government, or its agents—"If the Province will not give you this, come to us, and see what we will give you."—(Laughter.) When the Provincial Government, after a most minute examination into the subject, said, "We cannot consent to throw an enormous number of thousands of pounds into the sea, for what is called an Oamaru breakwater," the reply from Oamaru was, "Then, we will ask to have the district formed into a County!" Waikouaiti asks for L6000, for a breakwater, or a jetty there, and the Council does not see its

way to grant it. "Waikouaiti will go over to the General Government," we are told. Is it not clear that this system is making the General Government a rallying point for discontented Provincial minorities?—a thing which, long ago it was said would be, and which is now becoming a fact. And how is it possible that Provincial Institutions can work well, when people are constantly invited, if they are dissatisfied with a decision against them, no matter how just it may be, to appeal elsewhere? The cry against the Provinces is in some measure a personal cry. There are men in the Colony who think that New Zealand was made only for them to govern; and who, if they fail to get power through the Provincial Government, feel bound to get it through the General Government.—(Hear, hear.) Whilst they are connected with the General Government, they do all they can against the Provinces; but if they find themselves in "the cold shade of Opposition," they are not indisposed again to throw themselves upon the Provinces from which they came. This cry about the necessity for increasing the power of the Central Government, comes simply from the Government in power: turn them out, and you "will hear little more of such a cry. Those men are more likely, when out, to proclaim, as they have done before, that it is most desirable to limit the power of the General Government!—(Hear, hear.) They thus turn great questions into a mere game of personal ambition. We must see that this conduct is at the bottom of a great deal of the discontent in the Colony. "Abolish the Provinces," it is cried; "they have worked out that for which they were designed." In the next breath, almost, we are told, that the Provinces must be abolished, because so many of them are in difficulties. I put it to you, if we abandon Provincial Institutions, when so much of the work for which they were designed remains to be done, that some of the Provinces have still nearly all their Colonising work before them, will it not be a confession that the system has been a failure (Hear, hear.) I ask you to agree with me in this—Provincial Institutions have stood between the Colony and the frittering away of an enormous amount of resources. Whatever amount, out of the Three Million Loan, has been thrown away during the last your years, something has been saved: and how saved, but by Provincial means? When there was an enormous overdraft at the Bank, and the General Government was at its wit's ends for means to supply that leech, Native Purposes, do you think that anything stood in the way of applying the money to purposes wholly foreign to Colonisation, except that the Provinces had still some power left to obtain a portion of the money?—"Hear, hear," and applause.) I am told that Provincial Institutions are doomed—1. Because of their difficulties.—2. Because a Local Government system must supersede them. In respect to their difficulties: I think the means are rather mistaken for an end. Why are the Provinces in difficulties! Simply because they have been doomed to fight with the General Government, instead of acting harmoniously with it. If there had been a General Government disposed to aid and to foster: the Provinces, these difficulties would not, I think, have existed.—(Hear, hear.) And what is this Local Government system which is to supersede Provincial Institutions? I say, that a Local Government system owing its inspiration to the Provinces would be a most excellent system; and I have shown unmistakably my opinion that it is most desirable that a system of Local Government should be to the utmost extended, under proper and careful restrictions. Otago has given an earnest on that point, by its system of L2 for every L1 raised by local rates. But it is said that the outlying districts, from one end of the Colony to the other, are sending up a cry that the Provinces should be done away with. I do not believe it, except to this extent—That a premium has been offered for discontent; and that dissatisfaction is very wide spread, from the fact that every one feels, no matter how prosperous his district may be, that a large proportion of the money raised by taxation, instead of being spent on industrial and reproductive purposes, is thrown away on purposes in which the Colonists have very little interest. As a rule, the Outlying districts, I think, have very little reason to complain. I will take Otago. I do not say that money has not been wasted here, for there is a certain amount of mis Government everywhere: but if we have not done all that possibly could have been done, have we not done a great deal? Have we not extended roads to points that, not so very long since, were deemed almost inaccessible? Is not the road to Queenstown a really immense work? Is there not a metalled road to, and beyond, Tokomai-riro, and is there not to be a railway to the Clutha? Is not the north of the Province opened up? To me, it seems that the fact that all parts are complaining is the best proof that all parts have been fairly dealt with. If only one part complained, I might think that it had been badly dealt with: but with all complaining, the complaint means—Regret that there is not a larger amount of money to give them: and every one must share that regret.—(Applause.) I think that a Local Government system administered by the Province may become a really useful one, because I can understand that it may be carried out. A uniform system attempted by the General Government, over the whole Colony, would, firstly, produce a disruption of Provincial Institutions; and would, secondly, itself prove a failure, simply because there are no means at the command of the Colony by which Local Government, on an extensive scale, can be introduced. Otago can do it, because Otago has attained to a certain position; but, I repeat, the means are not in existence for a Uniform system throughout the Colony. A Local Government system will not give a larger revenue than there is now: it implies, and will amount to, only a different form of Government—a form which would be much more expensive than the Provincial form, because there would be a large army of officials to be maintained. Take the case of two Provinces, one able to give to the districts L2 to L1 on rates locally raised, and the other able to give

only 5s in the pound. Give a uniform system to those two Provinces, and which would be most benefited by it? Probably, we could not afford a 5s in the pound subsidy throughout New Zealand, because the Colony as a whole is not ripe for a system of Local Government. Recollect this : we here have to some extent an inheritance in this Province, and the inhabitants of the other Provinces have, in each case, a similar inheritance, In Otago, there has been an enormous amount of money paid for land; and the persons who have bought that land have a right to consider that there is some title left to them—some consolidated title in respect to the Province. They have no right to be asked to go into partnership with another Province, where land has been given away, or comparatively so.—(Hear, hear.) Supposing we had, in the early days, decided to give away land : could those who received it complain, if they were heavily taxed after-wards?—(Hear, hear.) If we look into the matter, throughout the Colony—if we ascertain how much land has, in each : Province, been alienated, and how much : Land Revenue has been obtained in exchange—the figures will stand thus :— Consider these differences. Are we, who have raised such a revenue from our lands, and spent the money on industrial and reproductive purposes, to pay taxes in future, so as to save those who have obtained their lands for nothing. Those who have obtained 567,000 acres for 186,000, or those who have obtained lands at other prices shown by the figures I have stated, ought to be able to tax themselves more largely than we can do here, where over L1 has been raised for every acre of land that has been parted with or than the people of Canterbury, where over L2 an acre has been received. I do not want to complain of, or to interfere with, the systems adopted in other Provinces; but I say that it is impossible to amalgamate systems that have had such different origins. It is impossible to place all the Provinces upon a common foundation now, without doing gross injustice.—(Applause.) We are told that, under the new system, we are to preserve our Land Revenue. But see what a fallacy that is. If we are to have the Provincial system superseded by a system of; Local Boards and County Boards, will it not be a fact, that when all functions have been taken from Provinces, Provincial distinctions will soon be forgotten, to some extent at least? Will the members of a County Board, hungering for money, have much care for the traditions of a Provincial system? No, they will have the present requirements of their County to think of, and they will not care for what relates to a Province. A County Board in Taranaki, which, equally with one in Otago, has been called into existence by the Assembly, will demand equal attention; and if you are to give a stated sum to the Board in Otago, the Board in Taranaki will ask for and expect a corresponding sum. And it is only fair that it should be so, after all. You may hesitate to call such things into existence; but if the Assembly does choose to have an enormous number of bantlings, the Assembly will feel called upon to do justice to all of them. It is a question, whether the Assembly shall be allowed to have those bantlings—or rather, to rob the Provinces of the children borne to them.—(Laughter.) As long as we preserve the Provincial distinctions, we are safe; but hand the Local Government scheme to the Assembly, and then, as between County and County, we should not be entitled to refer back to old considerations, nor to claim for one County more consideration and assistance than we were prepared to allow to others. A Local Government system so inaugurated would assuredly prove a failure; but before it came to an end, every means of the Provinces would be exhausted, including the Land Revenue. Another thing you must remember is, that, in relinquishing Provincial Institutions we should, virtually, be relinquishing Representative Government. We should live under a system of dictatorship—under an arbitrary system carried out by travelling members of the General Government. You have a sample of it, in the case of Westland. The Postmaster General presided over that County. He is very amiable and good-natured; and he allowed the members of the Board, as almost the first thing they did, to vote themselves a salary of L150 each.—(Laughter.) But then they began to talk about expenditure, and the difference was at once seen. "Oh!" he said, "this money is the General Government's, I am happy, of course, to receive your advice; but please to recollect that I am not bound to follow it." In fact, that system only means—Revenue raised by the General Government, to be expended without appropriation. It is a system which, to some, may seem attractive while it is new. I do not think it is even attractive while new; but imagine two or three years of this absolute expenditure at the will of a member of the General Government, and then how will the system be liked? How would we like to have the control of expenditure here handed over to possibly a competent, or possibly, an incompetent, member of the General Government? It is a contingency which we shall certainly risk, if we consent to sacrifice our existing institutions. A tendency to give increased power to the General Government, has been shown by recent Acts of the Legislature; but this system of Local Government without Provincial Councils, which would really place an enormous amount of revenue in the power of that Government, would be the most arbitrary system imaginable, and would give to the Government very large sums, to be spent without appropriation by anybody. It would be something like the mode in which the Three Million Loan was dealt with—and that was a thing, I believe, without example in any other British Colony, or in any other country owning Britain's sway. Three millions sterling have been spent, really without anything to be called appropriation. It is true, there were formal appropriations in lump sums for certain purposes; but the money has been spent in detail as the Government pleased. Is that the kind of system we want to see introduced? Do we want to have the country very heavily taxed, and to see the moneys expended without the control of those who have borne the taxation?

Remember, too, that there is a great deal of purely dry business now transacted in Provincial Councils, and that if you abolish those Councils, that business will have to go to the Assembly. Is the Assembly fitted to cope with it; My experience of the Assembly is, that it is most unfitted to deal with more business than it has. In fact, it cannot cope with what it has to do. Its legislation is spasmodic and hurried; Bills are passed, without anything like a study of their provisions; immense additions are made to the taxation of the Colony, without anything like deliberation; business, as a rule, is "rushed through." The Colonial Treasurer has every year to bring down a statement of accounts, the details of which are not laid before the House until twelve months after the statement has been made. It is, as it seems to me, just as much the business of the Colonial Treasurer to keep members in the dark as to the Colonial finance, as it is to inform them of its condition. Provincial Councils have a use which must not be alto-together overlooked. They are more homely and less pretentious than the General Assembly; but they purify the atmosphere of the Colonial Assembly. They keep out of the Assembly much that it is well should be kept out. If we had not Provincial Councils, I think it very likely that the Assembly would degenerate into a body like those in neighboring Colonies. We have, at present, the gratification of knowing that, however much hurried the business may be, as a rule, the Assembly, in most respects, is very much superior to similar bodies in neighboring Colonies. There are in the Assembly none of those sins against good manners and propriety that have become a scandal all over the world, and of which we read so often as occurring in the Legislative Bodies of neighboring Colonies.

Major Richardson and Sir George Grey.

Major Richardson thought it necessary, in his speech at the Clutha, to refer to the opinions of Sir George Grey, and of others, expressed some years ago, as to what would probably be the fate of Provincial Councils. It is rather a curious argument, that we should do away with those Councils, because certain great men, 20, or 10, or 5 years ago, said that they believed we should grow up to such a result; for it would be strange if such predictions should prove to be correct, however clever those who made them might be. Major Richardson did read such opinions from, amongst others, Sir George Grey: but it is only justice to Sir George to say that he long since altered those opinions—(hear, hear)—and recognised that Provincial Institutions were more enduring than he originally conceived them to be. I cannot acquit Major Richardson of a certain amount of want of frankness in reading such quotations; because, in the Assembly, last session, when he attempted to do the same kind of thing, the Hon. Mr Johnston, pointed out how ridiculous it was to attribute any weight to such prophetic utterances, and added, "As to Sir George Grey, I have a much later expression of his opinion, to the effect that Provincial Councils require to be elevated and improved." The Hon. Mr Johnston read to the House, according to *Hansard*, this extract from a despatch by Sir George Grey:—

In my previous despatches, I have generally supposed that the Provincial Councils would eventually merge into a kind of Municipal Councils. But the rapid growth of these settlements in wealth and prosperity, and the turn events are taking, now lead me to think that they will will always remain distinct and separate Provinces, and that provision should be made for enabling their pre sent form of Government, consisting of one chamber, to be changed by the General Legislature, into a form of Government composed of a Legislative Council and House of Representatives, whenever the number of inhabitants in any Province, and its wants, might render such a change in its form of Government practicable and desirable.

Was it fair of Major Richardson, to quote Sir George Grey as he did at the Clutha? I think not; and, therefore, I felt bound to state to you what passed in the Assembly last session, on the same point.—(Hear, hear.)

What Should be Done.—a Constitutional Party.

I must ask you to consider well the proposition, that we should not lightly abandon institutions which we have adopted and endeavored to work out, and which have worked—to some extent, at the least—beneficially. We hear, constantly, a great deal of sentimental nonsense as to "visions of future greatness" for New Zealand, and as to the country exercising a commanding influence in the Southern Seas." I don't know whether the commanding influence" is to be amongst the whales—(laughter)—or over the Chatham Islands—or what it is to be, and where exercised. No doubt, ambition is a most laudable thing. Many young men, no doubt, constantly indulge in ideas of future greatness, and determine, in their ambitious dreams, to work out for themselves noble careers. But would such young men be so utterly absurd as to suppose that, in order to carry out these aspirations in the future, they should refuse to adopt any obvious course for improving their present conditions, and so really aiding towards the ends they desired to shape for themselves? Do we not remember the story—told in the "Arabian Nights," I think—of the very ambitious person whose mode of life had been cast in the direction of hawking glassware? He sits down one day, and indulges in brilliant visions—great wealth, the

start towards which was to be made by the sale of the brittle fabrics he had in his basket—a fine house and servants, as the result of his great wealth—a desire, because of his high position, to kick one of his servants for insolence—his kicking—and so shattering all, upon the possession of which his brilliant visions had been based.—(Laughter.) If we are to talk of "commanding influence" and "future greatness," are we to forget that, however high our aspirations, we must look after the means that will lead us up to The realisation of such aspirations? Warren Hastings, in his youth, cherished great dreams of the future, his hope being to be able to buy back for himself, the landed estate of his ancestors. He lived to do that of which he dreamed: but because he had the dream, did he resolve that all was done, and that he needed not to be industrious? No, he succeeded by indefatigable industry and energy. So, in a lesser degree, with all of us who entertain visions of our brilliant successes that are to be: we work, that when the success comes, we may use and enjoy it worthily. And so as to this vision of the "future greatness" of New Zealand. I hope, nay, I feel sure, that we have great resources in this Colony, and that New Zealand may become a most important country. But I also feel that we should be guilty of the utmost imprudence, if, because of this possible future, we agreed to neglect obvious means of improving the country—means which we have used, and with success, up to the present time. I ask you to discard altogether, not the sentiment of aspiring to make of New Zealand a great country, but those unhealthy fungus growths which are made to hang upon the false sentiment, that because of the possibility of greatness, we should ignore or destroy the means which are present to us of taking steps necessary to the attainment of that greatness.—(Applause.) It is beneath our dignity, we are told, to have so many Provinces and Provincial Governments, because, ultimately, we are to grow up to be a great State: but, am I to be told, that when the time comes that we have attained to such a position that we ought to be relieved from further dependence upon Great Britain, it will not then be soon enough to make arrangements to bring the Colony together as one kingdom or State? In the existing division of the Colony into Provinces, we have the best guarantee possible that hasty steps will not be taken to sever that connection with Great Britain, which, I believe, the vast majority of the Colonists are proud to recognise and to acknowledge.—(Applause.) I have said that this cry for Local Government, which we are told comes from every part of the Colony, is evidence of no more than this—that the taxation imposed is greatly heavier than it should be, keeping in view the fairly colonising purposes to which taxation ought to be alone applied. But we are not to suppose that the few thousand pounds a-year spent upon Provincial Institutions—an expenditure which will be very much exceeded if the Provinces are divided into Counties and Road Districts under the General Government—we are not to suppose that those few thousand pounds will suffice to enable to be given to the new districts that which they really ask for—a larger share, for industrial and reproductive purposes, of the revenue of the Colony. The Colony is groaning under past misgovernment and general mismanagement; and the very men who are the cause of that state of things are the very men who attempt to take advantage of it, and who say to their victims, "It is we who are your friends. You had better give up to us what powers remain to you"—powers under which the people have obtained some protection, at any rate. It reminds one of a man who has his pocket picked in a crowd, by a thief who cannot contrive to escape; and who, therefore, raises a cry of "Thief," in order to direct suspicion to his victim.—(Hear, hear.) The Provinces have the utmost cause of complaint against the General Government, at whose hands they have suffered so much; but the General Government turns upon the Provinces, and charges them with the mismanagement for which that Government ought to be alone held responsible. The Provinces want from a General Government something more than money—they want sympathy and assistance. The same ingenuity which has been employed to frustrate the Provinces, and to place them in an altogether false position, would, if it had been devoted to aiding them, have placed the Provinces in a wholly different position. The Provinces have been guilty of faults, no doubt; but it is not from those faults alone they suffer, nor do Provincial faults constitute the majority of those which have been committed. You cannot have a greater curse, in such a country as this, than that the General Government should be constantly educating the people to dissatisfaction with Provincial Institutions. You may take away the Constitution under which the Colony has proceeded so far; but you cannot give to the people another Constitution which will earn so much of their respect and veneration.—(Hear, hear.) You will have to deal with a disappointed people—a people which once revered its Constitution, but which has been taught to believe that it did so under a mistake; and, though you give to the country a new Constitution, the people will be susceptibly open to the idea that it wants a third new Charter, and then a fourth, and so on. We have seen instances innumerable of this, in the people under the Spanish rule in South America. Those people never can be happy or contented, because they never see a form of Government which they can reverence—they never live under a form of Government which they do not recognise it as a duty to change, whenever the inclination and the opportunity to do so arise. What we want, is a Constitutional Party in New Zealand.—(Hear, hear.) There has been growing up, of late years, a feeling that we are at liberty continually to meddle with our Constitution, in the direction of revolutionising it. I hope that, in the coming session of the Assembly, there will be a determination by the party with which I have hitherto acted, to discard the title "Provincial," and to adopt that of "The Constitutional Party"—(applause)—and that it will

devote itself to the maintainance of the integrity of the Constitution.—(Applause.) I do not ask that it shall be said that the Constitution is not susceptible of improvement: I only ask, that it shall not be revolutionised.—(Applause.) Let it be declared that, of the free will of their peoples, Provinces may unite; and declare other modifications if you will, so long as they are in the direction which the Constitution itself contemplates. Do what you will, tending to mature the Constitution; but let there be resistance to everything tending to revolutionise it.—(Applause.) I hope we shall soon see in existence, and in activity, a party which has for its motto, "The Preservation of the Constitution, as it was given to New Zealand!"—(Applause.)

Provincialism Encouraged and Needed Elsewhere.

When we compare our Institutions, as they have been developed, under the Provincial form, throughout the Colony, with the institutions of other Colonies, we have no reason to be dissatisfied. If we are not so wealthy as some of our neighbors, we have other reasons for satisfaction with being as we are. In Queensland, the Government are introducing measures with a view to a Provincial system. I believe that until a Provincial system is introduced in New South Wales, there will never be removed that curse of crime which is now overspreading the Colony. Have not, our Provincial Institutions worked well in aiding Education?—(Hear, hear.) Do we find that, in our outlying districts, we have a population growing up, not only without education, but with an inclination to crime? I believe firmly, that until something like our form of Government is at work in New South Wales, that Colony will never escape the crime taint which is now blighting its population. In Victoria, I believe, Provincialism would be a cure for the disgraceful state of things which has so long existed in that Colony—want of appropriations year after year—the public service, and creditors in the Colony, long delayed in payment, and vastly inconvenienced as a consequence. If that mischievous political activity which has done so much to bring about the existing complications in Victoria could be absorbed in the narrower sphere of Provincialism, I believe that the Colonial Legislature would be much purer and wiser than it now is. What is the tendency in the new Dominion of Canada, but that of introducing a Provincial system with much larger powers than those which the Provinces of New Zealand have exercised? What is the difference between the parts of the United States and our Provinces, except that a State has greater powers than a Province? All the world over, as I believe, the tendency is to an encouragement of a Provincial system of Government, with a Federal union. The result of such a system, I think, is to constitute a powerful State, by first making healthy and vigorous its several parts in the shape of Provinces.—(Applause.) At present, in New Zealand, we cannot improve our Provincial Institutions, because, on the slightest appearance of discontent, an appeal is encouraged, and is made, elsewhere for a change. Let the people understand that the Provincial system will continue to exist, and the people will then set to work to improve that system. You will then have better Provincial Councils and Governments: the whole machinery of the system will be bettered and invigorated. It is the uncertainty of continuance which causes men, when error or fault is seen, not to seek to improve the system, but to fly to any empirical propounder of a scheme for changing it.—(Applause.) It is in times of trial that the value of things is tested. I None can say how a rich and prosperous man who never knew temptation, would act if tempted as thousands of the poor are tempted daily. I would urge upon you that now, in the time of trial and temptation, when our Constitution is in danger, because of the difficulties which have been made to appear to surround its working—now is the time when you should remember what that Constitution has done for the country, and what it is capable of doing, if it is honestly administered. The present is the time for the people to declare, "We have lived under this Constitution. We love it. It has upon the whole worked well. We shall never get another which we can love as we have loved this one. We will stand by, and preserve, that which we have!"—(Applause.) The people will not regret so saving and so doing. I am second to none, in the aspiration that New Zealand may become a great country. But I believe that greatness, as a whole, is best sought by resolving to secure sound healthiness in the several parts.—(Applause.) I desire not to see New Zealand with a brilliant outside, and with rottenness within. No change in the form of your Government will enable you to change shillings of revenue into pounds; but you may painfully scoop up all the shillings you can command, and place them at the absolute disposal of a Central Government. You may sacrifice your Provincial system, for one called Local; and you may find as the result, one gorgeous system in the centre, and elsewhere nothing that can be independent, or responsible, or useful. Is it not better to accept New Zealand as it is, and to labor to improve what is? By a wonderfully courageous experiment, these islands have been colonised as from many different points. It would be vain, with our means, to attempt a more diffusive system: the utmost limit, in that respect, has been reached. Let us resolve that the country shall be great hereafter, if greatness may be achieved; but that, at all events, we will build up its parts soundly and healthily, with patient love for our work, and animated by the conviction that if greatness may not be achieved, at least happiness will be secured. We may have better than a splendid—we may have a happy land.—(Applause.) Truly has it been said—

Ye friends of truth, ye statesmen who survey

The rich man's joys increase, the poor's decay—

'Tis yours to say, how wide the limits stand. Between a splendid and a happy land!

(Loud and prolonged applause.) Mr Vogel resumed his seat, his speech having occupied just two hours.

Mr MUIR: If a Bill was brought into the Assembly to endow Local or District Road Boards, would you support it?

Mr VOGEL: If the endowment is to come through the Province, and to be paid out of Provincial revenue—Yes. I introduced such a Bill into the Assembly, the session before last. If the endowment is to come from the Consolidated Revenue, and the working of the system to be by the Central Government—No.

In reply to questions by Mr W. A. Murray,

Mr VOGEL said he was perfectly sure that the Provinces could be strengthened and invigorated, and the system brought back to what it was originally intended to be, without the injustice of giving to one Province what belonged to another. He did not object to the Assembly codifying the laws of the Colony as opportunities presented themselves; but he did object to scraps of additional power to the General Government being thrown in, from time to time, during the work of codification. Of course, the Assembly would legislate from time to time; and legislation by the Assembly would, by the provisions of the Constitution Act, supersede legislation upon the same subjects by any of the Provincial Councils. Let the Assembly go on honestly, year by year, making laws that were common to all the Provinces: the more that was done in that way, the less there would be left for the Provincial Councils to legislate upon. But let not Provincial Councils be deprived of legislative powers, which they might frequently be able to use for the public benefit. He had by no means said, or implied, that improvements or alterations in the Constitution Act might not be necessary: what he had said was, that it was our duty to mature the Constitution in its pure spirit, not to revolutionise it. He thought it would be well to ask the Imperial Government and Parliament to provide that the Constitution Act should not be altered without the assent of a clear majority of two-thirds of the Assembly. He did not think that 50 acres ought to be the limit of land to be given under an Agricultural Lease. Indeed, last session, he did all he could to get the quantity increased to 100 acres. Mr Mervyn and himself worked together on the subject. The House of Representatives passed the amendment, but the Legislative Council threw it out, after two Conferences had taken place. The Assembly had no power to say that what it did one session should not be undone the next; but it was exceedingly unlikely, if a distilling interest grew up under the Act establishing a differential duty on spirits, that the Assembly would then do away with that duty. He supported the differential duty; Mr Reid, he believed, opposed it, as not necessary.

Mr J. L. GILLIES: You have referred to the many mischievous statements which are being made. A statement has been made in this Province, that we are getting deeper and deeper into debt every day. Can you tell us, how much deeper in debt we are now, than we were when the L500,000 Loan was expended, though not negotiated, under Major Richardson's Superintendency ?

Mr VOGEL: There has not been one fresh loan since that time. There has been a guarantee on the railway given, and on a dock, and other guarantees to a small amount; but instead of the loan-debt having been increased, about L40,000 of Sinking Fund has accrued.

Mr MUIR: Was there not a proposal made to the Council last session, for a loan of L120,000?

Mr VOGEL: Yes; but that is not a loan contracted.—(Laughter.)

Mr MUIR: There was a resolution passed by the Council last session, that the Government be instructed to give notice to all their officers, so that the services of all or any of those officers might be dispensed with, on or before the 30th April, 1869. Has that been done ?

Mr GILLIES urged that it was most unfair to put such a question, except in the Provincial Council.

Mr MUIR: I may not have an opportunity of putting it there.

Mr VOGEL could only reply, that the subject was still under the consideration of the Government. The great difficulty of the Government was to understand what the Council intended by the resolution. On one hand, it was said to be the idea of the Select Committee from which the resolution came, that certain officers should be at once paid off, receiving 12 months' salary: on the other, that every officer was now to receive 12 months' notice, and that, at the end of the notice, those not needed should be discharged.

Mr MUIR: The idea was, without doing anything like injustice, to put the Government in a position to get rid of those officers who are not needed.

In reply to Mr Jones,

Mr VOGEL said that he was not at liberty to state the precise position of the negotiations as to the Railway. They were going on, and the Government had hopes of success. The Government would, during the session of the Assembly, do all that was possible, to secure that, if the present negotiations failed, the Railway should be secured by other means. He believed that the commencement of the Railway was a much nearer thing than many people supposed. He was opposed to protection; but he thought it perfectly legitimate to offer special inducements for the starting of industries which might, and he believed would, be able then to maintain

themselves permanently, without bounties.

A few other questions having been asked and answered,

Mr GILLIES moved—

That this meeting thank Mr Vogel for his courtesy and promptitude in responding to a request to address a meeting in Tokomairiro, and express a general approval of the views he has enunciated this evening, especially those bearing upon the Relations of the General and Provincial Governments.

Mr CHURCH seconded the motion; and it was adopted unanimously, and with loud applause.

The proceedings were concluded with thanks to Mr Brown, for presiding.

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Correspondence

Between The Hon. the Premier of New Zealand, And, His Honor the Superintendent of Otago, *Relative to the Proposed Abolition of Provinces.*

1.—The Hon. the Premier to His Honor the Superintendent.

Government Buildings, Wellington,

March 28, 1876.

SIR,—I have the honor to inform you that Messrs. William Gisborne, William Seed, and John Knowles are visiting in succession all the Provinces in order to obtain for the Colonial Government the information necessary to prepare estimates for the Provincial services after the Abolition of Provinces takes place. The Government desire to ascertain the extent to which it is found practicable, without occasioning local inconvenience, to incorporate some of the Provincial with the General Government departments.

I shall be obliged if your Honor will extend to these gentlemen your good offices, by giving them your views on points about which they seek advice, as also by placing them in a position to obtain the information they require. May I ask your Honor to introduce them to the members of your Executive, and to any officers of the Provincial service with whom it is desirable they should consult, as also to allow them access to the Provincial offices.

For your Honor's information I enclose a copy of the instructions with which the three gentlemen have been furnished, and which are the same in respect to all the Provinces.

I have, &c.,

JULIUS VOGEL.

His Honor the Superintendent of Otago.

(Enclosure in No. 1.)

Government Buildings, Wellington,

March 28, 1876.

GENTLEMEN,—The Government wish you to visit all the Provinces in order to obtain the information requisite for preparing and submitting to the Assembly the estimates for carrying on the public services in the Provinces during the coming year.

It is especially desirable not to make changes so suddenly as to cause local inconvenience. Whilst, therefore, some of the departments may be at once incorporated with the General Government service, it may be found desirable to continue for some time others on a more or less local footing. For example—it is proposed to arrange to make local payments for contracts in progress for works which, as soon as the necessary arrangements can be effected, will devolve upon the local governing bodies, for which it is intended to make provision during the coming session.

For your guidance I have to inform you that the Government intend to incorporate, as stated below, Provincial with General Government services. In some respects, as for instance, the Land and Education

administrations, which it is desirable to continue under local control, the incorporation will mean little more than the appointment of the General Government department with which the local department will correspond.

With respect to Charitable Institutions, it will scarcely be necessary for you to do more than indicate their present cost and footing, as they will be handed over to local control, without, it is hoped, any intervening taking charge by the Colonial Government. With regard to the Police Forces, it would be better for you to confine yourselves to reporting on the present cost and standing of the various forces.

You will be so good as to suggest to the General Government the appropriations which you consider necessary under the circumstances I have pointed out, and also to indicate the officers whom you think might be dispensed with. To save you the feelings of regret which such an invidious task might otherwise occasion, I have to inform you that the Government propose to ask the Legislature to make much larger provision than at present authorised by way of compensation to the officers dispensed with. In most cases it may be better to indicate the office which you think can be spared than to name the holder of it.

You will, as soon as you arrive in the Province, present to the Superintendent the accompanying letter of introduction. If, as I do not doubt, the Superintendents meet you in the courteous and conciliatory spirit in which you are accredited to them, you will defer as much as you feel justified in doing to their advice, and when you do not concur with it you will not fail to represent it to the Government. You will be careful to treat them with the respect their high position merits, and to remember that their functions still continue, and that the General Government are not entitled to do more at present than to seek information which will enable them to adequately discharge the responsibilities the law devolves on them after next session.

The Provincial Auditors, who are General Government officers, will render you such aid as you may require from them, for which these instructions will be sufficient warrant.

The following transfers of Provincial Departments are proposed :—

All Executive Departments connected with uncompleted clerical work, the keeping of records, &c., to be in the Colonial Secretary's Department.

The Police Forces to be in the Minister of Justice's Department.

The Crown Lands, Survey, Goldfields' Departments, and the Inspectors of Sheep, to be in the Secretary for Crown Lands Department.

The Railway and Public Works Departments and the Public Plantations to be in the Minister for Public Works' Department.

The Harbour Departments to be placed in the Commissioner of Customs' Department.

Education, for a time at least, in the Minister of Justice's Department.

The Hospitals, Lunatic Asylums, Industrial Institutions, Charitable Aid Organisations, Orphan Asylums, Public Libraries, and Museums—subject to arrangements to be made for the continuance of local control of Charitable Institutions—to be in the Colonial Secretary's Department.

I have, &c.,

JULIUS VOGEL.

Messrs Wm. Gisborne, Wm. Seed, John Knowles.

2.—His Honor the Superintendent to the Hon. the Premier.

Province of Otago, N.Z., Superintendent's Office, Dunedin,

April 6, 1876.

SIR,—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of 28th March, informing me that Messrs. Gisborne, Seed, and Knowles, are visiting this Province for the purpose therein stated; and enclosing copy of instructions with which these gentlemen have been furnished.

In reply I have to say, that the present action of the Colonial Executive, in taking for granted that the New Parliament, to which was relegated the ratification or otherwise of "The Abolition of Provinces Bill," will ratify the same, appears to me to be premature, and that it will be time enough to take such action after the Parliament has determined as to what is to be the specific form of Government for the future.

I cannot for a moment suppose that in the case of Otago, where under much abused Provincial Institutions, the Province has grown up and flourished to a marvellous extent, these institutions are to be wantonly destroyed in the very prime of their manhood, and directly in the teeth of the declared and all but unanimous desire and convictions of the people. I feel persuaded that if a plebiscite were taken on this question, a vast proportion of the votes would be on one side, and in favor of the Province retaining its own revenues, distributing them on its

own behalf, and working out its own destiny in its own way.

Your favourite idea of Counties, with fixed endowments, far more permanent and secure than any that is likely to be acquired from Colonial Legislation, has been for years within reach of the people of Otago, if they chose to avail themselves thereof, and it needs no action on the part of the Colonial Legislature to confer that privilege on them.

Under all the circumstances of the case, I desire to be excused from being a party to initiating the policy now in question, as being alike disastrous to the interests and repugnant to the feelings and wishes of the people of Otago.

I cannot recognise the right of the rest of the Colony to force upon Otago any system of administration of its local affairs which is to be centred at Wellington, and which does not commend itself to the judgment of the people concerned.

It is bad enough, for example, that Taranaki, with 6,000 people, should have an equal voice in the disposal of the consolidated revenue, as has Dunedin with its population of 25,000; and it will be infinitely worse, that in disposing of our territorial revenues and dealing with the domestic affairs of Otago, the Province of Taranaki is to have as much power as the City of Dunedin.

The probable revenue of Otago may be set down as about one-half that of the whole Colony, while the voting power of the Province in the disposal thereof in the Colonial Parliament will be less than one-fourth of the whole. If left to itself the revenue of Otago would, I believe, in a very few years exceed that of the whole of the rest of the Colony put together.

You may rest assured that it is a grand mistake to suppose that the people of this Province will tamely submit to have forced upon them a system of political communism from which they have everything to lose and nothing to gain, to aid and abet in which, on my part, would be to belie the position which I have for so many years held at the hands of the people.

I cannot think that the action of the late Colonial Parliament, which, as shown at the recent general election, has been so universally condemned in Otago, will be maintained by the new Parliament in so far as this Province is concerned.

It is, I think, useless to disguise from ourselves that, stripped of all the verbosity and special pleading with which the question may be surrounded, there remains the naked fact that Colonial Finance, and not the good of the people of New Zealand, is at the bottom of the proposed changes—changes which I have an intense conviction will, if carried into effect, very seriously prejudice the interests and retard the progress of this section of the Colony.

I need not say that this has hitherto been the foremost Province in New Zealand, and that it is not by depriving it of its revenues, bringing them under the sole appropriation of the Parliament at Wellington, and reducing the Province to the dead level of Colonial uniformity that it can hope to maintain that position.

If I might venture to say so, it is to my mind deeply to be deplored that Colonial statesmen can see no other way of grappling with the evils which have arisen out of a vicious system of finance than by applying a remedy which cannot fail to prove worse than the disease.

No doubt it may be said that, while my views are limited to the narrow platform of a Province, you are called to deal with the interests of the Colony as a whole. I submit, however, that no policy can be beneficial to the Colony which affects so injuriously such an important section thereof as that over which I have the honour to preside.

In consequence of what I have so fully stated in this letter, and as I am advised that the sending of three gentlemen to inspect the departments of the Provincial Government is without legal or constitutional authority, I must inform Messrs. Gisborne, Seed, and Knowles, that so far as the Provincial Government of Otago is concerned, they cannot expect any aid in their mission.

Regretting that, in the performance of my public duty, I should have been compelled to refuse your request,

I have, &c.,
JAMES MACANDREW,
Superintendent of Otago.
The Hon. the Premier,

Wellington.

3. The Hon, the Premier to His Honor the Superintendent.

Wellington,

13th April, 1876.

SIR,—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 6th April, in reply to mine of the 28th March, in which I informed your Honor of Messrs. Gisborne, Seed, and Knowles' projected visit, and asked your good offices on their behalf.

Your letter opens up the whole question of Abolition of the Provinces. I do not feel that it is right for me to discuss with you the general question; for to do so would involve a political controversy, into which it would be inexpedient to enter, because each of us is addressing the other in his capacity of administering, not framing, the laws. Yet, there are points in your letter to which I feel called on to reply, and I must comment upon them, though I am aware in doing so I cannot altogether avoid the political discussion which I deprecate.

The Government conceive it to be their duty to accept the law as it stands, and to make the necessary preparations for giving it effect.

The idea that the Assembly will be willing to except Otago from the operation of the Act, seems to the Government altogether chimerical. Your Honor seems to base it on two grounds : One, that the people of Otago are wholly averse to Abolition; the other, that the Colony will benefit from it at the expense of Otago.

To take the latter first, it seems to me that your Honor's own conclusions answer this point. You state that "The probable revenue of Otago may be set down at about one-half that of the whole Colony." You consider also that, stripped of all extraneous matter, "The Colonial finance, and not the good of the people of New Zealand, is at the bottom of the proposed changes." If it be the case that Colonial finance is the cause of the change, and that Otago represents half of that finance, it is evident the change cannot be made without Otago being included in it. Your Honor's argument amounts to this: The wealth of Otago far exceeds that of the other Provinces, and therefore its interest is to evade a commensurate share of the general responsibilities. Clearly, such a deduction, if the premises are admitted, could not be accepted.

I will not deny that Colonial finance makes Abolition necessary; but by the expression "Colonial finance" I do not mean, as your Honor appears to do, solely the expenditure of the Colonial Government. The Governments, Provincial and General together, are spending much more than the credit of the Colony can afford. The difficulties arising out of Provincial borrowing stopped all large Provincial works after 1867 and before 1870. At the latter period the Colony stepped in and said that, although the Provinces could not be permitted to borrow, the works should be done for them. No Province has received larger consideration than Otago. The expenditure there has been and is absolutely gigantic, considering the population, but, I am glad to feel assured, not larger than the capabilities of the Province justify. You and I may, very correctly, have unlimited faith in Otago's capabilities; but we do not supply the money for developing them. Common prudence urges that we should defer to the opinion of those who do, and who urge us to be content with a moderately rapid rate of progress. But your Honor draws no line—no amount of expenditure has contented you—the cry is still for more. Instead of Otago being a sufferer by Colonial finance, it is, as much as any other Province, the cause of the Colonial finance requiring the extinction of the Provinces. Other Provinces, it is true, have had to receive more or less exceptional assistance from the revenue which Otago has not required; but no Province has asked for large sums more freely—no Province has shown itself less disposed to restrain expenditure. During the last session of the Provincial Council appropriations were passed amounting to £909,000. Concurrently the Province has sacrificed its land by large sales to runholders; it has endeavoured to withdraw from ordinary purposes enormous blocks of country, for fear the land might be otherwise absorbed; in short, the Provincial Government for some time past has proceeded as fast as it possibly could, in anticipation, apparently, of some dreaded change. I wholly disagree, then, with the idea that the Colony will benefit from Abolition at the expense of Otago. The benefit will be on the side of the various districts which comprise the Province, the resources of which will be placed more immediately under their own control, and dealt with less lavishly than of late has been the case.

In thus criticising the Provincial Government I am only acting in self-defence. Your Honor impugns the Colonial finance as vicious, and says the Province is sacrificed to it. My endeavour has been to show that the evil is not where you have supposed it. Instead of Otago suffering from the Colony, the people must be blind indeed if they are unaware that both in respect to Public Works and Immigration the Colony has done for them in five years that which the Province could not have effected in more than double that period.

To turn now to the first ground on which, it seems to me, your Honor rests your expectation that the Assembly will except Otago from Abolition—namely, that the people are opposed to it—I should be inclined to give much more weight to that ground did I not know that the people wholly misunderstand the meaning of Abolition. Your Honor's letter is a proof of this. It abounds with evidence that you altogether misunderstand what Abolition will effect, or what the people require.

When your Honor complains of a large extent of country like Taranaki having more representation than the City of Dunedin, you ignore one of the causes of the prosperity of the Colony. New Zealand has thriven because it is not a city-ridden country,—because the rural districts have not been sacrificed to make huge cities. The country districts are the sources from which the wealth flows to the towns. Evil will be the day when they are given only to a population representation, and a square mile in a town is allowed larger power than a thousand square miles in the country. The expressions "political communism," Provincial institutions "wantonly destroyed," "system of administration of its local affairs which is to be centred at Wellington," "depriving it [Otago] of its revenues, and bringing them under the sole appropriation of the Parliament at Wellington," show that your Honor does not realize what Abolition means.

It is fair to suppose that the people on whose behalf you speak are similarly misinformed; and in the face of this want of acquaintance with the effects of Abolition, their alleged opposition to it has little weight. No part of Provincial institutions which concerns the interests or the real local powers of the people will be destroyed. The people will possess much more local control than hitherto, and the absorption of their revenue is mythical.

What will take place is this :—The form of Provincialism will cease, and so will the powers of a small Legislature. Certain services, such as the charge of Gaols and Police, will be managed by the officers of the General Government, without ninety-nine out of a hundred people being aware of the change. Wellington will have no more to do with the matter than it has with your local post and telegraph offices. For years the management of the police at Auckland has been in the hands of the General Government, without the people feeling that their local privileges are curtailed, whilst they have recognised the thoroughly efficient manner in which the duties have been performed. But, in respect to real local powers, the decentralization will be complete. As a first evidence of decentralization, the towns will be distinct from, and have no powers over, the country districts. But the towns will not be uncared for—besides the revenues from licenses, they will have a direct subsidy. The road districts, wherever they exist, will not be under the control of the larger districts. They, as well as those larger districts, called counties, will have independent revenues, independent duties, independent powers. The chairmen of counties will be representative elected men. The administration of the land will continue to be localized. The land revenues will be strictly devoted to local purposes; some small contribution may, perhaps, be given to the trunk railways, which cannot be regarded as local either in their nature or purpose, and the management of which the Colony will undertake. There are abundant proofs that that management cannot be assumed too early, for the benefit of all concerned. The revenues from Educational Reserves, the control of Education, of Charitable Institutions, of Harbour Improvements, will likewise pass to, or remain with, local bodies.

Where is there at present any such system of local government? Your Honor does not disguise your wish that Otago should be, to all intents and purposes, a separate Colony : in other words, a comparatively small Government would jealously absorb all the powers the Colonial Government absolutely renounce. You wish to give to Otago the very form of government you mistakenly suppose we desire to bestow. When the people of Otago come to know how entirely decentralizing will be the effects of Abolition, how essentially centralizing are the views of the Provincial Governments which oppose it, I cannot doubt that they will be warm supporters of Abolition. For the sake of argument, I have accepted your Honor's interpretation of the feelings of the people of Otago without altogether agreeing with it. Many districts in the Province long for Abolition to remove the evils of which they have for years complained.

In laying such stress upon the country districts, it may be urged that I have ignored Dunedin's interest in the question. Dunedin will lose the expenditure incidental to being the seat of a small Government; and I am not unaware that the opponents of Abolition—notably a section of the Dunedin Press—have made the most of the diminished expenditure of this kind, whilst they have temptingly hinted at the glories of the seat of Government of an independent Otago. But I do not think these opinions are generally shared. I cannot believe the acute and able men of business of Dunedin will refuse to see that the interests of the country districts, and the prosperity of the whole Colony which is pervaded by their commercial activity, are of far more importance to them than the expenditure incidental to the localisation of a form of executive government, and to the occasional meetings of the Provincial Council.

Allow me, in conclusion, to thank your Honor for the courtesy of your letter, and to express the hope that I have said nothing herein which may be considered unfairly to reply to your Honor's strong, though not discourteous, reflections on the Colonial Government.—I have &c.,

JULIUS VOGEL

His Honor the Superintendent of Otago.

4.—His Honor the Superintendent to the Hon. the Premier.

Province of Otago, N.Z., Superintendent's Office, Dunedin,

22nd April, 1876.

SIR,—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of 13th inst., from which it is clear that your opinion and mine as to the effect upon the Province of Otago, of its abolition, are wide as the poles asunder.

I therefore feel that it would be only wasting both your time and my own to prolong this correspondence. At the same time I cannot refrain from referring to some of the leading points in your letter. And here I may say that I do not think you were called upon to review the action of the Provincial Council of Otago—a body responsible solely to the electorate of the Province; nor was it necessary to assume that everything your Government thought fit to propose would receive the sanction of the Colonial Parliament.

Your letter is, of course, a political manifesto to convince the people of Otago of the good they will obtain by the abolition of their Province and their local Parliament, and by the absorption of their local revenues; and you must forgive me if I follow your example in entering upon a political discussion, which I deprecate.

I may say that had you been administering a law, and called upon me to aid you in so doing, I should not have withheld my aid or advice. As it is, I was advised, and I am also of opinion, that the sending of the Commissioners was without legal warrant or constitutional authority. The Parliament never authorised such a step and did not vote funds for such a purpose. Your letter of instructions, as well as that now under reply, foreshadows a policy that the Parliament has not yet considered, far less ratified. There is no local Government Act, and as yet no provision made for carrying on the departments of the Provincial Government. "What law, I ask, are you administering ?

I looked upon the action of your Government as an encroachment upon the rights of this Province, which, as its elected head, I was bound to resist; and I feel assured that had you been the head of the Provincial Executive you would have counselled more extreme measures than I resorted to. Indeed, I cannot but remember how nobly you aided me with your advice and influence in resisting the General Government's encroachment on our rights and privileges nine years ago.

You entirely misapprehend me by supposing that because the wealth of Otago far exceeds that of other Provinces, its interest, in my opinion, is to evade a share of the general responsibility. On the contrary, I for one, am quite prepared that the Province should assume a very large proportion of the past obligations of the Colony, provided it is relieved of all future liabilities other than those to be incurred by itself for its own benefit, or those which may be necessary for purely federal purposes.

I have no desire to dispute with you that, since 1870, Otago has received a large share of the Public Works and Immigration Loan. I submit, however, that it has not received more than its due proportion, or than it is able to repay, and this, I fear, is more than can be said in respect of various other portions of the Colony. While upon this point I would most emphatically protest against that phase of your present policy, which proposes to render Otago liable for the debts incurred in the construction of railways in other parts of the Colony, notwithstanding the solemn assurances that to each Province would belong the profit or loss which might accrue from the railways constructed within it—assurances embodied in the Immigration and Public Works Act, and but for which that Act never would have been on the Statute-book.

It is this readiness with which, at the instance of a powerful Government, the good faith of the Colonial Parliament to-day may be cast to the winds to-morrow, which shakes the confidence of myself and others in the stability of legislation which professes to secure to any particular part of the Colony the exclusive-enjoyment of those advantages which may have been derived from its own forethought and superior energy.

I do not know that I rightly interpret your meaning when you say that we should defer to the opinions of those who supply the money for developing our resources. It, in moulding the political institutions upon which the future happiness and freedom of ourselves and our children so largely depend, we are to be influenced by the opinion of money-lenders, all I can say is, that it will be a sad day for New Zealand when this time comes.

How can you reconcile your assertion that Otago has not been a sufferer by Colonial finance, with the fact that, in addition to its obligation in respect of the Public Works and Defence loans, it has contributed upwards of two millions of money to the Colonial chest, for which it has received little or nothing in return, saving the empty honor of being represented in the General Assembly, is, I confess, beyond my comprehension.

One strong reason why, in your opinion, the Province should be abolished is, that during the past session of the Provincial Council, appropriations were passed to the extent of £909,000. To my mind, this affords one of the best arguments in favor of the Province becoming an independent Colony. Large as this sum is, it is far short of what is needed to meet necessary requirements, and far short of what the Province would have at its disposal, but for that vicious system of Colonial finance in which it has become so unhappily entangled, a

system which will be stereotyped should the Abolition policy be carried out.

You do not seem to be aware that when the Appropriation Ordinance was passed, the Province contemplated being able to float a loan, and that a large portion of the appropriation was for the completion of important public works, the execution of which will extend over several years.

You say that "concurrently" the Province has sacrificed its lands by large sales to runholders. As to this you have been completely misinformed, inasmuch as there have been no sales to runholders during the past four years, excepting the pre-emptive areas to which they are by law entitled. With regard to its landed estate, I am not called upon to defend all that the Province has done in the past, but were I to trace the cause of our difficulties in dealing with our waste lands, I should have to attribute them chiefly to the action taken by yourself in granting a renewal of so many pastoral leases in 1866-7. If large sales are improper, I have yet to learn that any sale in Otago has been in violation of law, or made until the absorption of its revenue by the Colonial Government forced such action on the Province. For your Government to complain of large sales of land after the various reports of Parliamentary Committees on its land transactions in the North Island—transactions which no financial exigency demanded—seems to me, to say the least of it, to be singularly inappropriate. In thus referring to the action of the Colonial Government, I also am acting in "self-defence." You must, therefore, excuse my reference to the uncalled-for sacrifice of the public estate in Auckland.

If there is one thing more than another for which the Provincial Government may claim credit, it is the extent to which the public estate of Otago has been husbanded and disposed of for actual settlement and profitable occupation. I venture to say that in no other part of the Colony does this apply to a greater extent.

One of my chief reasons for opposing the policy now in question, is that under its operation the administration of the Provincial estate must be regulated by the exigencies of Colonial finance.

But, even assuming that your information had been correct, and that the Province had disposed of large blocks of hill land to runholders, there are many and cogent reasons which might well have driven it to this course. Among these might be enumerated the refusal of the Colonial Legislature to enable the Province to anticipate its land revenue for the construction of those public works, without which the land would be comparatively valueless for settlement, and also the difficulty experienced in obtaining payment from the Colonial Government of moneys to which by law the Province is entitled.

I would point out to you that there is taking place in Otago a very considerable amount of agricultural settlement on deferred payment, and that this has to be followed up by providing the means of communication, schools, and many other requirements, to meet which money must be had.

Assuming that funds cannot be obtained otherwise than from land sales, I am of opinion that it would be far preferable to sell purely pastoral land to runholders at 20s. an acre than to place in the market for disposal wholesale to speculators, large areas of valuable land which still remain, and which it is the policy of the Provincial Government to preserve to meet the requirements of agricultural settlement.

You further allege that the Province has sought to withdraw from ordinary purposes (which, I presume, means from sale) enormous blocks of country, "for fear the land might be otherwise absorbed."

It is quite true that years ago the Provincial Council resolved to set apart several millions of acres as Endowments for Education, Hospitals, and other public purposes, in which resolution the Colonial Government did not concur. Ultimately, however, 500,000 acres were agreed to be Crown granted. I fail to see in this action of the Provincial Council any reason why the Province should be abolished, but the reverse. I am disposed to regard this action as a far-seeing apprehension of that centralistic policy against which I am contending—a policy which, whatever may be your present intentions, must inevitably result in the general consolidation of public assets and liabilities throughout the Colony. Among the former, of course, must be included our land fund, our education reserves, and, as likely as not, all other reserves besides. I would not for a moment impute to you any present intention in this direction, but cannot disguise from myself the feeling that you are now embarking upon an ocean of circumstances which you will be unable to control—circumstances in which the Colony must inevitably drift into the position I have indicated. You might as well expect the Ethiopian to change his skin as that Centralism in New Zealand will be content with anything short of that position.

You say the people of Otago do not realise, and are misinformed as to what Abolition means. If this be so, why not submit for the consideration of the people those measures which will enable them to interpret for themselves its real meaning—those measures which are to usher in the political millennium? To my mind, whatever the measure may turn out to be, the man must be blind indeed who does not realise in the whole action of Centralism in New Zealand, during the past 25 years, "One purse for the Colony," a consummation totally irreconcilable with your conviction that the land fund and public reserves of the respective Provinces will be localised.

You say that in respect of Immigration and Public Works the Colony has done more for Otago in five years than the Province could have done for itself in ten. To this I must entirely demur. It would not be difficult to

show that had the Province been permitted to conduct those operations for itself, the result would, to say the least of it, have been equally satisfactory, and in all probability much more so. I have no hesitation in saying that the Clutha Railway, for example, would have been constructed by the Province for at least £50,000 under what it has actually cost.

You say that the Governments, Provincial and General together, are spending much more than the credit of the Colony can afford. I quite agree with you as regards the latter; and if this is to be adduced as an argument in favour of Abolition, it may fairly be urged as a reason for abolishing the General Government, or, at all events, of very greatly curtailing its expenditure. It does seem strange that in the face of the fact that, the Colonial expenditure is more than the credit of the Colony can afford, the Government should have been so desirous during the past few sessions of increasing that expenditure by the establishment of new and expensive departments.

And now one word more as to what is to be in the future. You may be right in your assumption that whatever your Government proposes the Assembly will sanction. I may be pardoned, however, for saying that Governments as strong as yours have in the past had to submit to a public opinion they could not control; and I feel convinced that the opinions of so large and important a section of the Colony as Otago will not be lightly set aside by the Colonial Legislature.

It should not be the aim of statesmen to ignore the feelings of those over whom they rule, and if one large section of any country is forced into a hostile attitude towards the Government, and its opinions and feelings ignored, history tells us that there are sad days in store for such a country.

The justice of Otago's claims, which you say are "chimerical," may, I trust, yet receive from the Assembly that consideration which is denied by your Government.

I fail to see how the country districts of Otago can benefit by your proposed scheme. Hitherto, for example, the Provincial Council has given no subsidy to Dunedin, as they felt it their duty to devote the revenue to making roads and bridges, and building schools throughout the country districts. You, however, as the first step in the decentralizing process, have given a subsidy of £10,000 to Dunedin, and promised that it shall be perpetual. How, therefore, Dunedin can be said to have benefited more from Provincial administration than the country districts I cannot understand. You have forgotten that the districts which have hitherto been most jealous of Dunedin, and farthest removed from it, have returned as members of the Colonial Parliament strong Provincialists. The people of Otago are not so "misinformed" as you seem to imagine; and if, as you say, the Province has been spending more money than the Colony can afford, of course your scheme means a stoppage of public works throughout the Province, unless, indeed, you imagine that the credit of the Colony will not be injured by every County and Road Board borrowing what they please. You cannot, however, consider that allowing a County or Road Board to borrow is a good thing, whilst granting the same right to a Province is an evil thing.

I would only say further that, believing as I do that, like myself, you are aiming at making New Zealand a great, prosperous, and free country, it is to me a source of the deepest regret that we do not agree as to the most effective and only means of accomplishing this end.

Much as I should feel disposed to defer to your judgment, I cannot ignore the conviction which a life-long experience of New Zealand politics has forced upon me; and if, in the heat of a political controversy, not of my seeking, I have used any expression distasteful to you, you will, I trust, pardon such. I am well aware that in every discussion some expression may seem harsh to an opponent that was not so meant by the writer.

Had it not been that you had hitherto so loyally and under much obloquy in the past supported the Constitution—and did I not hope that calm reflection may yet induce you to return to your previous political platform—I need not, perhaps, have entered into so much detail. I feel however, that you will pardon the length and, perhaps, ardour of my letter, and believe me to be actuated by a strong desire for the continued prosperity and advancement not only of Otago, but also of all New Zealand.

I have, &c.,
J. MACANDREW,
Superintendent of Otago.
The Hon. the Premier,

Wellington.

5.—The Hon. the Premier to His Honor the Superintendent.

3rd May, 1876.

SIR,—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 22nd April, in reply to mine of the 13th.

2. There are a few points to which I think it desirable to reply: to others I do not refer, either because I consider that I have answered them by what I have already written to your Honor, or because they seem to me of a *la quoque* nature, and entirely out of place in this correspondence.

3. I am not aware that in my letter to you I assumed that Parliament would render the Government more support than Governments usually anticipate. There would be no strength in any government, if fear of a minority becoming a majority were allowed to interfere with the ordinary duties of administration. I desired to represent to your Honor that as, by law, the Provinces cease to exist after next session, the General Government were performing only their duty in obtaining the information necessary to provide for the charge which will then devolve on them.

4. You refer to my action some years ago, when I had the honor to be a member of the Otago Provincial Executive. I acted then, as now, in accordance with what I believed to be my duty, and I do you the justice to believe that you are similarly actuated. As you have twice referred to me personally, I may be allowed to say that I continued to aid the Provinces, and to believe they might be enabled to survive, long after that belief was dead in the minds of some of the most acute men in New Zealand. No Province has, in my opinion, more contributed to make Abolition necessary than has Otago—for it has refused to accept any limit to its desire to expend money. That, without the means at its command, it should have embarked in a variety of railway schemes, not content with the lines in progress from the Waitaki to the Bluff, from Invercargill to Kingston, and from Milton to Lawrence, sufficiently proves the necessity for the check the Assembly has imposed. Nor does this appear to have been done too soon, for notwithstanding the largeness of your Honor's views as to Otago's capabilities, the fact is that, in order to find means for meeting the expenses of the next six months, your Honor's Government have had to attempt to make land sales of a most objectionable nature. I refer to the sales proposed to be made to runholders, without competition, in defiance, as I am advised, of the intention of the law, and which I feel bound to inform your Honor, the Government would have taken means to prevent, but for the conviction that the Waste Lands Board would do so.

5. Your Honor's opinion of the manner in which the Provincial Government carry out their public works is entirely different from that which we are able to arrive at, from the information at the command of the Government. That information is to the effect that the Provincial Railways have been very imperfectly constructed.

6. I regret that your Honor should venture to make such an assertion as to the cost of the Clutha Railway. The Government have in their service several engineers of standing and long experience. There is no engineer in the employment of the Province whose opinions are entitled to equal weight. Persons may always be found ready to express opinions, but I should have thought Otago had, from the want of competent engineering skill, suffered quite enough to make its Government cautious as to assailing the work of men of experience.

7. You certainly do not rightly interpret my meaning in supposing that I said our political institutions were to be influenced by moneylenders. I think the passage to which you refer clearly enough expressed my meaning, that the Colony should not commit itself to the expenditure of borrowed money in excess of the amount which those from whom it looked for the money were willing to supply.

8. Your Honor's idea of making Otago an independent Colony is impossible of realisation—fortunately for the people of that Province, who certainly would not gain by the proposal, which, as I have already pointed out, would mean contralised power in Dunedin, and financial difficulties of a very grave character.

9. The subsidy proposed to be given to Dunedin will not injure the country districts : it will be more than covered by the savings incidental to doing away with the Provincial Government.

10. I cannot accept your Honor's version of the meaning of Abolition, and you will forgive me for saying that nothing but very Strong foregone conclusions could, I think, make you persist in your opinions in the face of the information which has been afforded to you. I should be most happy to circulate the bills which will embody the policy of the Government, but they are not fully prepared. Sufficient, however, has been decided to enable me to convey to your Honor a very clear idea of the measures the Government propose to introduce in connection with Abolition. Some of the details may be modified, but I think the particulars I am able to give will convince you that nothing approaching to such a thoroughly localised system of government has yet found place in the Colony.

11. Provincial Councils and Superintendents we do not propose in any shape to perpetuate or to reproduce, and various departmental ser- vices, such as Gaols, Hospitals, the administration of Harbours, &c., we propose

to carry on as we do the Post Office and Telegraph Departments.

12. We intend to introduce a bill regulating the election of local bodies, its provisions being made applicable to Municipal, Road Board, County, Education Board, and other elections. Such a measure will enable the bills by which it will be sought to constitute and empower those bodies, to be kept free from much confusing repetition.

13. We propose a general Valuation Bill—that is, a measure which will provide a uniform system of valuing property and preparing ratepayers' rolls throughout the country, for boroughs, road boards, and counties. This, also, whilst simplifying the measures relating to those bodies, will provide a uniform system, which is much wanted. Your Honor may have observed that a not dissimilar bill has been submitted to the Imperial Parliament during the present session.

14. We propose to submit a Bill to consolidate the existing Municipal Laws, simplified as already described, but which will contain provisions to enable Corporations to borrow, not dissimilar from Mr. Ballance's bill of last year, with the exception that the purposes for which borrowing is to be permitted will be more clearly defined. The road districts we do not intend to ask Parliament to legislate about this session, excepting to the extent already described. To provide for the local charge of Education, we propose to introduce a bill to continue in existence the present Education Board until February next, elected boards, with a small nominee element, being substituted after that date. The entire control of primary education, and of the reserves for such education, we propose to vest in these boards. It will be the duty of the boards to continue in each Province the system legalised by existing Provincial laws. There will be one difference : for the bill will provide that the inspection of schools shall be under the control and management of the Colonial Government. We contemplate making provision for doing away with education rates and also with fees in primary schools, whilst we propose that education shall be made compulsory.

15. The leading features of the County System we desire have already been explained. We propose that the country, exclusive of towns, shall be divided into counties, governed by elective bodies, endowed with very considerable revenues, and charged with carrying out large public works. The counties will be distinct from the Road Board districts, excepting that in a few instances, where the districts are already of great extent, an option will perhaps be given to them to become counties, and thus to merge into one the revenues of the two bodies. The present Waste Lands Boards we propose to continue for a time; but we hope to provide at no distant date for the addition of the elective element to them. We do not propose to interfere with the Land Laws, excepting that we may ask the Assembly to consider the expediency of increasing the upset price and enlarging the facilities for obtaining land on deferred payments. The Lunatic Asylums, we propose to keep under the direct control of the Government, with the aid of local boards nominated by the Governor. A qualified Inspector in Lunacy has been selected at Home, and will, I expect, shortly arrive in the Colony. We propose to devolve the charge of other charitable institutions on the authorities of the municipalities and the counties within which they are situated, giving to those local bodies a power of placing the institutions in the hands of special committees or trustees. We regret that in some parts of the country these institutions are now purely Government institutions; and we think larger opportunities for the exercise of voluntary benevolence should be afforded. The railways, as has been stated already, we propose shall pass into the entire charge and control of the Colonial Government. Abundant reasons for this necessity have been shown.

16. I desire, for obvious reasons, not to anticipate the Financial Statement; but I will not shrink from giving your Honor some particulars. We propose to introduce a Bill providing for the disposal of the Land Revenue. This disposal will be of a thoroughly local character; excepting that we shall submit for the consideration of the Assembly the alternative of a gradually-diminishing contribution from the land revenue to meet the interest on railways, rather than to provide this payment from an income and a property tax. As we are not willing that interest on railways in course of construction should be met out of borrowed money, the revenue must supply the means for paying such interest. From the first, the land revenue which has benefited so largely from the railways, should have provided this interest. It will be for the Assembly now to consider whether the unsold lands, or the sold lands and current revenue, shall supply the amount required. Whilst otherwise we propose to thoroughly localise the land revenue we also intend that Road Districts and Counties shall be guaranteed by the Consolidated Revenue the receipt of their appointed subsidies, irrespective of whether or not the land revenue of the particular Provincial district supplies for the time being the necessary amount.

17. Your Honor will, I hope, consider that in the particulars I have given you I have not displayed undue reticence. I should be glad to find that these particulars win you to support the policy they embody; and I feel sufficiently assured of your Honor's generosity to believe that you will not object to being the medium of disseminating throughout Otago information which I confidently believe will more than satisfy every one in the Province who is not prejudiced beyond the possibility of exercising freedom of judgment. At any rate, the information I have given you will undeceive those in the Province who are opposing Abolition under a total misapprehension of its nature, and of the consequences which will follow it. To the majority of the people of

Otago, what we now propose will mean the realisation of the aspirations of many years.

18. I reciprocate your Honor's kindly remarks. I hope I have not said anything calculated to cause you personal annoyance; and I fully recognise, even where I am unable to agree with you, your Honor's public-spirited desire to promote the advancement of Otago and New Zealand. Were you a member of the Colonial Government for three months, I am convinced you would cease to doubt the necessity of upholding the law which has decreed the Abolition of the Provinces.

I have, &c.,

JULIUS VOGEL.

His Honor the Superintendent of Otago.

5.—His Honor the Superintendent to the Hon. the Premier.

Province of Otago, N.Z., Superintendent's Office, Dunedin,

13th May, 1876.

SIR,—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 3rd instant, in reply to mine of the 22nd ultimo.

Knowing, as I do, the vast amount of personal labour which must at present devolve upon you, and the extent to which your time necessarily must needs be occupied in connection with the constitutional changes upon which you have set your mind, it is with some compunction that I again address you on the subject.

You will, however, I trust, pardon me if I should attempt in this letter to convince you, and the few people in Otago who are in accord with your views, that you both have misapprehended the nature of Abolition and "the consequences which will flow to the people of Otago" should Centralism become the policy of the Colony.

I am persuaded that any one freed from party or personal feelings who compares the position of Otago as it is with what it will become under Abolition, can have no difficulty in determining his course of action, and deciding on his political platform.

I find on perusal of your last letter that your only answer to the grave charges I made against that political party with which you are now allied, and against the action of the Colonial Government, is a brushing away of these charges, by saying "that they seem to you of [*unclear: a*] *tu quoque* nature, and out of place in this correspondence." Such a remark makes me hesitate as to the object of the various letters you have addressed to me, and if you think that the breach of faith I pointed out, and the mismanagement of Colonial finance can be set aside in the *tu quoque* manner you adopt, it is evident you altogether misapprehend the sincerity, and underrate the intelligence, of the people of Otago. You may rest assured that the people understand more of politics and political history than you seem to realise.

It would appear from your letters that I dare not even hint at the extravagance and maladministration of the Colonial Government. You, however, are entitled to criticise the action of the people and their representatives; and also, as appears from paragraph 6 of your letter, to bring sweeping charges against civil servants who have no opportunity of self-defence. In none of my letters have I written one single word against any General Government officer. My allusion to the cost of the Clutha Railway went to show that all works could be more cheaply constructed under local administration than under Government at a distance. You, however, bring charges of the most grave character against all the eminent engineers the Province of Otago has ever employed. I need scarcely remind you that many of the engineers—and, I might add, other professional men of ability—who have been employed by the General Government, have been taken from Otago. It appears to me ungenerous, to say the least of it, to allege that the many able and eminent engineers that the Province has employed have wanted "competent engineering skill."

Passing on to the charges you made against the Provincial Government, of sacrificing the landed estate of the Province, I can only say you are entirely astray as to your facts. As to this, I would refer you to my letter to the Honourable the Colonial Secretary of the 4th instant, with enclosures, from which it will be seen that the action of the Provincial Executive has been not only strictly in accordance with law, but with good policy. You are, of course, aware that the law admits of land 1200 feet above sea level being sold for 10s. an acre, with consent of lessee; whereas the action of the Executive would have secured at least 20s. an acre for the same land.

You seem to impute it as a great crime on the part of the Provincial Legislature that it should dispose of mountain lands for the construction of branch railways. In my opinion, if the whole of the mountain tops could be converted into branch railways to morrow, instead of being a loss, it would be a vast gain to the Province.

The latter would be as productive to the State as the former, while there would be the advantage, in as far as Otago is concerned, that its mountain tops would be disposed of for railway construction within its own territory, instead of in the North Island, which will be the practical result of your present policy.

While upon this subject I must say that it seems somewhat extraordinary that in other parts of the Island, under that system of free selection you have so long warmly advocated, vast private estates are being created, and the finest agricultural land alienated from the Crown in large blocks, and no objections raised; while in the only Province in New Zealand where any efforts for conserving agricultural land for settlement have been made, fault should have been found with its land administration. Because the Otago Provincial Government chooses to reserve the agricultural land for settlement on deferred payments, and to sell the hill tops sooner than let its best agricultural land go to auction to be purchased by the speculator, its action is condemned by the Colonial Government. If your Government proposes that no person shall acquire or hold more than a defined area of land you will be inaugurating a new policy in dealing with Crown lands. As yet the Legislature has not fixed any limit to a man's holding; on the contrary, it has made provision, (see section 150 "Otago Waste Lands Act, 1872,") which shows that it contemplated sales of high lands at ten shillings an acre.

Were the action of Otago contrasted with that of Canterbury and the other Provinces it would, I think, be found that the contrast would reflect no discredit on this Province. Of course I refrain from even hinting as to how the Colonial Government has dealt with the lands under its control. I venture to predict that when the passions created by party feeling have subsided, and the true circumstances of the case come to be understood, the action of the Provincial Government which you condemn will stand the test of a rigid scrutiny,

I cannot but regard the attempt on the part of the Colonial Government to coerce what is supposed to be a non-political body like the Waste Lands Board as uncalled for, if not illegal and reprehensible. It is the small cloud in the horizon which foretells what Centralism really means.

You say that were Otago an independent Colony it would mean "centralized power in Dunedin and financial difficulties of very a grave character." No doubt were Otago an independent Colony the Central power would have to be somewhere, and it requires but little acumen to see that it would be infinitely more advantageous for the Province that the Central power should be at Dunedin than at Wellington. Moreover, there is this marked difference between the Provincial Council at Dunedin and the General Assembly at Wellington, that whereas the whole policy of the one has been to economise, to decentralise, and to divest its Executive of power in favor of local bodies, that of the other has been exactly the reverse.

As to the "financial difficulties" they are, I apprehend, as respects the Colony sufficiently grave already, and one of the most effective ways out of them would be to make Otago a separate Colony, relying entirely upon its own resources. It is far better able to stand alone than were any of the neighboring Colonies when they were created; and I believe that notwithstanding the millions of money of which it has already been drained by the Colonial Parliament, it would be willing, and it would be clearly to its interests, to pay a handsome price, if by doing so the Province could steer clear of the maelstrom of Colonial Finance.

Were Otago a separate Colony, New Zealand would be compelled to start afresh, and cut its coat according to its cloth; in which case its present Civil Service and its standing army must needs be reduced and brought within the compass of its absolute requirements, No doubt this end might be attained in a less degree were each Island to be charged with the uncontrolled management of its own affairs.

As to the savings which you say will be incidental to doing away with the Provincial Executive—savings by the way which your colleague the late Colonial Treasurer, was forced to admit would be nil—I confess that with every desire to be enlightened I cannot see how the creation in Otago of a number of counties, each with its staff of officials—small Provincial Councils in fact, under another name—is to be less expensive than one Provincial Council. Your saving of £10,000 a year will, I fear, result in an additional expenditure of double that amount. Even assuming, however, that there would be such a saving, I am convinced that the people of Otago are content to pay much more towards the upholding of their local Parliament.

As to the proposals you intend to submit to the Assembly, it is unnecessary for me to allude to them further than to repeat my opinion that you cannot seriously believe that a body like the General Assembly may not demand various and serious alterations in any proposals your Government may submit to it.

I would now refer very briefly to your remarks on the branch railway lines and the absorption of our land revenue. You express surprise that the Provincial Government should have formed branch railways. You seem to be unaware that those lines have all been sanctioned by the Colonial Government, and that no line has been sanctioned which does not open up a settled country or a district fit for occupation. "Would that the same could be said of all Colonial railways. It will be found that the light lines now being constructed in Otago will be quite as cheap as metalled roads. I assert further, without fear of contradiction, that every railway in Otago would pay interest on the cost of its construction were the management left in the Provincial Government.

I have yet to learn that it is right to form railway lines close to the sea board, not thereby opening up much fresh land for settlement, and wrong to construct lines into the interior, thus giving those districts which are far

removed from water communication a reliable and speedy means of bringing their produce to market. I look upon it that while both are desirable, the one is of much more importance than the other; and that if the money which has been, and is being, expended by the Colonial Government in Otago, had been at the disposal of the Provincial Council, the results, as regards the beneficial occupation and development of the resources of the Province, would have been vastly different.

Under the Abolition *regime* the many districts to which branch railways ought to be made are to be denied that privilege, inasmuch as Otago railway profits and land fund must be absorbed by the Colonial Treasury. This must be very consoling to the country districts for whose interests the Colonial Government now express so much concern.

And now one word as to the astounding proposal to repeal the most important provision of the Immigration and Public Works Act. To me it is a matter of most extreme surprise how you can possibly have arrived at the conclusion that such a proposal was just. It is far from comforting to those who, like myself, supported you in the inauguration of the Public Works policy to be told that your promises of 1870 and 1871 are to be cast to the winds in 1876.

"Were I," you write, "to be a member of the Colonial Government for three months I would cease to doubt the necessity of upholding the law which has decreed the Abolition of the Provinces." This is an extraordinary statement. Can it be true, after all, that this policy, which at its outset promised so fairly, has so involved the Colony in financial disaster that the Constitution must be swept away, and our political action controlled by money-lenders? Pledges the most solemn, oft-repeated promises, Acts of Parliament—all to be ignored?

It is anything but pleasing to me to write in this strain, but with all due deference I submit that these are thoughts that should weigh with the Colonial Government in considering well the results of any proposals they may make, before attempting to force them upon an unwilling people. Nothing could act as a greater beacon of warning to the people of Otago than these proposals, proclaiming as they do that to trust to an Act of the General Assembly for localising the land fund, even should there be any residue to localise, is placing reliance upon a rope of sand. Indeed you have now to admit that Abolition means that the people of Otago must either be deprived of their land revenue or submit to an income tax to meet the charges on unproductive railways elsewhere. My own impression is that they will have to submit to both if Abolition becomes law.

I fear I have trespassed far too long on your attention. The grave position in which you find the Colony, as disclosed by your letter, must be my excuse.

I cannot better conclude this letter than by sincerely thanking you for the trouble you have taken in explaining your policy, although to my mind, you have failed to make good your position.

I believe the attention you have paid to my opinion will not be wholly thrown away. It will tend to excite an interest in the study of politics, which this Colony much requires, whilst it will also show that a sincere, an earnest, and an able man may, from force of circumstances, apparently uncontrollable, be led to adopt a political creed he once denounced, and to ally himself with a political party with whom he has little in common.

Again thanking you for your courtesy,
I have, &c.,
JAMES MACANDREW,
Superintendent of Otago.
The Hon. the Premier,

Wellington.

(Letters, &c., Referred to in No. 5.)

Province of Otago, N.Z., Superintendent's Office, Dunedin,

4th May, 1876.

SIR,—Referring to your telegram in reply to mine, requesting you officially to contradict the rumour current here, that the Colonial Government had intimated its desire that the Waste Lands Board should refuse to grant certain applications for land recently proclaimed by the Provincial Governments under the delegated powers, open for sale at 20s. an acre, I much regret that while you neither deny nor admit the rumour alluded to, you express your approval of the action of the Waste Lands Board in declining to grant the applications, and as a necessary inference your approval of the serious consequences which that action involves. Those

consequences are concisely set forth in a memorandum addressed by me to the Waste Lands Board, a copy of which is forwarded herewith, as also the Chief Surveyor's Report as to the quality of the land referred to.

I need scarcely say that the result of the Board's action will have a most injurious effect upon the labour market during the ensuing winter, if, indeed, it does not throw thousands of men out of employment.

The Provincial Executive, charged as it is with the peace, order, and good government of this portion of the Colony, has a right to expect the support of the Colonial Government; as it is, it cannot but feel that it is not only receiving scant aid from, but that it is being thwarted by, the Colonial Executive.

You say that "the plan by which the application was confined to the leaseholders was one which must be disapproved by any person who believes that the law should be administered in accordance with its spirit and intention, as well as with its letter." As to this, I can only say that the "plan" was precisely the same verbatim, et literatim, as has been adopted in similar cases for years past. Indeed, if I mistake not, it was first adopted when the present Premier was at the head of the Provincial Executive. I refer you to no less than eighteen Proclamations—*as per foot—in proof of this assertion, from which it will be perceived that the power of application is not confined to the leaseholder.

I may say further that there is good reason to believe that the applicants in question would have preferred that the land should have been put up to auction under section 150 Otago "Waste Lands Act, in which case there can be little doubt but they would have become the purchasers at ten shillings an acre.

I have, &c.,
J. MACANDKEW,
Superintendent of Otago.
The Honorable the Colonial Secretary,

Wellington.

Provincial Government Gazette.

(Enclosures.)

Memo to the Waste Lands Board.

Referring to the Board's recent action in respect of certain applications for the purchase of hill lands proclaimed open for sale in the Otago 'Gazette' of 19th April, the Superintendent desires to indicate to the Board the consequences which must result from its action.

As the Board is aware the representatives of the people have passed appropriations for highly important and necessary public works—works which, if not provided for by means of loan, were to be constructed out of the proceeds of the sale at 10s. an acre of hill lands, in terms of section 150, Otago Waste Lands Act. (See *Votes and Proceedings*, Session XXXII., 1873, page 93.) On the motion of the Secretary for Lands and Goldfields it was resolved—

"That a branch line of light railway, from Oamaru to the Valley of the Waiareka, a distance of fifteen miles, be at once constructed, at a cost not exceeding £31,000, said cost to be defrayed from the sale of 60,000 acres of pastoral land, in terms of section 150, 'Otago Waste Lands Act, 1872,' such land to be situated in the Northern District.

"That a light line of railway, between Riverton and Orepuki, in length 16 miles, be constructed, estimated cost £40,000, payment to be made in land in alternate sections on either side of the proposed line at the current value.

"That a light line of railway, between Riverton and Otautau, in length 16½ miles, already surveyed, be constructed at a cost of £40,000, payment to be made in cash or land at the option of the Government.

"That a light line of railway, to connect the Otautau line with the Invercargill and Winton Railway at Wallacetown junction, a distance of 14 miles, be constructed at a cost of £20,000, payment to be made in cash or land at the option of the Government.

"Resolved further that the following branch railways be commenced next year; and that the Government be requested in the meantime to obtain the necessary survey and estimates, viz.: Waipahee to Tapanui, Main Trunk Line to Kaitangata, Main Trunk Line to Outram, Palmerston to Waihemo, Otautau to Night-Caps Coal Fields."

The Colonial Parliament declined to sanction the raising of money by loan, and hence the necessity for falling back upon the other alternative.

Instead, however, of selling hill lauds at 10s., as sanctioned by the Provincial Council, the Government has placed in the market for sale a limited area of mountain land spread over five separate runs, at 20s. an acre, at which price, applications to purchase have been refused by the Board, thereby depriving the Provincial Treasury of the revenue which it was reasonably expected would be £64,000, an amount which would have afforded employment during the winter months to upwards of 2000 men, and upon the faith of receiving which, the Province has entered into engagements which cannot otherwise be fulfilled.

The result of this determination on the part of the Board must be disastrous in the extreme, involving as it does the curtailment and cessation of the public works throughout the Province, at that season of the year when the labouring population is most dependent upon such work. In the face of the Board's decision the Government has very reluctantly been compelled to abstain from accepting tenders for various works which are absolutely necessary, and which otherwise would have been gone on with at once, and it is probable that steps may have to be taken to suspend or abandon existing contracts.

Although upon the Board must rest the onus as to the result of its decision -a decision which the Superintendent cannot doubt must have been arrived at without duly considering the grave responsibility which it involved—he cannot but feel the most serious apprehension as to the injury which the Board's action must entail upon every interest throughout the Province.

The Board appears to have overlooked the fact that the Land Acts invest the Superintendent and Provincial Council, who are directly responsible to the people, with important and responsible functions; and the Superintendent cannot but think that he has good reason to complain that in coming to the decision it did in the matter, the Board has not exhibited that courtesy to the Superintendent and Provincial Council which was due to their position as parties whom the law invests with certain powers under the Waste Lands Acts, and that instead of taking time to consider and mature its decision, it should at once, without discussion, and without assigning any reason, have arrived at an apparently foregone conclusion, and one which, it is reasonable to suppose, must have been come to either under a misconception of the value of the laud applied for, or in the absence of information regarding the resolutions of the Provincial Council above referred to.

As to the value of land, the Superintendent is of opinion that 20s. per acre all round for such land is a high price—an opinion which is fully borne out by the report of the Chief Surveyor; but if any doubt existed on this point, the Board had an opportunity of setting it at rest by submitting one of these allotments to public auction; and the Superintendent is at a loss to know under what authority the Board refused to allow the sale, at public auction, of the lands for which duplicate applications had been lodged.

There is good reason to believe that the second application was not a bond fide one, as the Superintendent is informed that land of at least as good quality on the adjoining Hundred has been open for sale during the last two years, and for which no application has yet been received. It is reasonable, therefore, to suppose that this application was not a bond fide one.

In the administration of the waste lauds there must be two objects kept in view, viz.: the settlement of the people on the land, and as a means towards this end, the acquisition of revenue. The large extent of land which is being taken up on deferred payments and under agricultural lease must of necessity diminish the amount of immediate revenue from land.

As it is necessary to dispose of land for revenue purposes—that is to say, for providing means of communication, compensation, surveys, and other requirements, among which latter may be specially enumerated school buildings, for which purpose alone £30,000 are urgently needed, there can be no question that the class of land upon which it is expedient to realise is the mountain tops, which are unfit for settlement—such land, in short, as the Waste Lands Board, notwithstanding the resolution of the Provincial Council and the recommendation of the Superintendent, has refused to sell.

Under all the circumstances of the case, the Superintendent cannot but reiterate the expression of his extreme regret at the hasty action of the Board in this matter—action which is fraught with consequences most detrimental to the public interest, and for which the Board must be held solely responsible.

J. MACANDREW,
Superintendent of Otago.

Superintendent's Office, Dunedin,

3rd May, 1876.

Chief Surveyor's Report.

Dunedin,

22nd April, 1876.

Re Nature of Country Cancelled on Runs Nos. 170, 48, 199, 369, and 247.
Memo, for Provincial Secretary—

Run No. 170.—The 13,000 acres cancelled on this run is a piece of very rugged, scrubby country. It is bounded on the south by the Beaumont Burn, on the west by the Clutha River for fully six miles, and extends back from the Clutha in a breadth varying from two and a-half to four miles. The country is intersected by several streams, and, as they and the Clutha run in deep rocky gorges, the country is very broken and difficult of access. It is only approachable by dray, along the mountain track, availed of, in former times, between Tuapeka and Teviot, when there were no made roads. This track will run off and on the back line of cancellation, and will keep open the access to the remaining 17,000 acres of leasehold on the run. The general elevation above sea level of the part cancelled will be from 1,000 to 1,600 feet, and of the part on leasehold from 1,200 to 3,000 feet. No part of this run can be considered agricultural land, and in its present circumstances the pastoral occupation can only be profitable in large areas. In the gorge of the Clutha there is a bush of small extent, which, for the present is completely shut in by rocky bluffs; but in the event of the railway being extended inland from Lawrence, it would be taken up the Clutha gorge, and the bush would then become very valuable, from the fact of its being on the verge of the great treeless interior of Otago. The bush ought, therefore, to be reserved, as also a sufficient width alongside the road for road and railway purposes.

Run No. 48.—The 3,000 acres cancelled on this run lie in the fork between the Lee Stream and South Rock Creek, and surround the homestead of the run. This area calls for no particular description other than that it is part of the undulating grassy country, stretching away from behind Maungatua to the heights of Waipori. The altitude of the cancellation above sea level is from 1,400 to 1,600 feet. As indicative of the value of the country it may be mentioned that it lies alongside of the Lee Stream Hundred for four miles, which is similar country. The Hundred has been surveyed, and open for application for about two years, but the part adjacent to the area cancelled has not yet been selected.

Run No. 199.—The 15,000 acres cancelled on this run is high lying back country, which will be under snow for a considerable time after every winter storm. The general elevation will be from 2,000 to 3,000 feet above the sea level. A reference to the map will show that this country is simply an extension of the back line of Cargill and Anderson's purchase, nearer to the summits of Pinelheugh and Lammerlaw. There is no agricultural land in the block, and the only reservation requiring to be seen to will be the proposed dam site for the miners at Teviot, should it happen to come within the limits of the block.

Run No. 369.—The 10,000 acres cancelled on this run lie north from Roxburgh, seven or eight miles by the main interior road, which runs through the block for nearly two miles. Between the road and the Clutha River there is of this block with the exception of the 1,500 acres, about one-half of which is inferior agricultural land, all the rest is purely pastoral country. In marking off the boundaries of this block, care has been taken not to impinge on land which settlers resident in the district may have been looking to as the natural extension of their properties. Thus the country around M'Loughlin's improvements is still left intact up to the winter snow line, as is also all the road frontage on both sides, extending from M'Loughlin's to the landslips. The line of the block has been kept well away from the coal reserve at Coal Creek, reported on some time ago by Capt. Hutton. Regarding the settlers along the road between Coal Creek and Roxburgh, it may be mentioned that their back country is in no way interfered with.

Run No. 247.—The 23,000 acres cancelled on this run, consist of 8,000 acres of hard, gravelly plain, and 15,000 acres of mountain country. The plain is from 1,250 to 1,400 feet above sea level, and the mountainous part rises from these levels up to the summit ridge, 3,150 to 3,350 feet. The Hock has a frontage to the Taieri River of four and a half miles, and extends back to the summit of Rough Ridge, a distance of from six to seven miles. This is excellent pastoral country, but it is too hard and dry for agriculture. Even if it were suitable for agriculture, its position away from any market, and lying many miles off the main road, would preclude profitable cultivation on any scale. The natural destiny of the Upper Taieri Plain and district, of which the block forms a part, is pasturage, and to this purpose it will be devoted for generations to come.

JAMES MCKERROW,
Chief Surveyor.

6.—The Hon. the Premier to His Honor the Superintendent.

General Government Offices, Wellington,

May 25, 1876.

SIR,—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 13th May in reply to mine of the 3rd inst.

2. "Whilst I desire to bring this correspondence to a conclusion, I feel it necessary to explicitly explain certain points concerning which you clearly misunderstand me.

3. I did not say, or desire to say, that there were never any able engineers in Otago. I meant no more than the words I used implied—that the Province has suffered, which does not mean always suffered, from inexperienced engineers. If the Government are correctly informed some of the branch railways in Otago amply corroborate this statement. The memory of past engineering talent is no substitute for present inexperience.

4. You still fail to see the views of the Government about the land sales. They have not expressed any opinion as to whether or not it was desirable to sell the particular pieces of land. Their objection has been to the manner of the proposed sale. Using a power delegated by the Governor, it was contrived to give certain persons an exclusive privilege of purchase. To this the Government objected; and, seeing that your Honor and your Executive were acting under a delegated authority, the Government has clearly a right to object. They did not however attempt, as you suppose, to coerce or guide the Hoard. They obtained information which was patent in Dunedin as to the supposed feelings of members of the Board, and they were glad to be able to think that there was no necessity for interference.

5. If your Honor will only give proper notice, the Government have no objection to the lands in question being sold; indeed they are quite at a loss to understand why the lands have been given back to the runholders instead of the latter being compensated, and the land properly submitted for sale.

6. The Estimates for the six months now current were prepared by your Honor before the land sale was stopped, and you have represented that the very large land revenue there set down was because of expected sales in Hundreds, not because of the sales of mountain tops.

7. I have not objected to branch railways. The objection I stated was that you constructed them without the means to pay for them. The logical position is this: you incur expenditure; to meet it you propose large land sales; on one occasion you tell us you look to the sales of land in Hundreds for the necessary means; on another occasion (vide memo, to Waste Lands Board) such sales are condemned, and you state that you rely for expenditure on the sales of mountain tops, and that works will have to be suspended in consequence of the sales having been stopped. Subsequently you write that you still consider your estimate of revenue reasonable, and rely upon obtaining the amount, whilst at the same time you send us copy of your memo, to the Waste Lands Board, which conveys quite an opposite impression. Amidst this labyrinth the Government can find no path excepting that of upholding the law and deprecating its violations.

8. I subjoin extracts from the correspondence, showing the contradictions to which I refer.

9. Notwithstanding your Honor's ejaculatory remarks I am unable to discover any breach of faith from which Otago will suffer. At the time the Colony, under the Public Works policy, began to perform Provincial work, it was stated that if the Provinces proved to be inconsistent with that policy they must give way. That policy has done for Otago what Provincialism failed to do, and could not have done in a much longer period.

10. I have already expressed the opinion that the idea of making Otago a separate Colony is purely chimerical, such a step is altogether opposed to the received policy of the clay. To make a miniature Victoria and New South Wales out of Otago and Canterbury, with a border duty question on the Waitaki, would be as injudicious as impossible. The notion of a separate Colony for one Island is now equally chimerical, and let me say, excepting to Otago, would be wholly distasteful to the rest of the Middle Island.

11. Apart from the wholly chimerical nature of your Honor's views as to isolating Otago, I am constrained to point out that such isolation would not benefit Otago, nor be in accordance with the large business connections which have grown into existence between it and the other Provinces. If Otago has made wonderful progress, so has the rest of New Zealand; and the people of Otago have just as much reason to be proud of the advancement of the whole Colony as of their particular portion of it, I am of opinion that there exists in Otago, together with a desire to manage locally, local affairs, a much larger Colonial pride and spirit than your Honor appears to recognise.

12. I thank your Honor for the courtesy you have displayed throughout this correspondence, and I reiterate my feelings of personal regret at the want of agreement between us on the points which have been raised. I hope, however, as the proposed measures assume shape and form that your Honor's objections will yield to your convictions of their suitability to the wants and wishes of the country. I am also indebted to your Honor for the use this correspondence has been to the Government in enabling them to place before the people much

information it was desirable they should possess, even before Parliament meets, in order to counteract the effects of the misconception which previously existed. Freed from the prejudices those misconceptions excited, thousands of thoughtful people in Otago will form their own opinions, and regret their previous hasty reliance upon the statements of those in opposition to the Government.

I have, &c.,
His Honor the Superintendent of Otago.
JULIUS VOGEL.

(Enclosures.)

(1.) Extract from telegram from the Hon. the Colonial Secretary to His Honor the Superintendent of Otago.

Government Buildings,

April 24, 1876.

* * * I shall therefore be obliged if your Honor will furnish me with full information upon the following points :—* * * (2.) The data upon which the very large estimates of land revenue have been formed. * * *

(2.) Extract from telegram of His Honor the Superintendent of Otago to the Hon. the Colonial Secretary.

Dunedin,

May 3, 1876.

Re Provincial Estimates: * * * The data on which land revenue is founded, is the large extent of new Hundreds coming into the market.

(3.) The Hon. the Colonial Secretary to His Honor the Superintendent of Otago.

Government Buildings,

10th May, 1876.

[Telegram.]

Re Estimates :—The position your Honor takes up is inexplicable. You telegraph the Government that in proposing estimates you calculated on sale of land in Hundreds, and that the receipts for the half-year will equal the amount estimated. On the other hand you re-write to Government calling urgent attention to your memo, to the "Waste Lands Board, in which you inform that body that its action in stopping the sale of pastoral lands upsets your calculations, deprives you of expected revenues, has compelled you to refuse tenders for necessary works, and that probably you will have to abandon existing contracts. The estimates sent up were prepared before the Board refused the sale. The position then is this : You tell the Government the estimates were prepared in reliance on the sale of land in Hundreds, and that you still expect the revenue. On the other hand you tell the Waste Lands Board (and call our attention to your memorandum) that all your calculations are upset, that you cannot get the revenue as anticipated, and that you must stop the very works you now ask us to approve. We now desire to put it distinctly to your Honor whether, under existing circumstances, you have good grounds for adhering to your original estimates of receipts from land sales.

CHARLES C. BOWEN,
In absence of Colonial Secretary.

(4.) His Honor the Superintendent to the Hon. the Colonial Secretary.

Dunedin,

11th May, 1876.

[Telegram.]

Provincial Estimates :—In reply to last part of your telegram, Yes. Provincial Government put the alternative to your Government—reduce the revenue, reduce also the expenditure, specifying the items. The other portions of your telegram raise the waste lands question, which is being discussed between myself and the Premier in another correspondence.

J. MACANDREW.

(4a.) The Hon. the Colonial Secretary to His Honor the Superintendent of Otago.

Government Buildings,

12th May, 1876.

[Telegram.]

Re Estimates:—We have put it distinctly to your Honor whether, under existing circumstances, you have good grounds for adhering to your original estimate of receipts from land sales. To this question you reply Yes, and therefore this Government will advise His Excellency to approve your estimates. The responsibility of providing the money required will still rest with your Honor.

DANIEL POLLEN.

(5.) Extract from letter of His Honor the Superintendent of Otago to the Hon. the Colonial Secretary.

Superintendent's Office, Dunedin,

4th May, 1876.

SIR,—* * * I much regret that, while you neither deny nor admit the rumour alluded to, you express your approval of the action of the Waste Lands Board in declining to grant the application, and, as a necessary inference, your approval of the serious consequences which the action involves. These consequences are concisely set forth in the memorandum addressed by me to the Board, a copy of which is forwarded herewith, as also the Chief Surveyor's Report as to the quality of the land. I need scarcely say that the result of the Board's action will have a most injurious effect upon the labour market during the ensuing winter, if, indeed, it does not throw thousands out of employment. * * *

I have, &c.,

J. MACANDREW,
Superintendent of Otago.

(6.) Extract from memo, from His Honor the Superintendent of Otago to the Waste Lands Board.

* * * In the face of the Board's decision, the Government has very reluctantly been compelled to abstain from accepting tenders for various works which are absolutely necessary, and which would otherwise have been gone on with at once; and it is probable that steps may have to be taken to suspend or abandon existing contracts. * * *

(7). *His Honor the Superintendent to the Hon. the Premier.*

Province of Otago, New Zealand. Superintendent's Office, Dunedin,

31st May, 1876.

SIR,—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of 25th May, 1876. I cannot say I am surprised that you desire to bring this correspondence to a conclusion. Nothing but a painful sense of duty and responsibility would have led me to engage in such a political controversy, not of my seeking, and I much regret that your last letter should have rendered it necessary for me to write again. It is, however, satisfactory to think that our correspondence has afforded you an opportunity of placing before the people much information which it was desirable they should possess—information which hitherto has not been so explicitly stated, and which, I am glad to say, has confirmed, in the grounds of their opposition to your present policy, those who, like myself, desire to check the growth in New Zealand of a despotic Centralism.

At the same time, I cannot but regret that in the heat of a political controversy you should have been betrayed into attacking any Provincial Government officer. In your letter of 3rd May you did not, as you now do, confine your criticisms to engineers at present, or very lately, in the Provincial service. You said you thought Otago had suffered from the "want of engineering skill." I pointed out that this was a slur upon the competency of all engineers that had been in the Provincial service. Your last letter makes matters worse. You are condemning unheard men who have to rely upon their professional reputation for their employment, and this on an *ex parte* report, unknown to them and unknown to their employers.

Although the light branch railways now being constructed in this Province, chiefly out of revenue, at a cost not more than that of metalled roads, may not find favour in the eyes of Colonial engineers, they will, I venture to predict, be highly prized by those who have to pay for them, and will be an immense boon to many important districts. They will also add greatly to the success of the main lines. If the Colonial Government has been furnished by its officers with reports on the Otago light branch railways, you would be conferring a favour upon the Provincial Government were you to send me copies of such reports, so that the engineers attacked might have an opportunity of defending themselves.

As to the waste lands administration, I observe that your only objection now to the proposed sale of which you lately disapproved, is that there was no competition allowed—an assumption which cannot be reconciled with the fact that there was more than one application for the same land. It would appear that your Government has no objection to the creation of vast private estates. The method of dealing with the Native lands, to which I must not particularly allude, abundantly proves that. The real question is, Did the Provincial Government take the best means of netting the highest price for the land open for sale? I assert that they did, and should be glad to hear on what information you express a contrary opinion. That the means adopted were not unusual, my letter to the Hon. the Colonial Secretary shows, and when the provisions of the Otago Waste Lands Act are remembered, I again assert that if the land had been offered at auction at 10s. an acre, the Government would not have obtained 20s. for the blocks opened.

As to your method of dealing with the Waste Lands Board in the exercise of their *quasi*-judicial functions I am surprised that the Colonial Government should have adopted, to my mind, the apparently unbecoming position of sending persons to interview the members prior to their performance of such functions. In fairness to the members it seems to me that the telegrams you received from Dunedin in reference to their "supposed feelings" should be published, as I cannot but feel that they have been placed in a painful and peculiarly embarrassing position.

You have sent, as an appendix to your letter, certain extracts from a correspondence that has passed between the Hon. the Colonial Secretary and myself. I cannot see, however, what bearing this has upon the

question at issue. On 24th April you asked me to state the data on which the estimated revenue of the current half-year was made up. I replied that the estimate was based upon the extent of new Hundreds which were being placed in the market. Had I used the words "largely based" I should have been more correct and the horns of a dilemma which you attempt to impale me on would have been absent.

It is perhaps to be regretted that all the correspondence which has passed between the General and Provincial Governments during the past 12 months has not yet been published. Were this done it would serve to enlighten the people of Otago as to the great difficulties which the Provincial Government has laboured under in administering the affairs of the Province.

In reference to the Estimates forwarded to the Colonial Government under the provisions of the Provincial Appropriation Extension Act, let the treatment which the Provincial Government has met with be an illustration. In this matter the Colonial Government insisted upon a position which ultimately they had to abandon—a position, as I was advised, in violation of law. They attempted to assume the functions of the Provincial Council—a body which, in consequence of their action could not be convened. I need not point out to you that the Provincial Appropriation Act provides for the Governor approving of the estimates of revenue only, and that his Excellency has not to determine which road is to be formed or which bridge built. The Assembly, although bent on Abolition, felt that such a function could not be so well performed as by the Superintendents and Executives of Provinces. And notwithstanding this, I forwarded the Estimates of Expenditure, as the Provincial Government of Otago had nothing to conceal, and in the hope that this might have led to the Estimates of Revenue being more speedily approved of. Revenue estimates were forwarded on April 13, and as yet have not been returned approved. The result has been much public inconvenience, as other telegrams not referred to in the appendix to your letter will disclose.

I abstained in my former letters from casting any reflection on the administration of the Colonial Government, as you apparently considered such out of place in this correspondence. As to the labyrinth of the Provincial Government estimates of revenue and expenditure through which the Colonial Government can find no path, it is only another illustration of the evil of governing from a distance. Had the Provincial Council been in session the Appropriation Ordinance could have become law without half the delay that has occurred; and I can only add that, my advisers feel that though the action of the Waste Lands Board and your Government would place them in a difficulty, they could not well reduce the estimates of expenditure, as the sales of special-value land forwards the end of the six months might make up the deficiency. If, however, the land revenue does not come up to expectation means have been taken to keep the expenditure within the revenue.

I concur with you that there exists in Otago a Colonial pride and spirit in which I have always shared, and which influenced me in opposing a dismemberment of the Colony years ago when that policy was by none more warmly advocated than by yourself. But in common with the people in Otago, I feel that New Zealand cannot become great by creating a centralised administration, and that the true interests of both islands and of their respective sub-divisions is to cherish within each the greatest amount of self-reliance. If you think that there can be no such local government as I advocate without involving different Customs duties, you altogether misunderstand me. No doubt were Otago an independent Colony its aim would be to make all its ports free. I for one, however, have no desire to see the Province separated from the rest of the Colony unless it is absolutely driven to that course as the only means of preserving its entity, and of holding its own. All it requires, as I take it, is a fair field and no favor. It wants nothing for itself which it is not willing to concede to the other portions of the Colony—namely, the management of its own local affairs, and the disposal of its own revenue within its own borders, excepting so much as may be required for purely federal purposes. The allusion to the Border Duties question is not in point in so far as I am concerned. Surely there may be an agreement as to Customs tariffs between separate Colonies, such as have existed between different kingdoms.

You express your hope that as the proposed measures assume shape and form my objections will cease. You will excuse me for saying that I am at a loss to comprehend this. In your former letters we were led to believe that all details had been arranged, and that nothing was required to secure such becoming law but the submitting them to Parliament. I pointed out that your proposals might not be sanctioned. From what you say it appears that you have agreed to abolish the Constitution of the Colony, and that what is to take its place has not assumed shape and form. I confess that this is to my mind somewhat perplexing. Can it be that the Colonial Government is now becoming aware of the difficulties which beset its path, and that what was sketched in your former letters may have to assume a shape and form unlike that which you then detailed?

You say that you cannot see any breach of faith to Otago in the proposal to repeal the salutary provisions of the Immigration and Public Works Act in reference to the liabilities of those Provinces within which railways are constructed. If this be so then I apprehend it will be no breach of faith next year to repeal any Act which may be passed this year to localise the land revenue. I fear that in placing faith in Acts of the Colonial Parliament the people have been heretofore too confiding, and I for one am determined not again to err in that direction.

And now, in conclusion, let me say that if even by an ejaculatory remark I have said anything distasteful, I trust you will forgive me, as my duty to this Province has constrained me most reluctantly to continue this correspondence. I yet hope to see the Colonial Parliament granting to Otago that which she has a right to demand—namely, that the Province shall be governed as its people desire. Should, however, this be denied. I am not singular in believing that the progress of the Colony will receive a heavy blow, and great discouragement, which will be most injurious. The uncertainty even now which exists as to what the next scheme of the Central Government may be is creating an uneasy feeling throughout the community, which you need not be told is highly detrimental to the progress of the Colony.

I have, &c.,
JAMES MACANDREW,
Superintendent of Otago.
The Honorable the Premier,

Wellington.

(8.) *The Hon the Premier to His Honor the Superintendent of Otago.*

General Government Offices, Wellington,

5th June, 1876.

SIR,—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Honor's letter of May 31st, in reply to mine of the 25th.

2. I refrain from remarking upon your letter, as I think it desirable that this correspondence should be closed.

3. I should be sorry to think that any of the comments I have made have been productive of personal annoyance to yourself, and you will accept my assurance that they were not so designed.

I have, &c.,
JULIUS VOGEL.
His Honor the Superintendent of Otago.

(9.) *His Honor the Superintendent to the Hon. the Premier.*

Province of Otago, New Zealand. Superintendent's Office, Dunedin.

9th June, 1876.

SIR,—I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 5th instant. In closing this correspondence, accept my thanks for the courtesy you have displayed in your various letters.

I have, &c.
JAMES MACANDREW,
Superintendent of Otago.
The Honorable the Premier,

Wellington.

MILLS, DICK & Co., PRINTERS, STAFFORD STREET, DUNEDIN.
Address to the People of Otago.

By His Honor James Macandrew, *Superintendent of the Province.*

coat of arms Mills, Dick and Co., Steam Printers Dunedin Stafford Street 1875

To the People of Otago.

FELLOW COLONISTS—

As the elected head of this Province, specially charged to watch over and protect its interests, I deem it due, both to you and to myself, to give expression to a few thoughts as regards the present political situation.

I desire to do so as briefly as possible, and as an earnest man speaking to earnest men.

I am deeply impressed with the conviction that we have reached a crisis in the political history of New Zealand, upon our right action with regard to which now, depends the future of the Colony for good or for evil.

I assume that you are all aware of the fact that a majority of your representatives in the Colonial Parliament have decided that your Provincial Legislature is to be abolished, and that but for the strenuous efforts of a minority this abolition would have been an accomplished fact, without any reference whatever to your wishes or opinions on the subject. As it is, the operation of the Act has been postponed until after the prorogation of the next Session of the new Parliament. So that the people of New Zealand may, at the approaching elections, have a voice in the matter.

What I now earnestly desire is, that the people of Otago would calmly and deliberately consider for themselves the effect which the abolition of the Province is likely to have upon their own interests. To my mind that effect cannot fail to be very disastrous indeed, and it may be added that this conclusion is based upon a somewhat intimate acquaintance with the past history and present position of the Colony.

It cannot, I presume, be denied that, considering the extent of its territory, the short period of its existence, and the comparatively small handful of its population, the progress of Otago hitherto has been perfectly marvellous, all the more so looking at the fact that it has contributed upwards of two millions of money to the Colonial chest, in respect of which there has not been one single sixpence of value received. Just fancy to yourselves what this sum might have accomplished had it been expended in developing the resources of the Province.

Nothing can more forcibly illustrate the progress of Otago, which a quarter of a century ago was an unpeopled wilderness, than the fact that of the thirty-two colonies of Great Britain no less than twenty-eight are inferior to this Province in respect of the amount of its public revenue and the extent of its commerce.

In my opinion the only thing which has prevented the still further progress of Otago has been the abstraction of its revenue by the Colony, and the action of the Colonial Legislature, by which the Province has been deprived of the power of carrying on immigration and public works on its own account, both of which I maintain in the nature of things could have been more satisfactorily conducted by the Provincial than by the General Executive. As a striking example of the contrast between the two systems, we need only revert to the fact that under General administration, the cost to the Colony on immigration has been upwards of £21 10s. a head for each statute adult, while under the system so successfully carried on for years by the Provincial Government, the total cost did not exceed £15 10s. per adult, the quality of the immigration comparing favorably with that of the former. There was nothing to have prevented the whole of the recent immigration into this Province from having been conducted on the same terms, had the Province been allowed to borrow for the purpose as the Colony did.

How far our past progress is to be attributed to the action of the local Legislature is a question upon which opinions may differ; there can, I apprehend, be no difference of opinion, however, as to the fact that this progress has been in no degree attributable to the action of the Colonial Parliament; and yet it is now proposed to part with the one, and to place the administration of affairs entirely in the hand of the other.

One great argument—indeed, I may say the only argument—which has been adduced in favor of abolishing the Provincial legislature, is the alleged saving of public expenditure which would be effected thereby. This is an argument, however, which might be much more forcibly applied towards the abolition of the Colonial Legislature, as at present constituted. The Provincial Legislature and Executive of Otago (which could fulfil all the functions of the Colonial Legislature and Executive without any additional charge) costs one shilling and sixpence per head on the population of the Province, while the Colonial Parliament and Executive cost two shillings and ninepence per head.

As regards the whole Colony, the total cost of the nine Provincial Councils and Executives is under £32,000 a year, while the annual expense of the General Assembly and Colonial Executive is over £50,000. If you add to this £250,000 of annual departmental and other charges—which would disappear along with the General Assembly—you will be able to judge as to where the greatest saving might be effected. I may say that the foregoing figures represent expenditure in respect of services which might be dispensed with without detriment to the public interest; they do not include anything connected with the Immigration and Public "Works Departments, in both of which there would be a material reduction were these matters left to the

Provinces.

I repeat that the Abolition Bill, if carried into operation, must be disastrous to the interests of this Province in various ways. I shall only allude to one or two facts, which will serve amply to bear out this opinion. "We will take first and foremost the territorial revenue, which, although *de jure* Colonial revenue, has been hitherto *de facto* the revenue of the Province, and appropriated by the Provincial Council towards roads and bridges, the erection of schools, subsidising local Road Boards, &c.

Under the Abolition Bill the annual interest upon the Provincial debt becomes the first charge on the land revenue to the extent of £90,000. The residue, if any, goes into the Colonial Treasury, to be appropriated by the General Assembly. I say the residue if any, because it is quite possible that there may be no residue, inasmuch as in the event of our railways not paying more than working expenses, the interest on their cost is legally chargeable on the Land Fund. Assuming, however, that there will be a residue, you may be quite certain that very little, if any thereof, will find its way back to you—the Colonial horse-leech must first be satisfied. Although it is likely that the railways in this Province will yield sufficient to cover both interest and working expenses, yet there are political lines in New Zealand with regard to which it is to be feared that such will not be the case; and so surely as any portion of our Land Fund goes into the common purse, just as surely will it be applied towards deficiencies in every part of the Colony. The probability is that railways in Otago will be a source of revenue, which, under Provincial administration, would be expended wholly within the Province, but which, under the proposed new order of things, will not be so expended.

In fact, it was broadly stated from the Ministerial bench during the late Session, that whatever surplus may be derived from remunerative railways should be devoted towards making up the deficiency of those which may not pay, in whatever part of the Colony they may be situated, and this will undoubtedly be one of the practical results if the Abolition Bill comes into operation. I regard this declaration as a gross breach of that fundamental principle which was laid down when the Public Works policy was agreed to, namely, that each Province should be charged with the cost of its railways; on no other condition would I and others have assented to the policy. As it is, it only shows the folly of relying upon the stability and good faith of Colonial Legislature where the rights and interests of particular Provinces are concerned.

Reverting to the abstraction from the Province of its Land Revenue, I look upon it, that unjust and injurious as this will be, the blotting out of the Provincial Council, as exercising a watchful eye upon the administration of the "Waste Lands will be more detrimental still, and will probably result in the public estate falling into the hands of the few instead of the many, and in the indiscriminate renewal of the pastoral leases without reference to the requirements of settlement, or to their real value.

There is nothing that I deprecate more than setting class against class. I have always regarded the pastoral interest as one of the greatest and most important in the Province, and can see no necessary antagonism between it and any other. I regret, therefore, to think that the abolition of the Provincial Legislature is in a great measure supported by this interest, in the hope that it is likely to get a renewal of leases on better terms under Colonial than under Provincial administration.

In the course of the next few years, nearly the whole of the pastoral leases throughout the Province expire. Should the administration continue in the hands of the Province, the pastoral tenants will be greatly multiplied in number, and, instead of run-holders, will become thriving and wealthy sheep farmers, living on their estates and employing a large amount of labor; a consummation which will add greatly to the public revenue, and will tend to elevate the position of the Province both politically and socially:

Now, let us glance at the other reasons which are adduced in favor of the proposed constitutional change. It is said that several of the Provinces are bankrupt; that they are unable to carry on any longer; that is to say, they are unable for want of means to perform those primary functions of government which have hitherto devolved on them, viz., the protection of life and property, the education of the people, &c., &c.

If, however, the Provinces are unable to carry on these functions without funds, how is the Colonial Government to carry them on? It is clear that it must do so with money which it has derived from the so-called destitute and needy Province itself, or with money derived from other Provinces. For example, in this latter case, the Gaols, Police, Hospitals, and Schools in Auckland are to be upheld partly at the cost of Otago—a proceeding against which I shall always protest, and which the Provincial authorities of Auckland reject with scorn. They say, let us have the management of our own affairs and a fair proportion of our own revenue, and we shall provide for the peace, order, and good government of the Province without imposing on our neighbours.

I deny that there is any necessity for the Provinces being unable to perform their functions, but I will tell you why some of them are unable to do so. It is simply because the public revenue, a large proportion of which used to be devoted towards the necessary purposes of government, has been gradually more and more withheld from the Provinces, and absorbed by the Colonial Parliament, until at length all that is left is 15s. a head capitation allowance; that is to say, the people of Otago, out of the £5 contributed annually to the Colonial chest

by each man, woman, and child, receives in return the magnificent sum of 15s., wherewith to pay the interest on the Provincial debt, to maintain the absolutely necessary public departments, and to carry on the greater portion of the real government of the country. It will readily be seen that but for its land fund, of which it is now to be deprived, Otago would have been in no better position than the poorest of its neighbours.

I repeat that if any of the Provinces have been left high and dry, it is in consequence of the lion's share of the revenue having been absorbed by the Colonial Parliament, and applied to what? Not towards the paramount purposes of Government—not to the settlement and occupation of the Colony—but to the maintenance of a Legislature at Wellington, and of a Colonial establishment upon a scale of extravagance, unparalleled, I believe, in any other country in the world similarly situated.

The Colonial expenditure has from the outset been assuming larger and larger dimensions, more suitable to an old and populous country than to the requirements of a young and thinly peopled colony.

Talk of Provincial extravagance—the thing pales into insignificance compared with that of the Colony. Depend upon it, unless we retrace our steps, the day of reckoning will come sooner or later, and it is not by hugging the chain which binds us, and rushing still further into the arms of Centralism that this day is to be evaded. It can only be met in one of two ways—either the taxation of the Colony must be increased, or the unnecessary and unwarrantable expenditure must be reduced. Of this latter, I feel convinced that there is not the slightest hope, so long as the two islands are mixed up, and unequally yoked together in one Legislature as at present—a Legislature which assumes to itself the conduct and control of the whole of the parish business throughout the Colony, instead of confining its attention to those few subjects which concern New Zealand as a whole.

It may be said, why not apply the pruning-knife and cut down the unproductive expenditure? And no doubt this would seem to be the natural solution of the difficulty. Long experience, however, has convinced me that this cannot or will not be done, and that the only practical remedy is to cut down the tree and plant afresh—and this leads to the real point to which in my humble opinion, the attention of every elector should be directed at the forthcoming election. I should vote for no candidate, however personally acceptable, unless I could thoroughly rely upon his strenuously advocating and supporting such measures as shall substantially secure—

- That each Island shall have power to provide for the maintenance of its own peace, order, and good government, and for the management of its own local affairs, irrespectively and independently of the other.
- That the power and functions of the General Assembly shall be distinctly defined, and shall be limited to questions purely federal.
- That the Provincial Legislature or Legislatures of each Island shall have supreme constituent powers in respect of all subjects not so defined as aforesaid.

It seems to me that the foregoing proposals embody a general principle of action, which if determined upon by a majority of the representatives of the people will produce such a reform as must lead to the existing taxation being beneficially expended or greatly reduced, and be conducive to the happiness and prosperity of the people of both Islands. It will be observed that I have not touched the question as to the number of Provinces in each Island; as this does not materially affect the chief object to be attained—namely, financial reform and retrenchment; at the same time there are grave and important considerations which would have to be taken into account in discussing the point as to the number of Provinces. My own opinion leans strongly towards at least two Provinces in each Island; I do not think that for years to come anything less will be satisfactory, either on the ground of economy or efficiency.

Provincial Councils, even in the false position in which they have been placed hitherto, have been important schools for the nurture of political life, and for political training, and as such (apart from all other benefits) they have been worth infinitely more to New Zealand than they have cost. How much more valuable would they be in these respects if placed on a proper footing and in a position of supremacy, each in its own sphere.

It would be easy to show as regards your own Provincial Council, that with all [its faults, it is just as capable—aye and more so—of making laws and of dealing with the affairs of Otago as is the General Assembly at Wellington. In the case of the latter it may well be said

"Tis distance lends enchantment to the view.

It surely stands to reason that forty-six men, all of whom are elected by yourselves, assembled within the Province, can deal far more satisfactorily with your interests than can eighty-four men assembled in the North Island—only one-fourth of whom are elected by you.

Another great argument which is urged in favor of the proposed change is, that it will secure a greater amount of justice to outlying districts, that is to say, it will confer upon Otago what it already to a great extent possesses, and which every district which so desires it may possess to-morrow—viz., Road Boards with power to rate themselves. Hitherto these Road Boards have been subsidised by the Province out of its land fund.

Under the proposed new regime they are to be subsidised out of taxes to be extracted from the pockets of the ratepayers, in other words they are to be subsidised out of moneys contributed by the people themselves. And this is the great boon for which we are invited to part with those institutions under which the Province has flourished so remarkably, just as if this boon could not be obtained if necessary under the existing system.

I know of few things which have been more beneficial to this Province than the liberal subsidies which during the past ten years have been received by the District Road Boards and Municipalities at the hands of the Provincial Government. It is true that since 1871 the Colonial Government has subsidised Road Boards throughout the Colony to the extent of £50,000 a year, and that Otago has had its proportion of this sum. This money, however, has not come out of revenue but out of loans, which have to be repaid—an easy mode of acquiring popularity from which the Provincial Governments have been carefully debarred.

Depend upon it, inadequate as it may have been towards their requirements, the outlying districts of Otago have had vastly more money expended within them by the Provincial Council than they are ever likely to have at the hands of the General Assembly. I would say more, that but for the enormous drain upon the resources of the Province which has gone to uphold the lavish expenditure of the Colonial Parliament, the outlying districts would have been far more liberally dealt with than they have been. If the General Assembly can be confined to purely federal action, and the colonial expenditure reduced by £200,000 a year, both of which objects can be accomplished if the people are true to themselves, the outlying districts would be in an infinitely better position than they would be under the Abolition Bill. The abolition of the Native and Defence Departments alone, which cost the Colony £126,000 a year, would enable the Provinces largely to increase their expenditure in outlying districts. Had the management of Native affairs been left to the Provinces, as they ought to have been, millions of money might have been available for outlying districts, and for the general benefit.

One of the crimes with which your Provincial Council was most loudly charged in the Assembly was that its sole aim had been to aggrandize Dunedin at the expense of the Province. Never was there a more reckless and unfounded charge. It would be no difficult matter to show that considering the extent of its population, Dunedin has had no more than very scant justice at the hands of the Provincial Council. It is much to be regretted that there are those among us who, while they exhibit an unfounded jealousy towards Dunedin, have no objection to aggrandize Wellington, to any extent, at the expense of Otago.

I have long been convinced that if there is to be any genuine diffusion of local administrative power throughout the Colony, such diffusion will have to emanate from Provincial Legislatures. I do not anticipate that any practical measure in this direction is likely to proceed from Centralism as it exists in this Colony.

The Provincial Council of Otago has done much in the way of extending power of local administration. It has already placed upon the Statute Book an Ordinance whereby, if the people desire it, County Boards may be constituted at any time, with full power to administer all local matters; an Ordinance which confers far greater powers, and makes much more liberal provision in the way of substantial endowments, than did the local Government Bill, introduced into the General Assembly as part of the Abolition Bill.

By virtue of a Colonial statute, a fixed proportion of the land revenue has to be set aside as an endowment for these County Boards, whenever they are brought into existence. As it is, however, none have taken advantage of this Ordinance, from which it may be presumed that the people deem themselves better off as they are; an opinion in which I do not think that they are very far wrong. The Provincial Council has created and endowed all over the Province, Municipalities, Road Boards, School Boards, Harbor Boards, Athenaeums; in short, its maxim has been to decentralise administrative power in every direction, and in this it has afforded a striking contrast to the Colonial Parliament, whose principle of action has been, centralise—centralise—centralise—so much so, that if not checked now, it will shortly become impossible to move in any part of New Zealand without the authority of the Governor in Council, which means practically, an irresponsible bureaucracy at Wellington.

That your Provincial Council is faultless and may not be improved, it is not for me to allege. Let it be what it may, it is an embodiment of the popular will; a transcript of yourselves; and if it acts indiscreetly, the remedy is in your own hands. All I would say further is, that if you sweep it away, you will commit an act which you yourselves will yet bitterly regret; an act which posterity will mourn over and deplore. What would England, Ireland, and Scotland give now to have what we are asked to throw away—their local parliaments to deal with local affairs?

Tou may rest assured that political privileges are not so easily acquired that they should be lightly disposed of, and that nothing but the most culpable indifference as to the responsibilities which devolve upon them, will account for the people of this Colony parting with one iota of the powers and privileges which they now possess, or permitting themselves to be led by those who are influenced by a morbid love of change for its own sake.

One word more in conclusion. I have endeavored very imperfectly to point out that Otago, which has been the milch cow of the Colony, has nothing to gain, but everything to lose should the Abolition Bill be carried

into operation—that the Colonial Parliament has from first to last been the wet blanket upon progress—that the resources of the Province are every day disappearing more and more in the maelstrom of Colonial finance—that the bane of the Colony has been the gradual growth of a grasping and improvident Centralism, repugnant to the genius of free institutions, and totally unsuited to the peculiar circumstances of New Zealand. You might as well attempt to build a pyramid, commencing at the apex, as to build up a great nation in New Zealand by means of one Central Government at Wellington.

I cannot disguise from myself the fact that, could we divest ourselves of the idea of the unity of New Zealand, the true remedy for the existing evils, in as far as Otago is concerned, would be that the Province should be erected into an independent Colony. Even were the people unanimous on this point, however, there are difficulties in the way which would take much time to surmount. As it is, therefore, the practical remedy at this moment is to send to the new Parliament men who will spare the country from that plethora of Government with which it has for years been scourged—men who will see to it, that the General Assembly shall take the shape of a simple and inexpensive federal Council, dealing only with a very few subjects; and that the two islands, and the various Provinces in each, shall be separate, distinct, and independent as regards the disposal and control of their respective revenues and the management of their local affairs. Of course there must needs be an equitable adjustment, as between the Provinces, as to the payment of existing Colonial liabilities, which adjustment would have to be regulated by the federal Legislature.

Finally, I trust it may not be deemed out of place to point out, in reference to the approaching election, that if there should be more than one anti-Centralist candidate for the same seat, the chances are that the Centralist candidate representing it may be a minority of the constituency, will be returned, unless all the anti-Centralist candidates but one can be induced to retire, or unless the electors shall determine to confine their support to one and the same candidate. I do most fervently hope that every elector will arouse himself to a due sense of the gravity of the situation, and that we may each and all be guided and directed by that wisdom that cometh from above.

I have the honor to be,

Fellow Colonists,

Yours faithfully,

J. MACANDREW,
Superintendent of Otago.

Dunedin,

16th November, 1875.

Mills, Dick and Co., Steam Printers, Stafford Street, Dunedin.

A Speech.

On. Border Treaties and Australian Federation Delivered at A Banquet at Albury, on the 31st October, 1876 By His Excellency Sir Hercules Robinson, G.C.M.G. Governor of New South Wales (*Extracted from THE AUSTRALASIAN, and Published by Request.*)

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On Border Treaties and Federation.

[On the occasion of the visit of Sir Hercules Robinson to Albury, a banquet was given in his honour, at which, in response to the toast of his health, His Excellency made the following speech:]

SIR HERCULES ROBINSON, who, on rising, was received with great cheering, said—I thank you, Mr. Mayor, for the kind terms in which you have proposed my health, and you, ladies and gentlemen, for the marked cordiality with which you have responded to the toast. I desire at the same time to express my grateful sense of the loyal and warm-hearted reception which has been accorded to me on the occasion of my first visit to the federal city—a welcome which has not been surpassed in generous enthusiasm by any which I have received in any part of the colony. (Applause.) I can assure you that I have long looked forward to visiting this interesting district, which is so rich in its natural resources, and which is second to none in the enterprising and thoroughly

loyal character of its population; but I have always been prevented hitherto, by one *contretemps* or another, from carrying out my intentions, until at length I thoroughly made up my mind that this year should not close without my seeing the Border districts. I had accordingly determined, during my annual visit to Melbourne, to take a run up by rail to both Albury and Deniliquin, so as to see something of this part of the country. As soon, however, as I informed Ministers of my intention, they suggested that my tour should assume somewhat more of an official character than I had at first intended, and advised me to travel from Sydney to Albury and from Deniliquin back to Sydney overland, so as to become personally acquainted with the residents of the various localities, and to see and judge for myself of the resources and requirements of the southern districts. (Hear, hear.) I need not tell you that I was only too happy to accede to their request, and I am glad to say that my overland trip, so far, has been one of real enjoyment. With good roads, first-rate teams, and a skilful whip, we made the journey in great comfort, averaging, while travelling, over ten miles an hour, which reminded one of early coaching days in the old country. My friend and most hospitable neighbour, Sir George Bowen—(applause)—the Governor of the great colony of Victoria, whom I am rejoiced to welcome here to-day, in a recent excellent speech which he made at Beechworth, expressed a hope that the bumping which I was sure to get on the bush roads during my overland trip would quicken my zeal for the completion of railway communication between Sydney and Melbourne. (Hear, hear.) I am glad to say that I had not to undergo any physical suffering of the kind, the more so as I did not need a single bump to strengthen my conviction as to the importance of completing, without one day's unnecessary delay, the Great Southern Railway to Albury, a policy which has always had, and always will have—for whatever it may be worth—my most strenuous personal advocacy. (Cheers.) Mr. Lackey, the Minister for Public Works, who is here, will, I hope, be able to give you a satisfactory assurance upon this head. Of course, as you are aware, he is only one in the Cabinet, and must, like Regina, "Keep his eye on his father"—(laughter); but in this case, I believe, he will tell you that there is really "no deception," and that, as soon as ever the money for the construction of the railway is voted by Parliament, the works will be proceeded with with the utmost vigour and despatch. (Loud applause.) And now, allow me to say that I have been greatly pleased with what I have seen of the federal city and its neighbourhood. Standing, as I did on Sunday last, by the Hume monument and the Hovell tree, upon the banks of your beautiful river, I felt it difficult to realize that but fifty-two years have passed since those enterprising explorers first discovered this portion of the country. Looking round, I saw on all hands abundant evidence of industrial progress and social improvement. The public buildings, the banks, the mercantile establishments, all bear evidence of the commercial importance and prosperity of the place; whilst the churches, schools, and other public institutions testify to the earnest desire of the residents here to advance the population in intelligence and morality and in all the qualities which make a nation great and happy. (Cheers.) But looking at the river, the thought more than once obtruded itself upon me—"Why has Albury been called the federal city? I presume, because, on the *lucus a non lucendo* principle, it presents a striking illustration of the absence of federation, and of the inconvenience and loss arising from running an arbitrary line of commercial demarcation through a country peopled by the same race, and marked by no physical differences. The corn and wine of this district are thus debarred from access to their natural market by a prohibitory tax imposed by a neighbouring colony, and the social commerce and exchanges of communities, separated only by a stream, are hampered by all the obstructions and restrictions which a customs barrier and different fiscal systems impose. Various partial and temporary expedients have, from time to time, been suggested and attempted to correct this anomaly. It was suggested at one time that the border should be shifted back to the Murrumbidgee. But I apprehend that the inhabitants of Riverina have by this time satisfied themselves that, although New South Wales may occasionally be a little slow and sleepy, they would, perhaps, not gain much, on the whole, by exchanging King Log for King Stork. At another time a suggestion was mooted of forming Riverina into a separate colony. But it is obvious that this would not remove the chief grievance of a part of the products of the district being excluded from their natural market in Victoria, whilst existing annoyances and inconveniences would be enhanced by the establishment of a customs barrier on two sides instead of on one. Border treaties, too, have been attempted with the object of permitting unrestricted commercial intercourse across the Murray, New South Wales and Victoria mutually receiving in a lump sum the amount which it was estimated they would have collected on their dutiable imports. The principle upon which such a compromise was based was scarcely equitable; for whilst Victoria recovered, in one form or another, from the importers the duties paid over in a lump sum to New South Wales, New South Wales had to defray out of her general revenue the amount paid over to Victoria on the corn, and wine, and other produce of Riverina imported into Victoria, and liable to duty under the Victoria tariff. However, the arrangement effected, at all events for a time, and perhaps in as convenient a form as was practicable, the object desired, of admitting the products of Riverina to their natural market, and of putting a stop to the harassing annoyance of individual collections on the border. But the treaty necessarily broke down when the tariff of New South Wales was revised in October, 1873, and the items reduced to specific duties on only about forty-five articles. The ostensible cause of the abrogation of the treaty was the introduction into Victoria, across the

border, of tobacco manufactured in New South Wales, such a contingency not having been foreseen or estimated for when the adjustment was agreed upon between the two Governments. But under any circumstances the treaty must have broken down with the increased dissimilarity between the two tariffs, for with several hundred articles free on the one side which on the other were liable to duties, in some cases as high as 20 per cent., the free and unrestrained passage of commodities across the border was no longer maintainable. If such goods had been allowed to pass into Riverina through Victoria in bond they would have found their way back across the river into Victoria, to the evasion of the revenue of that colony. If, on the other hand, Victoria had refused the free passage of such goods through her territory in bond the trade would have been diverted from Melbourne to Sydney, and the commodities might still have found their way into Victoria without payment of duty, notwithstanding the additional cost of carriage. The abrogation of the treaty and the re-establishment of a rigid customs cordon on the frontier was, therefore, inevitable; and although there is every now and then a rumour of renewing the treaty, I am not myself sanguine that any equitable arrangement can be made which will be mutually acceptable whilst the tariffs of the two colonies are so widely dissimilar.

Intercolonial commercial reciprocity was next advocated as a panacea for evils similar to those felt here, and Imperial legislation was invoked to enable each of the Australasian colonies to admit the products or manufactures of other Australasian colonies free, or on more favourable terms than similar products from other countries. But nothing has yet come, and I venture to think nothing will come, of this legislation, for the reason which I gave at the time, that it is scarcely possible to frame and carry out such reciprocal tariff agreements in any manner which will operate with fairness to both parties to the contract. Again, a customs union has been suggested, under which internal commercial exchanges would be free, articles imported from without alone being taxed, and the collections distributed amongst the several colonies composing the union in proportion to population. But such a customs union as I pointed out some years ago—and the argument has never been refuted—would only be practicable on the broad free-trade basis of levying duties—not on trade, but on consumption; that is, customs duties levied upon as few articles as possible of general consumption, with a corresponding excise. And when neighbouring colonies are agreed so far as to be willing to concede so much, their association need not then, I think, be limited to the mere collection and distribution of customs duties, but may easily be made to embrace the welding together of these really homogeneous provinces into one complete Australian dominion. (Hear, hear.) Thus, as I have shown, all the expedients which have from time to time been suggested or attempted, to mitigate the inconveniences to which you are exposed on the border, have failed, as I maintain they were bound to do; for such inconveniences are merely the natural consequences of dividing a country which is physically one into separate autonomous sections by means of mere arbitrary geographical lines of demarcation. The case is one which cannot be satisfactorily met by any empirical palliative. It admits of but one effectual and permanent cure, namely, the blotting out altogether of the artificial unnatural boundary line—in a word, federation. (Applause.) It is, I think, well that you should realise this here, and instead of wasting your time in looking for palliatives, which must prove ineffectual, seek rather for the total eradication of the evil by the adoption of the simple and natural remedy—a remedy, the attainment of which is, I believe, merely a question of time. (Hear, hear.) It is interesting and encouraging in this connexion to note the fact that all countries similarly circumstanced to this have, at one period or another of their existence, passed through the succeeding phases of disintegration and reintegration. A vast new territory, occupied by a sparse and scattered population, and with its communications unopened, has at first a circulation which is feeble towards the extremities. The tendency is to congestion at the centre, which generally results in, as it were, fatty degeneration of the heart, whilst the extremities are starved. The development of the whole under such conditions is for a time accelerated and advanced by reducing the circles of pulsation and bringing each part as near as possible to centres of motive power and progress. At a certain stage of development, however, these separate systems, in their turn, act feebly and antagonistically, and it is then found that union is strength, not only against external influences, but also as regards internal development, the interests of the several sections being more advanced by bringing the wealth, and credit, and intelligence of the whole to bear in every part, than by encouraging each in the contracted policy of taking care of itself, possibly at the expense of its neighbour. (Hear, hear.) Look, for example, at the early histories of England, of Germany, of Italy, of Switzerland, of the United States, of Canada, and even to the recent history of New Zealand. All have passed through phases of disintegration, and subsequent reintegration. The impelling motive varies. In some cases it is protection against aggression from without, in others against dissensions from within, sometimes merely increased facilities for internal development; but the tendency of the movement, whatever the impulse which directs it, is ever in the same direction; and the result is uniform—namely, the closer political cohesion, in some form or another, of people of the same race and language within the physical boundaries of the country which they inhabit. Whether Australia has yet reached the stage at which her safety can be better secured and her progress better advanced by the substitution of the federal for the provincial system, is a question which must be decided by the wisdom and patriotism of her local legislatures. But it is impossible for an impartial

looker-on not to perceive that questions are now constantly cropping up, the proper settlement of which would be greatly facilitated by united action, and that resources are being frequently wasted which might largely promote the advancement of the country, under a wider community of interest and a more diffused readiness to co-operate for the general good. (Hear, hear.) Take, for example, the question of defence. Any danger to Australia must come from without. An attack on any part would affect the whole, and, like a chain, the strength of the whole is no greater than that of its weakest link. The true policy, under such conditions, is as obvious here now as it was in England in the time of the Heptarchy—namely, the substitution for petty isolated schemes of defence of a union which will facilitate the concentration, upon the shortest possible notice, of the whole fighting force of the country upon any threatened point. Look, again, at the recent growth of questions affecting external, as well as internal interests—such as the various mail services, ocean telegraphs, the exploration and settlement of conterminous territory, general immigration, and the introduction of Chinese. These, and similar subjects of a general character, will assuredly, before long, need to be considered and treated from a continental rather than from provincial points of view. So, too, as regards the important matter of internal transit. It must be obvious that, looking to the probable future of this great country, the railways should be designed with a view of hereafter forming links in the chain of railway communication which will some day extend throughout the length and breadth of Australia. But the question has never been even considered in this light, and much that is now being done will, I fear, have to be undone in the future. Different gauges have been adopted by the neighbouring colonies of New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, and Queensland, and the policy of their railway extensions so far has been almost solely one of isolation, being directed mainly to the object of securing, by one device or another, for their rival capitals as much of the traffic of the country as possible. The fares are manipulated in the same interest. Victoria establishes special rates to the Riverina districts, in competition with South Australia, for the traffic of the Murray. New South Wales follows suit in self-defence, and to secure what she conceives to be her fair share of the traffic of her own territory. Where this "beggar my neighbour" policy is to cease it is difficult to say. Mind, I do not seek to impute blame to any Government. The result is simply the natural outcome of the system of disintegration and of isolation under which each colony is almost necessarily led to seek its own aggrandisement at the expense of its neighbours. But such aims are not for the common good of the country. Railways should be designed by the routes best suited for uniting the great centres of population and for developing the resources of the country. The fares should be fixed with the view of encouraging industry to the utmost extent, consistently with the fair claims of the general taxpayers. With railways over the whole of Australia projected and managed on these broad general principles, it would be a matter of as complete indifference to the country at large whether the produce of Riverina found its way to Sydney, Melbourne, or Adelaide, as it now is to New South Wales—whether the wool from Grenfell travels by the Great Southern or the Great Western Railway, or, as it is to England, whether the products of Birmingham make use of London or Liverpool as the port of shipment. Of course such a question affects the personal interests of the traders of London and Liverpool, and of Sydney, Melbourne, and Adelaide; but it is the interest of the country at large that traffic should flow through its natural and most economical channels, and any attempt to divert its course by artificial regulations and restrictions is simply a waste of wealth and power, and consequently a common loss to mankind. (Applause.) These and similar considerations can scarcely fail to attain greater prominence as the several provinces advance in development, until at length a general concurrence of feeling will be brought about as to the necessity for joint action in matters of federal concern. Meanwhile, the statesman should always be looking forward. Like a man riding well to hounds, he should keep his eyes ever ahead, with a view of avoiding, or, if need be, surmounting the difficulties which lie before him. All legislation and administration should be viewed, therefore, not only in reference to their applicability to the present, but also with regard to their adaptability to the probable circumstances of the future. The population of New South Wales is at present but little more than 600,000, whilst that of the whole continent of Australia is about two millions. The population of the United States of America at the date of their independence, 100 years ago, was but little above two millions, and now it is over forty millions. What the future increase in the population of Australia will be no one can tell, but it will assuredly be very great. The increase in the population of New South Wales has for some time been steady at about 4 per cent, per annum. But when one looks to the increasing pressure of population upon the means of subsistence in the old countries of Europe, there is every reason to expect that emigration from thence in the future will be conducted on a far greater scale than in the past. Supposing, however, that only the recent New South Wales increase of 4 per cent, annually be maintained, the population of this continent at that rate, at the end of the present century—25 years hence—will be over five millions; 25 years later, it will be 12½-millions; whilst in the year 1950 it will be 31¼ millions, which was the population of the United Kingdom by the last census taken in 1871. (Applause). The Registrar-General of England points out, in his last report, that, at the rate of increase of the 10 years from 1861 to 1871, the population of the United Kingdom would double itself in 84 years; that is, it would be about 63 millions in 1955. It may well be doubted whether so small an area could support so dense a population. But

here there is room enough and to spare, for all who may wish to come. (Hear, hear.) I think, therefore, that my estimate of increase for Australia, which is based upon the recent established rate of increase in New South Wales, of 4 per cent, annually, will be found to be below the mark. Assuming, however, that the recent rate of increase in the United Kingdom is not diminished, and that that for Australia is not augmented, the population of Australia will, in 1955, be over 38 millions, which was the population of the United States of America at the last census in 1870, and the population of this continent will then bear to that of the United Kingdom the proportion of 38 to 63, instead of only 2 to 33, as at present. Surely such a prospect of future greatness must suggest the necessity of now laying broad and deep the foundations for the development of this vast country, and for its corresponding advancement in civilization. It is indeed, a prospect which may well enkindle a flame of Australian, as distinguished from provincial patriotism; whilst it assuredly offers a noble field for the exercise of the highest capacity for statesmanship. (Loud and continued applause.)

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Australian Federation.

A Review Of Mr. For Steer's Paper, "Fallacies of Federation," *Read before the Colonial Institute in London, January, 1877.* (EXTRACTED FROM THE *Sydney Morning Herald* And Published By Request.)

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Australian Federation.

The Fallacies of Federation: A paper read before the Colonial Institute in London, by William Forster, Esq., Agent-General for the colony of New South Wales.

AMONGST the many reactions of public feeling in the old country during the last quarter of a century, there is perhaps none more remarkable or complete, than the change of opinion which has taken place with reference to the colonial policy of the Empire. Until within the last few years, any public man who advocated the importance of keeping up the connection between the colonies and the mother country, was considered by advanced thinkers to hold respectable but old fashioned and obsolete ideas. The view then most in favor was that a Colonial Empire added nothing to the strength of the United Kingdom, that it involved needless expense, and increased the liability to war. Now, however, the vane points in the opposite direction. Everybody is for holding on to the colonies we have got, and not a few are in favor of acquiring more. Concurrently with the growth of these retentive and acquisitive feelings, an aggregative tendency developed itself; and the advantage of separate but neighbouring colonies coalescing in groups under a federal system, became a fashionable and favourite topic. From this idea political theorists not unnaturally advanced by few and simple steps to the consideration of a federal union of the colonies and the mother country, and of a still nobler union of the whole English-speaking race; whilst poetic fancy soared as high as "the Parliament of man—the Federation of the World." So far, however, the practical result of the aggregative tendency has been limited to the actual federation of the North American colonies in 1867, and of the Leeward Islands group in the West Indies in 1871; whilst proposals were made in 1876 for the federation of the Windward Islands, and for the formation of a South African dominion. In Australia the subject attracted some attention many years ago, but the circumstances of that time were not favorable to federation. The colonies were then each intent on their own development—their interests did not interlace to the extent they do at present—and so the seed fell on stony ground, and for want of moisture withered away.

Lately, however, the discussions and transactions which have taken place in Canada, the Cape, and the West Indies, have helped to revive an interest in the subject in Australia. About six months ago an article on "Australian Federation" was published in *Fraser's Magazine*, and almost simultaneously a speech was delivered by the present Governor of New South Wales, Sir Hercules Robinson, at Albury, in which his Excellency discussed the advantages of a federal union of the Australian colonies as the only effectual and permanent cure for the evils to which the colonists, especially those residing on the borders, were exposed. The attention of thinking men was thus again drawn to the subject. Federation was freely discussed in the colonial newspapers, and was then taken up by the English Press—the *Times* leading the way with an able article warmly advocating the proposal. Just at this time Mr. William Forster, the Agent-General for New South Wales in London, entered the lists, and in a lengthy paper, entitled "The Fallacies of Federation," which he read before the Colonial Institute, challenged the opinions expressed by the writer in *Fraser*, and by Sir Hercules Robinson at Albury, and explained his own reasons for thinking that the policy of intercolonial federation was opposed to both Imperial and Colonial interests. To those who have the pleasure of being acquainted with Mr. Forster such a proceeding has caused no surprise. He bears the character of being a fearless and honest, but at the same time somewhat crotchety and impracticable politician. The bent of his mind is essentially critical. He enjoys

disputation as an intellectual exercise, and delights, like a skilful whist-player, in "leading up to the weak and through the strong." In political life he is the personification of the amusing character in the play—"the man who would not have it so;" and he usually performs the by no means useless, but often thankless function, of showing how much can be urged against any and every proposal which may for the time being be favoured by a preponderance of popular support. With such a temperament it was natural that he should seek to stem the current which has apparently set in in favour of Australian federation, and it cannot but be encouraging to those who believe in that principle that so skilful a controversialist could not make out a stronger adverse case. Mr. Forster's paper, though doubtless clever, is far from being exhaustive. It is true that as an enumeration of the associated nationalities of history, it is tolerably complete, but, considered as a disquisition on the advantages and disadvantages of intercolonial federation in Australia, it is both meagre and misleading. It no doubt provoked a long and animated discussion at the Institute, and has been the theme of several newspaper articles; but this is perhaps due in a great measure to the factitious weight lent to Mr. Forster's remarks by his position as quasi-representative in London of the colony of New South Wales. In this paper it is proposed to examine Mr. Forster's arguments, and, having demonstrated their unsoundness, to consider more fully than he has done the precise bearing of the changes which Australian federation would involve, and the advantages which might be expected to arise from them.

Mr. Forster, in the first place, distinguishes between Imperial and intercolonial federation—that is, between a federal union of the colonies with the mother country, and the federation of a group or groups of conterminous colonies. To Imperial federation he is not opposed, when the proper time arrives for such a partnership—when, in short, the growth and importance of the colonies may render it convenient, if not imperative to give them a voice and influence in Imperial affairs. Intercolonial federation, on the other hand, he conceives to be not an Imperial, but, in every sense of the word, a colonial or local question, which the colonies should be left to settle for themselves without "the uncalled-for interference of the Imperial Government." If amongst any set of colonies a desire for federation should spontaneously arise, they should of course be free to carry out their wish, but it is not, in his opinion, the duty of the British Government to suggest or encourage the policy of colonial federation, a policy which appears to him opposed to Imperial and colonial interests for the following reasons:—

- "That it would probably afford facilities for Imperial taxation, or, in other words, for obtaining contributions from colonial revenues towards general purposes," such as "the expenses of war, or expenditure for the apparent benefit or regulation of commerce."
- That colonial federation would be the prelude, not to Imperial federation, but to Imperial dismemberment: in other words, that it would be in its spirit antagonistic to Imperial unity, and would more or less tend to the disintegration of the Empire.
- That at present every colony has its own interests in its own keeping, but that under a colonial federation local interests affecting, or supposed to affect, general interests, would be determined by the majority of votes. "The weakest would then go to the wall, and the interests and feelings of remote or insignificant portions of the federation would be sacrificed to those of the dominant majority, real or apparent,"
- That colonial federation can effect nothing that is not attainable by the respective colonies in their present condition, as all the benefits proposed to be conferred upon groups of colonies by federation could be attained by each colony "with its present administrative machinery, by means of arrangement or negotiation with its neighbours, as has already been done by some of the Australian colonies in the cases of postal rates and subsidies and border customs."

This appears to be a fair and complete *précis* of Mr. Forster's paper, omitting merely his review of the national federations which have existed throughout the world from the time of the Achaean League to the present day, as that subject, however interesting to the student of history, has but little practical bearing upon the question of the relative advantages and disadvantages of intercolonial federation.

The doctrine laid down by Mr. Forster, that intercolonial federation is a local question which the colonies concerned should be left to settle for themselves by their own spontaneous action, is doubtless a correct one; and as the Imperial Government does not appear to have any intention of interfering in the matter in any "uncalled for manner," it is unnecessary to combat such an imaginary danger. Let us, therefore, without further preface, discuss the question of intercolonial federation on its merits, and with reference to the objections urged against it by Mr. Forster, in the order in which they have been for convenience arranged.

Mr. Forster's first and second objections, namely, that colonial federation would facilitate the taxation of the colonics for Imperial purposes, and would tend to the disintegration of the Empire, seem to refute each other. As a matter of abstract justice, there can be no doubt that British subjects residing in Australia are as much bound as British subjects residing in Yorkshire to contribute, in proportion to their number and means, towards the expenditure necessary for the maintenance of the Empire at large—towards such common charges, for example, as the army, navy, diplomacy, and the interest of the national debt. The Colonial Taxation Act,

however, passed by Parliament in 1778, recognized the broad principle that for the future representation must accompany taxation, and since then British subjects in the colonies have not been required to contribute their quota to the general charges of the Empire. Before such a contribution can again be asked for, Imperial federation must in some form or other be conceded, so that representatives from the colonies may make a part of that "common consent in Parliament" without which, by the fundamental laws of the realm, no subject "can be compelled to contribute to any tax, tallage, aid, or other like charge."

Petition of Right.

It is no doubt true, as Mr. Forster urges, that it would be easier for the Imperial Government to negotiate with a federal group of colonies for their fair share towards the Imperial expenditure than with each colony separately; and the same facility would doubtless extend to all negotiations between the Imperial and colonial federal authorities, including negotiations for the establishment of colonial representation in the Imperial Parliament. But, as has already been shown, these increased facilities for taxation could not be availed of until that Imperial confederation, of which Mr. Forster is himself a strenuous advocate, were first conceded in some form or another, and all probability of disintegration thereby eliminated.

The third objection urged by Mr. Forster is, that under a colonial federation local questions affecting general interests would be determined by 'the majority of votes, in lieu of the present arrangement, under which each colony has its own interests in its own keeping. And here, before proceeding further, it will be convenient to define precisely what intercolonial federation means. It means simply *joint* action in matters of *common* concern. It means agreement amongst a group of conterminous colonies that questions of common interest shall be surrendered by each to be dealt with by a common Administration and Legislature, in which each colony would be represented according to its numbers and importance. Purely local matters in each colony would remain, as before, exclusively under the jurisdiction of the colonial Legislatures. The settlement of what questions should be local or colonial, and what federal, would be a matter for arrangement during the establishment of federation; but the broad principle would be recognized that each colony would surrender to the federal Legislature the management of questions which, extending beyond the limit of its own jurisdiction, could not be dealt with in their entirety by that colony. If a question, then, affects the interests of several colonies—if it is to them a matter of common concern—how can it be more fairly decided than by a majority of votes within the area interested? Is not this the principle which governs all associations of interests, whether great or small? Why should not federal questions be settled by a federal majority in the same way as colonial questions are settled by a colonial majority, and in the same way as county, parochial, or municipal questions are settled by the wishes of the majority in each shire, parish, or borough? No doubt, under such a system, as Mr. Forster remarks, "the weakest would go to the wall, and the interests of insignificant portions might sometimes be sacrificed to those of the dominant majority," But if the principle of riding by majorities be not conceded, it will be impossible to advance beyond the autonomy of individual holdings. If it be conceded, why draw the line at the area of a colony instead of at that of a federation of colonies?

Mr. Forster's remaining objection is that colonial federation would not be worth the amount of trouble and expense involved in the change, seeing that it could accomplish nothing which is not already attainable by the administrative machinery now existing in each colony. He refers to the benefits enumerated by a writer in *Fraser's Magazine* as likely to accrue to the Australian colonies from the establishment of federation, under the heads of (1) Railways; (2) Waste Lands; (3) Immigration; (4) Customs; and (5) Defences; and he urges that all these are strictly local questions, which each colony might settle for itself by negotiation with its neighbours, as has already been done by some of the colonies in the cases of postal subsidies and border customs.

Two more unfortunate examples could scarcely have been selected. The attempt to settle, by conference, our ocean mail services in the manner most beneficial to the whole continent has resulted in the southern, eastern, and northern colonies each subsidising separate services almost in opposition to, or, at all events, without attempt at concert with each other. The convention, too, made between New South Wales and Victoria, with a view of avoiding the actual collection of Customs' duties on the Murray has broken down, and the Customs' collections are again in full operation along the boundary between the two colonies.

With reference to Mr. Forster's observations as to the inability of a Federal Government to deal better with the questions of waste lands and immigration than they can be dealt with at present by the several colonial Governments, it may be remarked that taking the British North American Act of 1867, and the proposed South African Federation Bill of 1876 as precedents, the sale and management of the public lands in each colony would remain under the exclusive control of the colonial Legislatures: and that in each colony the colonial Legislature would have concurrent powers of legislation with the Federal Legislature in relation to immigration into the province. These two objections are, therefore, without weight. As to his observations upon a uniform Customs' tariff, it is only necessary to point out that agreement upon the general principles of such taxation must precede and not follow federation. All the colonies interested must first agree either upon a protective system, as in America, of internal free trade with taxation upon imports from without, or upon a free trade

system as in the United Kingdom, under which specific import duties would be levied upon articles of general consumption, with corresponding excises upon the same articles when locally produced—the one system taxing trade, the other consumption. Until, therefore, Victoria is converted to a free trade policy, or can convert her neighbours to one of protection, there can be no federal union between them. This is a vital question which must be agreed upon in advance, and could not, as Mr. Forster appears to imagine, be left to be fought out afterwards. Defence, under a colonial federation, would be under the control of the Federal Government, and the cost would be defrayed from the federal exchequer. It is quite possible, as urged by Mr. Forster, that the expenditure upon local points of defence, and upon volunteer or militia enrolments, would in effect continue to be distributed under a federal system very much as it is at present. But there would be this great difference, that under the administration of one head one general scheme of defence would be framed, the several parts of which would be capable of dovetailing into each other: and under such a system, with the control of the intercolonial railways, the central authority would be able, at the shortest, possible notice, to concentrate the whole fighting force of the country upon any threatened point; while under existing circumstances there would be but a slender prospect of persuading the several colonies in a moment of excitement and danger to agree upon any combined course of action. With regard to railways, Mr. Forster seems to doubt whether federation would direct railway extension with greater certainty than at present towards national purposes or interests; but his admissions apparently prove the case against himself. He acknowledges that it is for the interests of the country at large that the great centres of population—such as Sydney and Melbourne—should be connected by railway. He believes that federation would hasten such a result. He admits that local jealousies and considerations of supposed local interests have so far prevailed in New South Wales to the injury of general interests in this matter; but he urges in extenuation that the railway policy of the colony has hitherto been to extend railways with equal rapidity (or slowness) north; and south and east from Sydney, rather than to open up intercolonial communication—that this policy was settled by the balance of votes in the colony under a system of universal suffrage, and that it yet remains to be proved whether such a policy is wrong looked at from a New South Wales point of view. He acknowledges that under federation intercolonial railway extension would probably be hastened, but he asks whether any one is prepared to assert positively that other interests might not lie sacrificed in consequence. But this is simply a further plea for the retention of power by an obstructive minority. If a railway were purely a local undertaking, for the development of a portion of a colony, and had no connection with any line outside the limits of such colony, it would be a work which it would be competent for the Colonial Government to deal with as it might think proper. But if it is the interest of several colonies, and the wish of the majority in such colonies, that intercolonial railway communication should be opened up between them, is it right or reasonable that it should be in the power of any one colony to prevent or delay the carrying of such a policy into effect ?

We have thus considered the seven subjects quoted by Mr. Forster as examples of local questions which could be determined by each colony for itself by means of negotiation with its neighbours, as effectually as they could be dealt with by a Federal Government. It has been shown that in the case of two—postal subsidies, and border Customs—the attempt has been made to deal with them by negotiation, and the result has been a signal failure. It has been shown that the questions of waste lands, immigration, and Customs, have but little bearing on the point at issue. As regards Australian defence, there can be no two opinions that the military and naval authority would be more efficient if lodged in one executive power, instead of in four or five; and as to intercolonial railway extension, Mr. Forster himself admits that it is desirable—that it has been delayed by local jealousies and local interests, and would probably be hastened by federation.

Having thus disposed of Mr. Forster's fallacies, it will now be convenient to take a more precise and comprehensive view than he has attempted, of the subjects which would, in the event of a federation of these colonies, be in all probability transferred to the Federal Parliament from the Colonial Legislatures, and the reasons which exist for thinking that such questions would in consequence be more efficiently dealt with. Looking to the Colonial federations which have been accomplished, as well as to those which have been proposed in different parts of the Empire, it seems probable that in the event of two or more colonies forming an Australian Dominion, it would, here as elsewhere, be found convenient that the following subjects should be placed under the Legislative authority of the Federal Parliament:—

- The Public Debt, and the borrowing of money on the Public Credit.
- Customs and other Federal Taxation.
- The Regulation of Trade and Commerce.
- Postal and Telegraphic Services.
- The Census and Statistics.
- Militia, Military and Naval Service, and Defences.
- Navigation and Shipping, Beacons, Buoys, and Lighthouses.
- Quarantine.

- Currency and Coinage, Legal Tender, Banking, Incorporation of Banks, and the Issue of Paper Money.
- Bankruptcy and Insolvency.
- Weights and Measures.
- Patents of Invention and Discovery.
- Copyrights.
- Naturalization and Aliens.
- Marriage and Divorce.
- The Criminal Law, except the constitution of Courts of Criminal Jurisdiction, but including the Procedure in Criminal Matters.
- Immigration (concurrent with colonial Legislatures).
- Public Works and undertakings of the following classes :—
 - Lines of steam and other ships, railways, telegraphs, canals, and other works and undertakings connecting one colony with any other or others of the colonies, or extending beyond the limits of one colony.
 - Lines of steamships and telegraph cables between any part of the Federal Union and any British or foreign country.
 - Such works as, although wholly situated within one colony, are declared by the Federal Parliament to be for the general advantage of the Union, or for the advantage of two or more of the colonies.

The subjects which would probably then remain under the exclusive authority of the colonial Legislatures, may be enumerated as follows:—

- The Borrowing of Money on the sole credit of the colony.
- Direct taxation within the colony, in order to the raising of a revenue for Colonial purposes.
- The Management and Sale of Public lands.
- Public Prisons.
- Hospitals, Asylums, Charities, and Eleemosynary institutions.
- Municipal institutions.
- Shop, saloon, tavern, auctioneer, and other licenses, in order to the raising of a revenue for colonial, local, or municipal purposes.
- Local works and undertakings, other than those specified under Federal subjects.
- The Incorporation of Companies with colonial objects.
- The Solemnization of Marriage in the colony.
- Property and civil rights in the colony.
- The Administration of Justice in the colony, including the constitution, maintenance, and organization of Colonial Courts, both of Civil and Criminal Jurisdiction, and including procedure in civil matters in those Courts.
- The imposition of punishment by fine, penalty or imprisonment, for enforcing any law of the colony made in relation to any matter coming within any of the classes of colonial subjects.
- Education.
- Immigration (concurrent with Federal Parliament).
- Generally, all matters of a merely local or private nature in the colony.

This classification of subjects would of course be open to rearrangement by the contracting colonies; but it will be seen that the principle upon which it is framed is this:—that purely local questions are left, as at present, to the jurisdiction of the local Legislatures, whilst subjects of common concern are transferred to the jurisdiction of a Federal Parliament, in which all the colonies would be represented in proportion to their population. The classification provides also, it will be seen, so far as is practicable, for local administration in cases even in which it may be necessary to lay down common principles. Thus, for example, whilst a uniform criminal law and procedure would be instituted by federal legislation, the civil law and procedure would be left for local settlement; and the administration of justice in both branches, including the constitution, maintenance, and organization of the Courts, would be under the exclusive authority of the colonial Legislatures. In like manner, the laws of marriage and divorce, which obviously should be similar amongst conterminous colonies, would be subjects for central legislation, but the solemnization of marriage in each colony, and the constitution, maintenance, and organization of Divorce Courts, would be matters of local arrangement.

As regards the other subjects referred to as likely to be transferred—such as tariff, trade, postal service, statistics, defence, navigation, and shipping, currency, bankruptcy, weights and measures, patents, copyrights, intercolonial lines of railway and telegraph, ocean steam communication, and ocean telegraph cables—the interlacing of interests between adjoining homogeneous colonies in reference to these questions, is too obvious to require to be elaborately described.

But it is sometimes urged (1) that questions such as these could be as well arranged between the colonies by negotiation as by federation; and (2) that if such arrangement is at present impeded by local jealousies and

rivalries, such impediments would not in any way be removed by federation, but would still prove an obstacle to a satisfactory settlement.

As to the first point, it is only necessary to remark that all attempts which have hitherto been made to settle matters of common concern between the Australian colonies by means of voluntary conferences have resulted in complete failure. The causes of failure are inherent. The minority at a conference are not bound by the decisions of the majority. The decisions of the majority are not binding on their respective Legislatures. The votes are taken by colonies; and thus Western Australia and Tasmania, with their populations of 25,000 and 100,000, have as much weight in voting as New South Wales and Victoria, with their aggregate populations of a million and a half. The members, again, do not come to the Conference free to deliberate and decide upon the facts and arguments which may be laid before them, but merely as delegates, with the foregone conclusions of their respective Governments written within the four corners of their briefs. Each is generally bent on obtaining some special advantage for his own colony—"grinding his own tomahawk," as it is called—and collectively they have never given evidence of any feeling of community of interest, or of any desire to co-operate for the general good. Look, for example, at the last two Conferences held in Sydney. That of 1873 was held mainly for the purpose of coming to some agreement as to the renewal of the contract with the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company for the mail service via Suez. Victoria came to the Conference with one fixed determination, viz., to make Melbourne the terminus for the mail steamers. It was in vain to point out that it would facilitate and cheapen the service, would be a convenience to New South Wales, and in no way prejudicial to Victoria, to allow the mail steamers, after dropping the Melbourne mails, passengers, and freight, to continue their journey as before with the mails, passengers, and freight for the Northern colonies, and that it would be better to allow the steamers to obtain coal for the return journey than to require them to remain idle in Hobson's Bay for a fortnight. Argument was of no avail. The Victorian delegates considered it necessary for the prestige and aggrandizement of Melbourne that that port, which had just completed a dock, should be the terminus of the mail service, and have the docking of the mail steamers. And this *idée fixé*, which was persisted in, rendered impracticable any agreement amongst the colonies upon this simple matter of common concern. The Conference, in consequence, proved a complete fiasco, the only subjects upon which the delegates could agree being some unreasonable applications to the Imperial Government. Her Majesty's advisers were invited to authorise the investment of Chancery Trust Funds in colonial Government debentures—securities over which the Home Government had no control, and for the solvency of which Parliament was not responsible. The Home Government was also asked to raise the scale of the alcoholic strength of the wines admissible into the United Kingdom at the minimum rate of duty (a course which would have involved a considerable, indeed a serious loss of Imperial revenue), so as to confer a special benefit on Australian wines, whilst with singular inconsistency the Conference asked, as it were in the same breath, that the restriction upon the imposition by the colonies of differential duties might be removed, so as to enable the several Australian colonies to admit the products and manufactures of their neighbours free, whilst imposing duties on similar articles when imported from the mother country. The last Conference, held a few months since, proved an equal failure. It was summoned to arrange for duplicating cable communication with Europe, the single line between Port Darwin and Singapore having been constantly interrupted. The position was this: a second cable was wanted to secure against interruptions, and could be provided for a subsidy of about £40,000 a year. The existing annual loss on working the trans-continental line between Adelaide and Port Darwin was about £40,000, and this would, of course, have been increased if by the connection of the second cable with any other place than Port Darwin the traffic were divided between competing land lines. With these conditions before a Federal Parliament, there would not have been the slightest difficulty in deciding what was, on the whole, the cheapest and the best way of duplicating cable communication, and thus providing against interruptions, seeing that the loss on transcontinental lines and the subsidies on ocean cables would have constituted charges on the Federal Exchequer. But it proved hopeless to attempt the settlement of the question by a Conference. New Zealand's "idea" was a Pacific cable. Queensland's "idea" was a second cable, to be landed in her northern territory. West Australia's plan was for a duplicate line to connect at the North-west Cape. None of these colonies would support any plan but their own. New South Wales was willing to pay for her proportionate share of the duplicate cable wherever it came to, and also of the loss on the South Australian trans-continental line. Victoria was prepared to pay her share of the duplicate cable irrespective of its point of contact, but would not listen to any proposal for recouping South Australia the loss incurred on her line to Port Darwin, although it was shown that one-half of the messages sent through that line were sent from Victoria. Eventually Victoria, New South Wales, and South Australia agreed to duplicate the existing cable from Singapore to Port Darwin, leaving any provision for the loss on the South Australian land line an open question. But in this proposal, although representing a compact population of nearly 1,700,000, they were outvoted by Queensland, Tasmania, West Australia, and New Zealand, representing widely scattered populations amounting in the aggregate to only 600,000. After such an experience what hope is there of each colony satisfactorily disposing of intercolonial

questions of this character by arrangement or negotiation with its neighbours ?

We are thus led to the consideration of the second point—that if local jealousies and rivalries interfere at present with voluntary arrangements between the colonies, the same feelings would exist after federation, and would still present an obstacle to a satisfactory decision on matters of common concern. But such a plea overlooks the main difference between the conditions of the two cases. In one case the almost hopeless condition of unanimity is required; in the other, the majority would prevail. Besides, it overlooks what may be laid down as an axiom, that under systems of representative government external rivalries and jealousies influence legislation and administration, whilst internal rivalries are rendered comparatively nugatory. The conclusion to be deduced from this is that when external and internal relations become interlaced, the best mode of dealing with them is to enlarge the area of association.

Take a municipality for example. There are trade rivalries in every street; but whilst one municipality would not hesitate to aggrandise itself, if it could do so, at the expense of a neighbouring municipality, it would be slow to exercise its powers in the obvious interest of one establishment within its boundaries against another. Any attempt of the kind would be certain to be defeated by the majority of the municipal representatives, whose love of fair play, as they would probably have little personal interest in any individual rivalry, would prevail. So, too, in a colony there may be rivalries between towns—Sydney and Newcastle for example. But if any proposal were advanced that the San Francisco mail steamers should for the supposed advantage of Sydney be prohibited from going to Newcastle for their coals, should they desire to do so, there would not be any prospect of carrying out such a preposterous restriction. In the same way there might be rivalries between two towns in the same colony situated at equal distances from the capital on different lines of railway, and competing with each other for the business of the interior districts. But if it were proposed to lower the traffic rates on one line of railway below those on the other, so as to favour one town at the expense of the other, the matter would at once be brought before Parliament; and as the constituencies generally would have no direct interest in the matter, such a gross injustice would undoubtedly be defeated. But we see that these same rivalries, when external—that is, when existing between separate self-contained colonies—at once bear pernicious fruit. For example, there are trade and other rivalries between Melbourne and Sydney; and under such influences New South Wales reduces its railway fares below those of Victoria, so as to attract the traffic of Riverina from Melbourne to Sydney; and, as has been shown, Victoria on her side obliges her mail steamers to incur needless expense by remaining idle in Hobson's Bay for several weeks, instead of going on to Sydney, with their mails and passengers, to procure the necessary coals. If New South Wales and Victoria were provinces of one federation, such questions as through railways and ocean mail services would be under the control of the Federal Parliament, and special railway fares to divert traffic from one city of the Union to another, and regulations for the capricious detention of mail steamers in any port, in opposition to their own and the general interests, would be as impossible as similar proceedings would be at present within any one colony. The jealousies of Sydney and Melbourne would no doubt continue, but their influence in federal legislation and administration would be inoperative, in the same manner as the mutual rivalries of Sydney and Newcastle are now neutralised under the colonial system.

A consideration of the constitution of a Federal Legislature, and of the sources from which a Federal Exchequer would be supplied, serves to elucidate the natural operation of this correcting principle. In the central Parliament all parts of the federation would be represented in proportion to population, and the federal revenue, being mainly derived from a uniform tariff, would in effect be contributed in the same proportion. Any proposal, therefore, to appropriate the general funds needlessly and unfairly for the aggrandisement of one province or city at the expense of the whole, would have but little chance of success. Take, for example, the question of coinage—a federal function the cost of which would be defrayed from federal funds. If it were shown that one mint was sufficient for all the purposes of the union, and that a second establishment was simply a waste of money, what prospect would there be of persuading the various provinces of the federation to agree to the needless annual expenditure of say £10,000 or £15,000, exclusive of capital outlay, simply to gratify the vanity of a small minority in a city or province who might wish that the Imperial prerogative of coining should be directly associated with their locality ?

So far then from local jealousies being likely to prove as great an obstacle to the settlement by a Federal Government of matters of common concern, as they are at present to voluntary arrangements between the colonies, it has been shown that the system of federal association contains within itself the natural palliative for such rivalries. Indeed, it would not only counteract the evil effects of local jealousies, but would diminish the intensity of such feelings. Defences, military and naval forces, the mint, ocean mail services, telegraphic cables, intercolonial railways, and other large public works and undertakings would no longer be subjects for mere provincial congratulation, but would be the common possessions of the whole dominion, in the honour and glory of which every colonist would have an equal share.

The advantages which would accrue to the several Australian colonies from the comprehensive treatment

by one central authority of matters of common concern are too obvious to need much further elucidation. Whatever system of taxation were adopted, there would, under federation, be complete freedom of trade between the colonies themselves. All border duties and other intercolonial tariff collections would be for ever swept away. Intercolonial railways and telegraphs, ocean mail services, ocean telegraphs, defences, the collection of statistics, and other similar services and undertakings of a federal character before referred to, would be conducted with the utmost efficiency and economy in unison with the general interests of all. Look, for example, at the beneficial effect of such a policy on the consolidation and management of the public debt. At present the indebtedness of the Australian colonies (exclusive of New Zealand) amounts to nearly forty millions sterling. This debt is distributed over about fifty or sixty different loans, of varying amounts, the debentures of which bear interest at rates ranging from 4 to 6 per cent., and mature at different dates and places. It requires the calculations of an actuary to determine the precise relative value of these various securities, and the purchasing public at home are mystified and perplexed in consequence. Under a Dominion of Australia this debt might be consolidated into or 4 per cent, stock at a profit of many millions sterling; and Australian consols would then be as well known and as negotiable on every exchange in Europe as the English funds, and would be second to them only in public estimation and value.

But however earnestly every sincere well-wisher of these colonies may long for federation, there is no denying the fact that the time for their union has not yet arrived. Before they can join hands with any prospect of comfort or advantage, they must first think alike on questions of vital importance. At the present moment the federation of these colonies, considering the preponderating influence of the population of Victoria, could only be carried out on the basis of protection, and those who believe that it is by acting up to the great principle of commercial association, as distinguished from commercial isolation, that every portion of this magnificent continent will soonest attain the great position which it is eventually destined to occupy, will prefer disintegration to reintegration under such retrograde conditions. Meanwhile, good may be done by discussing the precise bearing of the changes which federation would involve, by investigating the circumstances which will promote or retard such a consummation, and their influence upon the progress and prosperity of the country. The attention which has of late been directed to this question, both at home and in Australia, has doubtless done good by familiarising men's minds with the idea; but before any practical move can be made in the direction desired, the failure or success of the economic problem which is now being worked out in Victoria, must be clearly established and acknowledged.

The New Zealand Confederation:

An Enquiry into the Present State of Political Affairs, with Suggestions as to the Best form of Government for the Colony.

By Chas. W Purnell, Author of "an Agrarian Law for New Zealand," etc.

R. T. Wheeler Dunedin Stafford Street 1877

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The New Zealand Confederation.

I.

ONE result of the legislation attending the abolition of Provincial Institutions has been the material increase of the political power of the richer classes of the community, notably the run-holders, in which term I include all persons occupying runs, whether as freeholders or as pastoral tenants of the Crown. It has consolidated the strength of the runholding party in the General Assembly by enabling it to act more effectively, since the land laws for the whole Colony will, for the future, be dealt with in a general measure whenever amendments are proposed; whereas, in the past, this party has frequently found itself embarrassed by having to deal with the land laws for each Province *seriatim*, and so been unable to check the progress of liberal principles. An illustration of its augmented strength has already been furnished by the action of the Legislative Council, in excising the clauses of the Waste Lands Administration Bill, which provided for the extension of the deferred payment system throughout the Colony; and a further proof will be found in the attempt (which failed of success more by accident than anything else) made last session to renew the leases of the Canterbury pastoral tenants without public competition. The Waste Lands Boards have likewise been virtually placed under the control of the same party. The principle of popular election has never prevailed in respect of these bodies' but they have, to all intents, been I ranches of the Provincial Governments, the General Government having a voice in their proceedings through the media of the Chief Commissioners. They have been strictly local bodies, and

amenable to local control, whereas, under the new order of things, they are Boards nominated by the Ministry and responsible to it alone, nor will the County Councils possess the faintest right to complain of their conduct, even should it meet with public disapproval. While the Boards are thus removed from popular influence, their powers are augmented; and they will henceforth exercise many of the functions which formerly appertained to the Provincial Councils and Executives. The Otago Board, for example, will be required to perform the delicate task of deciding what blocks of land shall be set apart for hundreds and for sale on deferred payments, subject, indeed, to the approval of the Governor, but still wielding a power which is liable to be used in the most mischievous manner. The Counties Act is likewise calculated to strengthen the political power of the rich. By the system of multiple voting which it introduces, it will be possible for a large property holder to possess forty-five votes in a single county, whereas the poor man can enjoy but one, while the corrective originally provided whereby the Chairman of the County Council was made elective by the single votes of the whole body of ratepayers, has been taken away by the Legislative Council, and the election of Chairman entrusted to the County Council itself, thus aggravating the inequality of the franchise.

The power of the runholding party is likely to continue growing, by reason of its numerical strength in the Legislature and in the Cabinet. There are sixteen large landholders in the Lower House—a number preposterously out of proportion to the representation enjoyed by the rest of the community; and this phalanx is supported by a few other members so closely connected by business ties and otherwise with the large landholders, that they may be considered to represent the same interest. It would be superfluous to descant upon the immense influence of the runholders in the Upper House, which is entirely under their control. The same interest is preponderant in the Cabinet. When the session closed, matters stood thus:—The Premiership and the Colonial Treasurership were held by Major Atkinson, who is not a runholder, and cannot indeed be said to represent any particular interest. Dr. Pollen was Colonial Secretary. He likewise, so far as I am aware, is not connected with the runholding interest, but from his many years' service in the Government departments, must be looked upon, if anything, as representing the Civil Service in the Cabinet. Sir Donald McLean was Native Minister, Mr. Richardson Minister for Public Works, Mr. Bowen Minister of Justice, and Mr. G. McLean Commissioner of Customs. The two former are runholders. Mr. McLean avowedly represents the same interest, and it is perhaps not unfair to class Mr. Bowen in the same category. Mr. Whitaker, the most prominent member of the Cabinet, is likewise the most active agent which the large landholders possess there. His name has been repeatedly before the public in connection with various transactions which show clearly the direction of his political views, one of the latest and most notable being the sale of the Piako Swamp, wherein he acted as attorney for the purchasers, and from his place in the House defended the transaction, although he did not vote in the division. It is confirmatory of the general scope of these remarks that all the runholders in the House voted with the Government on this question. Then, when the Ministry, unmindful of the law, increased its number to nine, it did so by taking into the Cabinet two more runholders in the persons of Mr. John Hall and Mr. Ormond, who, however, after a few days' tenure of office, disappeared abruptly from view. Just now the Ministry is in one of its periodical states of solution, and until a definite compound is again formed, its precise composition must remain a matter of some vncertainty. What has, up to the present time been effected, is the replacement of Sir Donald McLean and Mr. Richardson by Messrs. Ormond and Donald Reid, accompanied by a slight shuffling of portfolios. Had Mr. Reid joined the Ministry two or three years ago, it would have been a pretty sure pledge that the progress of settlement would not have been sacrificed to the private interests of the large landholders; but in proportion as Mr. Reid has grown older, the native Toryness of his disposition has developed at an alarming rate, and his political conduct has latterly been of such a character as to make him a by no means unfit member of a squatting Cabinet. Had indeed Mr. Reid remained staunch to his old opinions, it is very questionable whether he would have been permitted the opportunity of bringing those liberal ideas into play, now that the powers of the Government over the administration of the public estate have been so greatly augmented; for apart from the proclivities of the members of the present Cabinet, if the reader will take the trouble to review the composition of the Ministries which have held office during the past few years, he will be struck with the immense influence which the squatting interest, in its various branchings, has wielded in the counsels of the Government. The same hand disclosed itself in those land and timber-right transactions in the North Island which recently shocked the moral sense of the community; and if any inquisitive person would like to gather a little information, put into euphemistical language, as to the manner in which the New Zealand Ministry is sometimes mixed up with mercantile speculators, let him read the report of and evidence taken before the Public Petitions Committee relative to Mr. Coleman Phillips' petition, together with the debate in the Lower House thereon, and the letters from Sir Julius Vogel and Mr. Phillips to the 'New Zealand Times' on the same subject; while he will further reflect that it is unusual, in the practice of Responsible Government, for the principal legal adviser of a Bank which is the sole depository of the Government Account to occupy a seat in the Ministry.

It is not from a desire to aggravate political animosities that I review these circumstances, but all parties

will admit that the present political situation cannot continue; that fresh constitutional legislation must take place; and the first thing to be done is to gain an accurate idea of the ground upon which we stand, blinding ourselves neither to its advantages nor its disadvantages. I take it to be undeniable that recent legislation has augmented the power of the richer classes of the community, and that power is fortified by a strange abandonment of one of the fundamental principles of Parliamentary Government which has occurred. Without counting the formal change of Ministry necessitated by the "Indemnity" escapade of last session, eight Ministries have been sworn into office since Mr. Stafford resigned in 1869; but in one instance only was the change the result of a parliamentary vote of want of confidence. With the exception of the break occasioned by Mr. Stafford's brief tenure of power in 1872, the same Ministry has, to all intents and purposes, remained in office during the whole period. The mode of procedure has been this : When Mr. A. got unpopular as a member of the Cabinet, he has been thrown overboard, and Mr. B. shipped; when the Ministry, as a whole, has begun to find things unpleasant, it has been "reconstructed" by all the Ministers resigning, and the leaders being sworn in again, with fresh colleagues. This performance having been accomplished, the remodelled Ministry has come down to the House and declared that it was not responsible for the acts of its predecessors, the delinquents thus escaping punishment, and yet continuing to rule. The principles of Parliamentary Government have been further invaded by another objectionable practice. It is an essential feature of this form of Government that the Cabinet Ministers should be chosen from amongst the members of Parliament; but Mr. Fox, when forming his Ministry in 1869, departed from the constitutional rule by appointing Mr. Gisborne, the Under Secretary for the Colony, and who had been for a large part of his life in the Civil Service, Colonial Secretary, a sacrifice being made to the proprieties by giving him a seat in the Legislative Council. This bad precedent was followed in the case of Mr. Bowen. This gentleman had been discharging the duties of Resident Magistrate of Christchurch for several years, and was suddenly raised by Mr. Vogel, in 1874, to the rank of Minister of Justice. Mr. Bowen, like Mr. Gisborne, was to have been made a Legislative Councillor, but a vacancy fortunately occurring in the representation of Kaiapoi, the necessity for a sham compliance with constitutional rules was saved, as Mr. Bowen succeeded in securing the empty seat in the Lower House. A still further inroad upon sound principles was effectually ventilated by Sir George Grey a few months ago. The dependence of the Ministers upon Parliament has been greatly impaired by their connection with the Civil Service. Mr. Gisborne had become entitled to a pension, but, in order that it might be larger, he was made Commissioner of Annuities while a member of the Cabinet, and permitted to retire into that office upon leaving the Ministry, so as to be able to complete the requisite term. Dr. Pollen and Sir Donald McLean are likewise on the pension list. Then there is the case of Mr. Bathgate, who, unlike Mr. Bowen, was not promoted from a Resident Magistracy to be Minister of Justice, but resigned that portfolio in order to become a Resident Magistrate and District Judge. It is a noticeable feature of these proceedings, that they render the subordinate Ministers mere dependents of the Premier.

The Civil Service of New Zealand is peculiarly fitted to lend political support to any Ministry which happens to be in office, and so to obstruct the free working of Responsible Government, which requires the possession of office by the Ministry to hinge solely upon political reasons—the outcome of public opinion. A large and compact body of the Civil Service resides permanently at Wellington, where it exercises an immense social influence over both the Ministry and Parliament, while from its isolation there, it is practically exempt from the criticisms of, the bulk of the inhabitants of the Colony, who may feel that wrong is being done, but are quite unable to see for themselves the exact mode in which the mischief is being perpetrated, and so are powerless to check it. Wellington is swiftly degenerating into the Washington of New Zealand, but it will become, if left alone, a Washington of a very low kind, because of the impossibility of bringing it under the constant light of public opinion. Its very smallness renders it the more dangerous, because in a large city the Civil Service would be one of many social influences, while here it is all in all; and a town which, from its geographical situation, ought to attain commercial importance, will be converted into an official barracks and the haunt of political jobbers. The Government servants residing at Wellington form, however but a detachment of the glorious army of persons required to administer the affairs of a community four hundred thousand strong. The Civil Roll is of appalling length, but contains the names of but a portion of the army, many clerks in Government employ not ranking nominally as members of the Civil Service. The Government of New Zealand too has permanently increased its need for a larger staff than is requisite to conduct the ordinary business of Government, by taking upon itself the management of telegraphs and railways and creating an insurance department. The railways, as they develop, will remove from civil avocations, and convert into Government officers a large number of men, while the insurance department, whose business is being pushed in the manner usually adopted by a private trading concern, is drawing within its grasp persons who, in most British communities, are free from the contamination of Government money. A bureaucracy is being spread around the country, and the inhabitants are being proportionately enervated in spirit, and rendered unable to bear the healthy breezes of political freedom; while the application of these facts to the text is, that the Ministry in

power and in a position to offer increase of pay to its officers is, by the undue extension of the Civil Service, sheltered from that full play of public and Parliamentary criticism which is essential to the proper working of the system of Responsible Government. The Acts relating to the abolition of the Provinces have augmented the previously excessive power of the Ministry through the medium of the Civil Service, by placing in its hands the control of the police throughout the Colony. I look upon this measure with considerable alarm. It is entirely opposed to the Constitutional policy which has been hitherto followed by our nation. The Imperial Parliament has always regarded with excessive jealousy the military strength of the Government. To this day it will not renew the Mutiny Act for a longer period than a year. The police in England are all under the control of the local authorities, with the exception of the metropolitan force, which, for obvious reasons, is at the disposal of the Government. The same policy has hitherto been pursued here; but the effect of the recent changes is, that the Government has now, roundly speaking, a body of one thousand drilled and armed men ready to obey its nod, without asking questions, while the local bodies have not a man at their command.

When we reflect upon the manner in which responsibility to Parliament has been evaded for several years past; the composition of the various Ministries; the peculiar influence which certain individuals seem to exercise over the administration of public affairs; the sway of the Civil Service, and its fortification of the power of the Ministry of the day, we shall perceive that the Government of New Zealand has imperceptibly got a long way on the road to an oligarchy.

To the General Assembly the Colony naturally looks as the guardian of its political liberties; but the Assembly, like the Ministry, is grown corrupt. Much as the Ministry deserves censure for its successful efforts to escape due responsibility to the Assembly, the latter is equally to blame; and the Assembly, in endorsing the constitutional irregularities committed by Sir Julius Vogel, did a bitter wrong to the country. Constitutional forms are not idle ceremonies, and no country ever disregarded them without ultimately bewailing the loss of the whole or a part of its liberty. They are like the etiquette which surrounds a woman: possessing little or no abstract merit, but forming an outwork to the citadel of virtue. The Assembly has violated the fundamental principles of justice. It is the boast of our jurists that the English law draws no distinction between rich and poor; but the Assembly has deliberately made one law for the governors and another for the governed: The [affair is of so recent a date that it would be superfluous to repeat in detail the circumstances attendant upon the passage of the Indemnity Bill (the Civil List Act Amendment Bill) last Session, although every patriotic man should ponder upon them and ask himself what the administration of justice would become if such things were done frequently, and that is the real test to be applied. The leading features of the case are clear enough. Sir Julius Vogel having resigned the Premiership, the Ministry was reformed under the presidency of Major Atkinson. It contained nine European members, including a political Attorney-General. Now, the Civil List Act of 1873 expressly declares that the Cabinet shall contain but seven Europeans, while the Attorney-General's Act of 1866, with equal explicitness, forbids the Attorney-General to hold a seat in either House of Assembly. This is the common-sense meaning of the language of the Acts, and all the lawyers whose opinions were asked, except Mr. Whitaker, said it was likewise their legal interpretation, although with regard to the Attorney-General's Act it must be confessed that a little doubt existed whether by dint of legal ingenuity its provisions might not be twisted so as to sanction the appointment of a political Attorney-General. The Civil List Act too had been passed so recently that its object was familiar to politicians; and moreover, three of the members of the Atkinson - Ministry had likewise been members of the Ministry which fathered the Act. To fit the cap of knowledge still tighter upon the heads of the offenders, Major Atkinson and his colleagues had excluded two of their number from receipt of salaries, one of the two being the Commissioner of Customs, to whose portfolio a salary is invariably attached. The Ministry had thus deliberately violated the law and brought itself within reach of the Disqualification Act. The leader of the Opposition, being challenged to do so, thereupon issued writs in the Supreme Court for the recovery of penalties, and the House, being called upon by the Ministry, actually intervened to stay the process of the Court, and passed a retrospective Act to protect the Ministers from the legal consequences of their own misdeeds. So disregardful was the House of Representatives of the first principles of justice that it refused to insert a clause exempting Sir George Grey from payment of costs, which, by the ordinary rules of law, he would incur on the Indemnity Act being pleaded; but the Legislative Council fortunately, declined to assist in such a monstrous outrage upon right. The heinousness of the crime against order committed by the Assembly cannot be overrated. If a private individual had broken a penal law, even inadvertently, would the Assembly have stopped the action of the Court in his favour? Undoubtedly it would not. There is, of course, a further consideration involved in the fact that by breaking the Disqualification Act, the Ministers holding seats in the Lower House thereby forfeited them, but that is a political matter; and I wish to concentrate attention upon the disregard shown by the Assembly to the law of the land. It was not the first occasion of its trespassing. In the session of 1875, certain members of the Legislature having broken the Disqualification Act by entering into contracts with the Government, and it being doubtful whether others were not implicated, a general Indemnity Act was passed to save them all from the penalties. It

is needless to discuss the degree of moral guilt attached to any of these transactions. That might be a question for a Judge to consider in meting out the punishment, or for the Assembly after the penalty had been imposed, but could not justify the latter in interfering with the Court in the discharge of its duty. If, for example, it was thought that Major Atkinson and his colleagues should be exempted from payment of money penalties, the proper course would have been to wait until the decision of the Court had been pronounced, and then, if that had been adverse to Ministers, to vote them a sum of money to cover the penalties imposed; but to stay the action of the Court and to pass retrospective laws in favor of men in high places, is subversive of all justice.

It is an essential function of a representative house to control the finances, but the House of Representatives has for years past abandoned this duty, and simply voted the sums of money which the Government has asked it to vote, notwithstanding the fact that a wide divergence of opinion existed in the community respecting the wisdom of the financial policy that was being pursued. The new House seems little better disposed to perform its duty. It is acknowledged on all sides that the finances of the country are in a critical condition. The Press last session was clamoring for an exhaustive criticism in the House; and it was even made a matter of reproach to the Opposition that, by their insisting upon a full discussion of the Constitutional question, they were preventing a financial debate. At last the great day arrived, and what happened? This was the intelligence communicated to the country: "Finance was discussed this afternoon to empty benches. Most of the members were playing lawn tennis." The House has in just the same manner abandoned its functions in native affairs. Sir Donald M'Lean has just resigned the post of Native Minister, but for nearly seven years the entire management of Native affairs was vested in his hands, and until last Session, when a little independence of spirit was manifested, the House, to whom he was supposed to be responsible, bowed before him when he spoke, and voted whatever money he asked it to vote, and did not presume to enquire how it was spent.

The utter inability of the Assembly to perform the functions appertaining to a Parliament is further illustrated by the manner in which it worships the Ministry of the day. The personal rudeness of the Government towards the leaders of the Opposition was a marked feature of the proceedings of last Session. Now, it can scarcely be said to be the duty of the leader of a Parliamentary Opposition to make himself agreeable to the Ministry; nor is he guilty of impropriety, or displaying unfitness for his post if, when vast constitutional issues are at stake, he exhibits great pertinacity in endeavoring to carry the views of his party into effect. Yet the House of Representatives seems to regard such conduct in that light. The majority acts as though it occupied the position of a military conqueror of the vanquished minority. Opposition to the Government measures is treated as a crime; and this feeling has prevailed in the House for years. If a member has presumed to criticise the Colonial Treasurer's Budget, he has been dubbed "a traducer of the Colony," and told that he is "endeavoring to injure the public credit." If anybody has ventured to say that the Native Department is not properly conducted, he has been immediately silenced with the accusation that he is striving to bring about war between the two races. The demoralisation of the House in this respect was manifested in 1873, when the Legislative Council, acting within the strict limits of its authority, and in a perfectly fair and reasonable manner, engaged in a discussion upon the financial state of the Colony, and as a sequence, passed a resolution hostile to the Government's policy, whereupon Mr. Vogel got up from his place in the Lower House, where he was sitting as Premier, and vehemently denounced, in unbecoming language, the members of the Council for so doing; while the House, instead of resenting such a gross breach of constitutional usage, actually applauded the Premier for his conduct.

The Assembly, too, permits the Ministry to break solemn pledges, upon the most important subjects, with impunity; and to such a pitch has this got, that there is probably not an intelligent man in the country who expects the Ministry, when great political issues are at stake, to observe a pledge longer than is convenient; and certainly the public is not astonished when a Ministry, in order to retain office, brings down measures in violation of all its former promises. No one thinks that moral turpitude of this kind will affect the voting in the Assembly.

As has been frequently said of late, the House of Representatives has degenerated into a huge Board of Works; and a very corrupt Board too. It has corrupted the whole Colony until the constituencies have learnt to believe that the prime test of a candidate's fitness to represent them in the Assembly is his probable capacity of bowing and scraping before Ministers in their private rooms, with the view of persuading them to spend public money in his district. Sir George Grey has often been censured by his opponents for his frequent reiteration of general principles; but it seems to me that it was just such a lesson as this that the Colony wanted. It had altogether forgotten what the real functions of government were; and the epithets of "wild," "fanatical," "absurd," "insane," and so forth, which have greeted Sir George upon his enunciating elementary principles lying at the root of all government, shew how far the Colony had strayed from the true path. Nor is it apparent how the Assembly can be purified, since its purification or further corruption rests with itself. Towards the close of the last Parliament the whole country was crying out for a readjustment of the representation, which, by the unequal growth of different parts of the Colony, had become urgently needed. It was a season when, if at

any time, the House might have been expected to cast aside selfish motives, and display patriotism; but what did it do? The majority, with the Ministry at its head, created ten fresh seats, and distributed them, not with a regard to a proper representation of population and interests, but mainly with a view to secure an Abolitionist majority at the elections. The fact was glaring and undeniable. *Ex uno disce omnes.*

The pith of Abolition, so far as the Government is concerned, is its finance. What the Government has accomplished up to the present time, is the getting control of the Provincial revenues; so that henceforth when it runs short of funds, it can take what it wants from this source. Doubtless, it returns the bulk of these revenues to the different Provincial Districts for the present. The cake is now being distributed; the birch will come afterwards. Had the Government not secured the Provincial revenues in this fashion, it must next year at the latest have imposed revenue and property taxes; while now, the burden of taxation will be thrown upon the local bodies. This is a singularly objectionable feature in the Abolitionist programme. It raises a screen between the taxpayer and the hand which imposes the taxes. The taxpayers are sure to blame the local bodies, because the latter will have to perform the unpleasant task of levying the taxes, whereas the real culprit will be the General Government, whose monstrous extravagance necessitated the proceeding. Then, too, it seems but fair that those persons who have benefitted the most by the heavy loan expenditure which has taken place should pay a proportionate share of the taxation resulting from that expenditure; but, by the abolition of the Provinces, they have been enabled to partly avoid this responsibility, because although the large landholders may suffer a little from the taxation of the County Councils (which is a point that can only be determined by experience), it will not be to the extent which is their due, while the importers, and persons of a similar class, will escape altogether. The proper means of reaching all these persons is through income and property taxes.

It would be beyond the scope of this paper to discuss the financial state of the Colony in its entirety; but it will be profitable to review the leading items of the departmental expenditure of the Government. The abstract of the Public Accounts for the financial year ending 30th June, 1876, appended to the Colonial Treasurer's statement, discloses the following outlay in this direction, omitting fractions:— The above sum does not include a penny for police, gaols, ordinary surveys, or education, the responsibility of maintaining which services devolved upon the Provincial Governments. The management of the railways will, in the future, be an important part of the duties of the Government; but the outlay under this head is excluded from the account, because it gives no clue to what the permanent expenditure will be when the lines in course of construction are completed. The cost of the Public Works and Immigration Departments will doubtless be reduced as soon as the loans are expended, but the head office of the former is sure to be a standing charge; and it is to be presumed that some sort of Immigration staff will be kept up for several years to come, at all events. The expenditure on the Insurance Department is also omitted. The items mentioned, indeed, have been chosen merely to give a general idea of the cost of the permanent departmental machinery of the General Government—the machinery by which it discharges its ordinary functions, and which cost will, of course, be greatly augmented by the abolition of Provincial Institutions. It is admitted that the cost of the General Government is beyond the means of the Colony. The Press says it is monstrous; and the public declares that it can no longer be endured. Now and then the House (just at present it is the Government) is seized with a spasmodic fit of economy, but permanent retrenchment is never made; and for years the cost of the General Government has been growing in a much greater ratio than the increase in the population warrants. It seems impossible to stop it. The vice is in the system, and until that is radically changed the departmental expenditure will continue to grow. Let the reader ask any old member of the House what he thinks on this point.

II.

The forcible overthrow of Provincial Institutions has left great spots of burning wrong throughout the country. But, indeed, for the country having become debauched by the enormous public loan expenditure of the past few years, accompanied by its correlative private borrowing, that large section of the community which opposed the Abolition measures would never have submitted to the action of the General Assembly. The Abolitionists traded upon this demoralization. One of the representatives of the party in the Lower House accurately expressed its notion by saying, in reply to the assertion that an insurrection might happen in Otago: "Is any one the worse in Otago from the abolition of the Provinces? Does any one make less money? Does any one sleep less at night? Has any one less food to eat in the day, or less raiment to cover him? There is nothing of the sort;" and deduced the conclusion that an outbreak would not occur. The people at large did not, and do not yet, perceive the vast issues at stake; but those issues will gradually unfold themselves to the popular apprehension, while the people will also learn that services which have hitherto been performed for them by the Provincial Governments free of charge will henceforth have to be paid for out of their own pockets by means of local taxation. Thus, animosity will continue, and base, indeed, would be a people which tamely surrendered

full rights of local government without a corresponding equivalent, and further permitted a large transfer of political power to the wealthy, already unfairly favoured in this respect. I will not discuss the vexed question of the legal power of the General Assembly to pass the Abolition Act; but I take up this ground : Assuming the contention of the Ministerialists to be correct, and that the Act 31 & 32 Vic. c. 92 can be construed so as to give the Assembly such a power; still, it is perfectly certain—a pure matter of fact—that the Colony, when applying to the Home Government for the Act, never contemplated its being used for the purpose of abolishing the Provinces generally, but only supposed it was asking for an Act to validate the proceedings in connection with the creation of the County of Westland. Indeed, the official edition of the Statute contains a foot-note to the effect that "This Act was rendered necessary by doubts as to the validity of the County of Westland Act 1867." Now, it is always reprehensible for a Ministry to take advantage of the slip of a bill-drafter in order to promote its own views. It is bound to observe the spirit of the law, irrespective of its wording; whereas the Ministry, in the present instance, has done precisely the reverse, and that, too, when a fundamental change in the Constitution was at stake.

The manner in which these measures have been forced through the Assembly is likewise objectionable to the last degree. It has been assumed, as an axiom, that it is lawful for a Parliamentary majority to do whatever it pleases. But a majority has no Divine right to rule. As a pure matter of convenience, it has been agreed, in countries possessing Parliamentary institutions, that the majority shall rule the minority; but it is merely a rough and ready contrivance to save endless disputes, and "the representation of minorities" is one of the political questions of the day. The present system implies the exercise of moderation on the part of the majority, and just concessions to the minority. If the position taken up by the Abolitionists were sound, the majority in the Assembly would be entitled to deprive the people represented by the minority of all Civil rights. Obviously, the majority is morally bound to act with a due regard to the views and interests of the minority; and more especially so when Constitutional changes are at issue. It is an inherent right of every free man to choose under what system of government he will live; and no Parliament—no ruling body whatever—can lawfully impose a form of Constitution upon a community which is repugnant to its wishes. Hence, it follows as a sequence, that the inhabitants of every Province should have been consulted, through the medium of their Provincial Council, before the latter was abolished. That argument has never been refuted, nor can it be refuted; and when the dust of the conflict has cleared away, all parties will recognise what a violent outrage upon constitutional liberty has been perpetrated. It must be remembered that when the Assembly approached this subject, it did so, not as "the Parliament of the country,"—in the sense, for instance, in which one would speak of the Parliament of Victoria in relation to that Colony,—but as the chief of a confederation of Legislatures, of which it stood *primus inter pares*. The Provinces were created distinct entities by the Constitution Act, and, although great encroachments had been made upon their revenues, and their legislation been overridden by the Assembly, their legal powers and privileges remained intact.

Owing to the peculiar nature of the Constitution originally bestowed upon New Zealand, precedents are not easily obtained; and, in considering this matter, we are forced, to a great extent, to fall back upon first principles, but still illustrations of my argument may be found. The mode of making amendments to the Constitution of the United States is one. There, a bare majority of Congress is not gifted with the power of amending the Constitution in however trifling a degree. Before an amendment can be proposed, a two-thirds majority of each House must concur, and the decision of Congress must be ratified by the Legislatures or Conventions of three-fourths of the States; or the amendment may be initiated by the Legislatures of two-thirds of the States calling a Convention, in which case Congress acts as the ratifying body. In the Swiss Federation, too, when a few years ago a change in the Constitution was determined upon, it did not acquire the force of law until ratified by a popular vote. Looking at these circumstances, and at general principles, it seems to me morally certain that had the Imperial Parliament been formally and plainly asked to confer power upon the General Assembly to abolish the Provinces, it would have stipulated that it should be done by a substantial vote of the Assembly, ratified either by the Provincial Councils or by a popular vote; and I maintain that the proper course for the Ministry to have pursued at the beginning was to bring down a new Constitution Act, which, while sweeping away the old institutions, would immediately establish new in their place, and permissive in its operation, so that the people might have seen the precise nature of the exchange offered to them, and been enabled to say Yea or Nay to it. That, is, of course, assuming it to have been within the jurisdiction of the Assembly to abolish the Provinces.

Throughout the political struggle the Abolitionists have displayed a singular lack of noble principle and comprehensive statesmanship. Their ideas are antiquated. They travel along the old ruts. They fail to appreciate the strength of the new philosophy which is permeating men's minds. They are unable to discern that our nation is casting its eyes around in order to discover new paths by which to achieve fresh triumphs in the art of government. They did, indeed, at the outset, propound the idea of "the unity of the Colony;" but it soon fell dead. It was a sham. The Colony was united in all things where unity was really needful, but preserved a

healthy rivalry in minor matters between its different parts—a rivalry which has been the mainspring of its prosperity. What is its condition now? The Abolitionists have set all New Zealand by the ears. Before the Abolition resolutions were produced, in 1874, Canterbury and Otago were the best friends in the world; now, a huge political chasm parts them in sunder. Wellington stands isolated—a political Ishmael, ready to be attacked and slain as soon as her brethren have done quarrelling amongst themselves. For the first time in the political history of New Zealand the lurid light of class warfare flickers on the horizon. Surely it is the rudest of statesmanship which entails consequences like these.

The Counties Act furnishes the name of local government only. All the staunchest Ministerialists can find to say in its behalf is that it may be licked into shape by and by. In point of fact, the Colony for the time being is bereft of real local government; and it can never be governed satisfactorily from Wellington alone—Even the bulk of the Abolitionists make that admission. Few, if any, of the Abolitionist candidates went to the constituencies at the general election with such a proposal. An independent Press and full publicity are essentials to the proper working of the Parliamentary system. Neither can be gained if the whole business of the country is confided to the General Assembly seated at Wellington. A few years ago, there was a certain independence of spirit in the Wellington journals, but all three supported the Ministry last session, and differed only in the virulence of their abuse of any member of the Assembly who was bold enough to criticise the actions of the Government; and it is reasonable to suppose that the Wellington Press will yearly become more official in tone. Nor can the mass of the population of the Colony obtain reliable information of the proceedings of the Assembly. The Wellington papers practically do not penetrate beyond the boundaries of their own Province; and, moreover, the brief abstracts of the debates of the Assembly which they furnish are, for the most part, not "reports" at all, but partisan summaries. The newspapers in the other Provinces confine themselves to publishing telegraphic abstracts of the debates, which are always imperfect, and often do the grossest injustice to the speakers, as any one will discover by comparing the summaries of the principal debates of last session with the extended reports in 'Hansard.' All the general news which comes from Wellington, during the session, is strongly tinged with partizanship, the official colour predominating; and, as a further means of misleading the public mind, the Ministry is in the habit of using the Government printing, telegraph, and post offices for the purpose of disseminating its views on any important question throughout the country at the public expense, while the same facilities are not afforded to its opponents. Of course, 'Hansard' contains a corrective; but who reads 'Hansard?' So far as the inhabitants of Auckland and Otago are concerned, the Assembly might almost as well sit in Sydney or Melbourne as in Wellington. All they see is the dust and smoke of the conflict; all they hear is a confused shouting; but of the merits of the dispute, and of the respective behaviour of the combatants, they can form no just conception. Session after session, bills of the most important character are passed without the Press of the Colony having even an opportunity of criticising them.

Abolition will not diminish these evils, but will make their consequences more serious. It will not bridge Cook's Straits, nor level the Kaikoura Mountains, nor cause an extra steamboat to ply between Dunedin and Wellington, New Zealand is a country of peculiar physical configuration; its mode of settlement has been peculiar; and he is the true statesman who, while preserving general principles, knows how to apply them to the particular circumstances of the community whose destiny he sways. It is of the utmost importance to maintain the individuality of the different parts of the Colony. It is the individuality of our race which has made England great; it is the same quality developed in communities which has enabled New Zealand to overcome the vast difficulties which have beset her progress, and to attain her present proud position. I look upon the half-a-dozen towns, with their surroundings, which are scattered from one end of New Zealand to the other, all keenly bidding for supremacy, as one of the most promising features in the New Zealand economy. Instead of a single overgrown and vicious capital, there are several centres of nervous energy, diffusing vigour through the whole body politic. It would be a fatal mistake to destroy this autonomy of parts. Let each carve out its own career as it best may. Auckland and Otago are opening up separate spheres of action for themselves, why debar them from doing so for the sake of a spurious unity? Look at the proceedings in the Assembly last session in connection with the Canterbury runs. The attempt which was made to renew the leases of the present holders, without public competition, was regarded by the bulk of the inhabitants of Otago as an attempt to commit a fraud upon the public revenue; whereas, in Canterbury, to most people, it seemed a justifiable and proper thing to do. This divergence of opinion is attributable to the different views on the land question which are commonly held in Canterbury and Otago respectively. Why should not each community be permitted to work out its own land system for the mutual edification of itself and its neighbours?

The position of affairs when a Constitution was given to New Zealand rendered it expedient to unite the two islands under one Government, but, as an abstract proposition, it was an error to do so. The only bond they required was a Customs' Union. The presence of a large Maori population in the North Island, and its absence from the South, alone pointed to a fundamental difference of political interest; and the physical characteristics of the two islands tended to separate their commercial spheres of action. They have as little in common as

England and France. The result of their union, however, has been the creation of an enormous public debt, whose existence prohibits an absolute political separation. There must be some Government exercising common jurisdiction over both islands, but its functions need not travel beyond the elementary duties of a Government. It would be sufficient if it provided for the administration of justice throughout the Colony, and its safety against foreign aggression; the management of the Customs and Postal Departments; and the raising of funds for the payment of the interest upon the public debt. Its legislative functions would be proportionately restricted and confined to matters of general interest. The administration of the waste lands, the conduct of public works, including the construction and management of railways, and the enactment of laws for the regulation of local matters might, on the other hand, be wisely left to each island; and, in order to get rid of a running sore, the management of the Natives could be entrusted to the North, which would cheerfully undertake it. A practical difficulty would, nevertheless, arise in each island, because Wellington and Auckland in the North, and Christchurch and Dunedin in the South, would never agree about where the seat of Government should be, and the choice of an insignificant town, in a central locality, seems an awkward expedient. The natural way out of the difficulty is the division of each island into two provinces—or, if the name were hateful, they could be called "departments," "divisions," or "cantons,"—each with its own Legislature, and the whole federated under a General Government. In the North Island, the amalgamation of Wellington and Taranaki would enable a splendid Province to be formed, with Wanganui as its capital, leaving the rest of the island for the second. In the South Island, Otago and Westland would be a good combination.

The General Government would thus be confined to the prime functions of a Government, and the principal cause of corruption in the Assembly removed, because the patronage of the Ministry being reduced to the smallest dimensions, it would have fewer baits to dangle before the eyes of office-seekers and their relatives, while the constituencies would no longer gauge the merits of the Government by its capability of bestowing good things, in the shape of public works; and their honest representatives in the Assembly would be relieved from the unpleasant dilemma of having to choose between duty and the desire of securing an undue expenditure of public money in their respective districts. The purification of the Assembly would be accompanied by a marked reduction in the cost of administration. The Assembly itself would not be one-quarter of the expense to the Colony that it is now. The number of members of the Lower House could be reduced to 25 or 30; and it need not meet more frequently than every second year, because, as the General Government would only raise revenue for certain purposes, and any surplus would be divisible amongst the Provinces on fixed principles, it would not be requisite to vote annual supplies. The present staff of seven Ministers, with a threatened increase to eight or nine, might also be reduced to three or four. If an Upper House were required at all, it could be made elective by the Provincial Legislatures, and the number of its members, like that of the Lower House, could be much curtailed. Fifteen or twenty ought to be sufficient.

The form of the Constitution would be an effective guarantee of economy, for it would be the direct interest of the Provinces to keep the expenditure of the General Government within the narrowest limits. When the Separation resolutions were before the House last session, it was said by their opponents, "Oh, you propose to reduce the cost of one Government by creating three." The reply was epigrammatic, but nonsensical as an argument. There are Governments and Governments. There is a certain quantity of actual work to be performed in administering the affairs of the country; and the question is, What is the cheapest way of doing it? I contend that to maintain and extend the powers of the General Government is a monstrously extravagant way of doing it, and that the only means of conducting the public business cheaply is by keeping the Government constantly under the eyes of the people; whereas, by the system just inaugurated, it will be sedulously hidden from them. The argument of economy, indeed, which figured so prominently in the Government programme at the general election, has since been quietly dropped; and it must be plain to every intelligent man, who has taken the trouble to study the figures, that the cost of several County staffs will exceed the cost of a Provincial Government. But that is not the danger to be dreaded. The outlay in this direction is patent enough; but not one elector in five hundred is aware of the large additional expense caused by the protracted sittings of the Assembly last session and the increase in the members' honorarium, which, moreover, is likely to be further augmented, solely by reason of the whole burthen of legislation being thrown upon the shoulders of the Assembly. The public is equally ignorant of the fact that the departmental estimates showed serious increases upon those of the preceding year, and when the Ministers were asked why, they explained that it was on account of the abolition of the Provinces. They begged the House to give them another colleague, Mr. Whitaker pleading that the constitutional changes had increased their work by one-third. The House refused; but the gods are sure to be propitious on another occasion. Now, a fresh Minister means a fresh department, and a fresh department always adds to the work of those pre-existing; and so the ball goes rolling on. Spasmodic efforts at retrenchment, made when the country is in a highly-strung state of political tension, and the Ministry on its good behaviour, cannot be taken into account: we must consider what is likely to happen in ordinary times, when the Ministry is left to its own devices; and if anybody had wished to devise a system eminently calculated

to breed extravagance in the Government of this Colony, it would have been difficult for him to have framed one better suited for the purpose than that which has just been initiated.

An immense benefit in the shape of better legislation would accrue from the federalization of the Government. During last session 183 Bills were laid before the General Assembly, of which 104 became law. Now, it is physically impossible that the General Assembly, in the space of four months and a half, could have properly considered 183 Bills, many of them being of a most important and elaborate nature, in addition to performing its other work. The same mischief has been going on for years, with the result of loading the statute book with Amendment Acts upon Amendment Acts. Then, too, look at the subject matter of these Bills. Amongst those passed were seven reserving pieces of land for Athenaeums, and there were several others of an equally local character, like "The Taranaki Botanic Gardens Act." As a matter of economy, it is preposterous to use such expensive machinery to perform such trivial work. Moreover, the work is very badly done, because the House is compelled to take such Bills on trust, and all kinds of dirty little job? may be perpetrated without anybody but the jobbers being aware of it. Local Legislatures can alone weigh the merits of local Bills; and, in this respect, the Provincial Councils were extremely useful.

Such are the outlines of the Four Provinces Scheme, first propounded to the Colony twelve months ago, and the adoption of which seems to be the true method of healing the prevailing discord restoring unity to the Colony; and enabling it to continue on its career of prosperity. It is a common ground upon which all parties can meet; and the Abolitionists, triumphant now, must remember that, when in the ordinary course of things, the Parliamentary majority becomes the minority, the same hard measure which they have meted out to their opponents will, in all probability, be meted out to them. The Provincialists, too, are pretty sure to come into power again before long, unless some such radical alteration of the Constitution as that suggested be made, and their views met to that extent. They form the only party in the Assembly which has fixed principles, and thus possess an immense advantage over the Abolitionists, who are united solely to destroy, and many of whom openly express their contempt for the Ministry which they temporarily support. Nor have the Provincialists, to all appearances, lost ground in the country, although their real strength there could only be ascertained by a plebiscitum. The defection of Mr. Reid does not appear to have done any material injury to the Otago section of the party; and, in Canterbury, the Provincialists seem to be waxing in strength. They will gather all the discontented around their standard; and, if kept well drilled and wisely led, have little reason to doubt of ultimate success. When the people of the South perceive that they have been virtually deprived of their Land Fund by the charges heaped upon it, and the North discovers that while the Compact of 1856 has been scattered to the four winds, it is none the better off; when the outlying settlers learn, as they speedily will, that instead of getting more Government money to spend, as they had been promised, they are getting less; when patriots see that all the real powers of administration are centred in a beaureaucracy at Wellington, while to the people is left but the empty name; when all those petty discontents which have hitherto vented themselves upon the heads of the Provincial Governments are concentrated upon the General Government—then Provincialism will rise again with renewed strength, and re-establish itself in the Colony, not probably in its old form, but still essentially as Provincialism.

The effect of the Abolition measures is different in different parts of the Colony; but to Otago, at all events, the change is a dead loss. She loses the control both of the administration of her waste lands and of education—two privileges which her people have always dearly prized. It is not sufficient to reply that the Waste Lands Administration Act and the Education Boards Act are merely temporary measures, and that the old powers may hereafter be restored. Reasons have already been given why it will be very hard to secure a liberal administration of the waste lands in the future; and, as to education, a powerful party exists in the country, and is ably represented in the Assembly, whose aim is to establish a common system of education throughout the Colony, without regard to local feelings, and to throw all the education reserves into hotchpot. Moreover, even if there were a reasonable chance of getting these powers and privileges back again, it is surely pure insanity to surrender the citadel to the enemy, when you desire to retain it in your own possession. Then Otago loses a portion of her revenue immediately, and is likely to lose far more in the future. Take the constructed railways for an example. The interest charges on this account will remain stationary, whereas the traffic receipts will grow year by year. Under the old system the Province would have got the benefit of the increase, while now it will not. It also possessed a pastoral estate, which in a few years would, under judicious stewardship, have produced a noble income for the exclusive enjoyment of its people; but under the most favorable circumstances—making the incredible assumption that the present financial arrangements will not be altered to the disadvantage of the Province—it would be absurd to imagine that a squatting Ministry, with full control over the administration of the waste lands, and the Legislative Council at its back, will husband the landed estate of the Province with the view of providing it with a future revenue. Even were it actuate! by the best of sentiments, the Ministry would find it practically impossible to accomplish such an end, because it could not, like the Provincial Government, keep a single eye upon the interests of the inhabitants of Otago, but must

consider the wishes of its Parliamentary majority; and, if they were antagonistic to the interests of Otago, the latter would, in the ordinary course of things, go to the wall. Otago has also been deprived of the control of her Land Fund, which she had enjoyed undisturbed for twenty years; and it is a singular proof of the influence of names that even the Provincialists as a body have not yet clearly recognised the fact. The Land Fund has been "localised," as it is called, and most persons, deceived by the term, have supposed that, whatever dangers may threaten the Land Fund, it at present belongs to Otago just as much as it did before the passage of the Abolition of Provinces Act. Nevertheless a vital change has been effected. The essence of the Compact of 1856 was that each Province should do what it liked with its own Land Fund, and that the General Assembly should not touch it. The new arrangement is just the reverse. It is the Assembly that does what it pleases with the Land Fund. I am not disputing the fairness of the allocation that has been made, although that might reasonably be challenged. The point is that it is the General Assembly which has made the allocation, and not the Provincial Council, or any other local body, and the right of the Assembly to allocate the Land Fund being once admitted, the Fund is to all intents and purposes converted into colonial property. Next session will probably witness a bold attempt to effect a formal conversion. Mr. Stafford has publicly announced his intention to support the proposal when again brought forward; and the only measure, indeed, which can baulk the attempt is the political separation of the two islands, subject to the modifications necessitated by the existence of the colonial debt.

Otago has thus lost heavily, and I defy the most ardent Abolitionist within her borders to put his finger on a single substantial advantage which she has gained by the destruction of Provincial Institutions. He could not even cite the Counties Act in support of his position, because, as has been shown time and again, she possessed a Counties Ordinance of her own, conferring as full powers as, and more certain endowments than, the Colonial Statute, which was available for any district whose inhabitants desired to have a County Council. The figures in the balance-sheet are all on one side. Her people are entitled to consider these things, and would be extremely foolish to surrender important rights of self-government and local revenues for the sake of idle theories about "the good of the Colony," and so forth, which may possibly be put forward as a mask upon other designs. It is a significant circumstance that those parts of the Colony where the greatest clamour has been raised for the destruction of Provincial Institutions are exactly those places where public spirit is usually the least manifested, and where the demands for Government money are the most servile and pressing. I confess it is utterly beyond my comprehension how "the good of the Colony" can be promoted by fostering its least important districts at the expense of the more flourishing. The true policy would appear to lie in just the opposite direction. And if I refer to the losses of Otago particularly, I do so simply because I happen to be residing in that Province, and the limits of this treatise forbid my discussing the effects of the Abolition Act upon each Province separately; otherwise, it might easily be shown that Auckland has equal reason with Otago to regret the passing of that Act, although from different causes.

On abstract principles, too, a federalisation of the Government is advisable. The civilized world is marching swiftly towards democracy; and one of the novel problems presented to modern statesmen is how to keep large democracies under control. The federal principle is commending itself to the minds of many as that on which the affairs of great empires must in future be administered. "Home Rule" would receive far more support in England than it does but for its real, or supposed, connection with Fenianism. The Colonies are growing so quickly in population and resources that it may not be very long before New Zealand is required to take her place and her duties in an Imperial Federation, with a career before it whose splendour will surpass even the glory which illumines the past achievements of our nation. It is well to prepare ourselves for that high destiny, by sharing in the practical working of a Federal form of Government in these islands. And when Great Britain and her Colonies form parts of a common Federation, they will not be less but more united than before. So, the establishment of Federalism in New Zealand would not imply disunion, but rather a firmer connection between the different parts of the Colony, derived from each being left full liberty of action in things peculiarly appertaining to itself, while all could move together where a common course was desirable. The fruit of a barbaric uniformity would be a debased people servilely obeying a corrupt Government; whereas a wholesome vigour in commercial enterprise, and a sturdy spirit of political freedom, would emanate from The New Zealand Confederation.

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