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## Colonisation. A Lecture

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# PREFACE.

In the following lecture I have not attempted to do more than give a very brief sketch of the principal groups of colonies—or, rather, to name them, and mention a few facts about each. This must necessarily give a very partial and incomplete view of all; but my object was to stimulate, not to satisfy, a desire for the study of the subject; and the only alternative would have been to omit several important colonies altogether for the sake of doing justice to others. As it was, not only had the lecture to be divided into two, but I was obliged, when speaking, to omit several paragraphs from the latter part.

I have had no time or opportunity for deep research; but have been obliged to content myself with borrowing largely from well-known works, such as Heeren's *Ancient History*," Payne's *"History of European Colonies"* (a most complete and useful book), Bancroft's *"History of the United States,"* Merivale's *"Lectures on Colonisation,"* and various articles in the *"Encyclopaedia Britannica," "Chambers'"* *Encyclopaedia,"* and Smith's *"Greek and Roman Antiquities."*

W. F. D. J.

# Colonisation.

Vignette

If I regarded the aim of these lectures as being the exhaustive discussion of the subjects of which they treat, I should have had much hesitation in choosing such a subject as Colonisation, for it would require not merely an evening lecture, or a short pamphlet, but many volumes, in order to discuss it adequately. But considering, as I do, that the main object of the lectures is to suggest topics that may be further pursued by the members of this Association, I trust that an evening or two may not be ill-spent in taking a rapid glance at the history of some of the colonies of the world, and seeking to deduce from their failures and successes the true objects and right means of colonisation.

It is necessary first to examine what we mean by the term "colony." The word has been defined as "a body of people formed by migration to a distant region, where they support themselves by industry and the produce of the soil, and are under the protection of and attached to the supreme Government of the mother-country."

This definition is important for three reasons—

- It shows us the distinction between the correct, and the popular—but incorrect—use of the term:
- It explains the causes and objects of colonisation:
- It leads us to the consideration of the proper relations between the colony and the parent State:

I. In order therefore that a community may be a colony, it is necessary it should keep up connection with the mother-country, and that it should be self-supporting.

Thus when the fierce bands of Norsemen poured into the rich districts of France, forgot their homes and their ancestry, and formed the Duchy of Normandy; or when the conquering hosts from Central Asia swept over Eastern Europe, and founded the Ottoman Empire on the ruins of the Greek power—such movements are "migrations," not "colonisation;" as the tie between the emigrants and their mother-country is wanting. On the other hand, although the rock fortress of Gibraltar and the Island of Malta are under the authority of the Colonial Office, and are officially treated as colonies, yet as they are not fields for Englishmen to emigrate to, but are held as naval and military stations, they cannot be considered as coming within the true classification of colonies.

II. Again, the definition I have given explains the causes and objects of colonisation.

These admit of infinite variety; but they may, I think, be mainly classed under three heads, viz.:—The exigencies of commerce; the need of an outlet for an excess of population; and the desire of strengthening the parent state, and forming an empire.

All these causes we see at work in the colonies of the ancient world. Of those colonies or migrations which

took place before the dawn of history, when the Aryans of Central Asia moved westward into Europe, and the cities of Upper Egypt formed settlements in the fertile Delta of the Nile, we know so little that, interesting though the investigation may be, no light can be thrown by them on the present subject. I shall consider, therefore, but three groups of colonies of the old world, the Phœnician, the Greek, and the Roman.

Now we, with the accumulated science of centuries

*Phœnician Colonies.*

—who may any day take a pleasure trip round the world, and indulge ourselves in grumbling if news from London takes more than a few hours on its journey—may smile at the narrow field of ancient travel; but when we recollect that all Phœnicia is hardly larger than some Australian sheep runs, and that from that little territory (shut in on one side by lofty mountains, on the other by the Mediterranean), those energetic people,

*The first who dared, so legends say,  
Men's thoughts in writing to portray,*

set forth in the veriest cockle-shells of boats, without maps, without compasses, without telescopes, and with only the simplest ideas on astronomy, passed along the coasts and amongst the islands of the Mediterranean, through the Straits of Gibraltar, and so north as far as England, and south along the coast of Africa, doubling the Cape of Good Hope some 2,000 years before it was "discovered" by Vasco de Gama, until they entered the Red Sea or turned further east to India and Ceylon—we can feel nothing but astonishment and admiration at the energy and industry of that enterprising people. No wonder that these merchant princes soon planted settlements in the countries with which they traded, and thus we find their colonies on the islands of the Ægean, in Sicily, in Spain (where the still flourishing town of

*Fair Cadiz, rising o'er the dark blue sea,*

dates from the time of the Phœnicians), and far away in the east along the gulfs and shores of Asia. These settlements were, however, all kept of small size in order to maintain their dependence upon the mother-country.

But there is one Phœnician colony which attained

*Carthage.*

to specially great importance, and had a history far more famous than all the rest. I refer to Carthage. If we cannot admit that the legend of Pygmalion and the romantic tale of Dido and Æneas belong to the province of history, at least they seem to point to the original peopling of Carthage by a band of political exiles; just as in more recent times the Pilgrim Fathers, driven from home, founded a colony in New England. Near the northernmost point of the African shore, on the beautiful bay now known as the Bay of Tunis, the emigrants found a new home; they tilled the fertile tracts in the neighborhood; their fleets sailed away on missions, of war and peace alike, over the ocean; and by the time when old Tyre was sacked by Nebuchadnezzar, the daughter state had not only established her sway over the native races of Africa, but also over the other Phœnician towns along the coast, and the distant islands of Sardinia, Majorca, and Madeira. And as the Phœnician colony succeeded to the commercial enterprise of the parent state, and added to it great military and naval strength, she, too, sent out her colonies—small settlements both in Africa and Europe—until we find a new Carthage, the modern Cartagena, placed in the midst of the rich mining districts of south-eastern Spain. And as these colonies grew and multiplied, a regular course of colonial policy was adopted—a policy which we, in the nineteenth century, may reprobate, but which we must always recollect has been followed by each of the colonising nations of modern Europe, England amongst the rest. The markets of the colonies, with the exception of those in Sicily, were closed against foreign buyers, in order that all the trade might flow through the port of Carthage—a system of protection the fallacy of which centuries of experience has been needed to expose. History does not contain a chapter of more lamentable interest than the history of the great city of Carthage, as it, torn by jealousy and internal feud, became an easy prey to the foreigner, and was at last so absolutely destroyed, that the modern excavator, amidst the ruins of later buildings on the same site, can hardly find a trace of the once glorious Punic capital.

But if the Phœnicians had thus been the pioneers

*Greek Colonies.*

of colonisation, it was amongst the Greeks that the practice became a science. The various states into which the small mountainous country of Greece was divided were found too limited a field for the support of an energetic and rapidly increasing nation; and so each tribe and city in turn sent forth bands of emigrants to find a home for themselves in other lands. A thousand years before the Christian era, Ephesus and other Greek cities were rising on the coast of Asia: to the north, Byzantium, the modern Constantinople, was one of many Grecian colonies; whilst gradually the race spread over the islands and all round the Mediterranean, penetrating

westwards as far as Marseilles and the coast of Spain. So many Greek settlements flourished in Italy that that peninsula was named "The Greater Greece;" and to this day the traveller in Sicily turns from the natural beauties of that favoured island, and its riches of mediæval and modern art, to gaze with wonder and admiration at the Greek Temples of Agrigentum, or to trace out the site of what must once have been the noble City of Syracuse. Sometimes, it is true, these colonies were caused by fugitives in the time of foreign invasion or civil war; and there were some expeditions sent out from Athens, the members of which remained citizens of the metropolis, but resided either on their estates in the colony, or sometimes even at Athens itself, without forming a new state for themselves. These, however, were the exceptions amongst Greek colonies. In most instances, a colony was planned by the State, and immediately on its formation became politically independent of its mother city, although united to it by ties of filial affection. Before the altar in the new city rose the sacred fire reverently brought by the emigrants from the temple of their tutelary deity at home; embassies were sent to represent the colony at the national festivals, and as the Father of History tells us,

Herod, viii., 22.

it was held as a violation of sacred ties for a colony and the mother state to be at war with one another. And just as Phœnician Carthage sent out its colonies into the west, so we find amongst Greek cities, Corcyra (the modern Corfu), itself a colony of Corinth, sending forth an expedition led, according to the custom in such cases, not by a Corcyraen but by a Corinthian, to plant a new colony at Epidamnus. From the history of these three cities we may learn the relations between colonies, sub-colonies (if I may use such a word), and the parent state in Greece. The men of Epidamnus, hard pressed in a local war, applied for aid to Corcyra; and on this being refused they carried their appeal to Corinth direct. Corinth having granted the assistance sought for, the Corcyraens were somewhat unreasonably offended at the action of the parent state, declared war against her, and sent an embassy to her old enemy, Athens. Even the Athenians charged the Corcyraen ambassadors with a breach of filial duty. This incident is memorable from the words made use of by the Corcyraen ambassadors in defending themselves—words which, though not justified by the circumstances of the case, undoubtedly contain much truth. "Every colony," they said, "as long as it is treated kindly, respects the mother-country; but when it is injured is alienated from it, for colonists are not sent out as subjects, but that they may have equal rights with those that remain at home."

Thuc., i., 34.

Thus we learn that the question of the relation between colonies and the Home Government, so far from being a new one, exercised people's minds more than twenty centuries ago.

*Roman Colonies.*

There is a radical difference between the colonisation of Greece and that of Rome. In Greece we saw a number of independent cities planting settlements as independent as themselves in other parts of the world. In Rome we find a powerful central body, aiming and extending its authority over the neighboring states, the peninsula of Italy, and then the known world itself. And the very word "colony" is not without its signification. For whereas the Greek word referred either to the emigrants *starting from home* to their new settlement, or to their *seeking for a home* in the place of their destination, the Latin word "colonia," of which we find a trace in such names as Lincoln and Cologne, refers only to the *cultivation of the soil*; for the Romans knew well that frontier towns fortified and peopled by Roman subjects, and land tilled by Roman hands, formed the best bulwarks of the state. "A colony," says a Roman writer, "is, as it were, a cutting from the State—a small effigy and image of the Roman people."

Gellius, xvi., 13.

Amongst the reasons why Rome sent forth her colonics, we are told, some were to keep in check a conquered people, or to repress hostile incursions; others to increase the power of Rome by increasing the population; others to carry off discontented people (who left their country for their country's good); others, again, were mere military colonies, a provision for old soldiers. Nothing like a voluntary colony (such as South Australia is) was possible under the Roman system; it must always be founded by a law of the State; in fact, a Latin author

Serv. ad. Virg. *Æn.*, i., 12.

has defined a colony as "a body of citizens sent out to possess a commonwealth with the approbation of their own State;" "and by the colonies," says another author,

Machiavelli.

"the empire was consolidated, the decay of population checked, and the unity of the nation and language diffused."

As time went on, all Italy was covered with these colonies; the citizens of some having full privileges of Roman citizenship, those of others bearing only the lower rank of "Latins." Each colony, however, managed its own internal or municipal affairs, and each had its own senate, but, with a policy which has been imitated by England, the appointment of the governors rested with the central state, and no governor was allowed to remain

long in one colony.

When Rome was no longer merely one of the cities of Italy, but had become the centre of a world-wide empire, the idea of a Roman "colonia" was changed; subject cities had the rank of colonies granted to them, which was merely a way of conferring honor on them and their inhabitants. At this time, therefore, the real idea of a colony had been lost.

With the Roman Empire the history of the ancient world closes. As the central state became weak, and province after province fell into the hands of Teutons and Saracens—until at last a Gothic king of Italy assumed the place of the Roman Emperors—the old order was changed, giving place to new, and the arts and sciences of peace were buried under the ruins of the past, only to be brought to light again in a later and a happier age.

#### *Mediæval Colonies.*

The second division of the world's history—from the fall of the Roman Empire until the great moral and social revolution of the sixteenth century—was rather a time for the slow and painful reconstruction of society at home than for the discovery of new fields for energy and enterprise abroad. From the date of the first incursions of the Germanic tribes until the final establishment of the nations of modern Europe, there were many migrations, many conquests; but few attempts at real colonisation.

Of that marvellous nation which, in the seventh century of our era, burst forth like a mountain torrent from the deserts of Arabia, swept across northern Africa, shattering at a blow the once powerful Roman Government and the once flourishing African church; then having made Sicily and Sardinia their own, crossed over into Spain, drove back the Gothic power from its capital, at Toledo, into the heart of the Asturian mountains, and passed unchecked into France, until the hammer of Charles Martel fell at Tours, and the tide of Arab conquest in Europe was stopped for ever—of that I shall say but little. The subject is too vast, and the circumstances too unique, to be properly treated here. Yet some of these conquests were intended to be, and for a time were, real colonies. But soon the central power became so weakened that separation became inevitable, and the colonies were formed into separate states.

Meanwhile, far away, amidst the ice and snow of the north, new settlements were being formed by the bold Scandinavians, which remind us to some extent of the Greek colonies of former ages. About the end of the ninth century, bands of political refugees, fleeing from tyranny in Norway, formed a new home on the barren shores of Iceland, and reproduced with strange exactness a Teutonic state, like those they had left on the continent. The rude commonwealth, however, soon became a dependency of the Norwegian Fatherland, governed by an earl or deputy, and is to the present day subject to the Crown of Denmark, having a parliament and a government of its own. But the same policy as that followed by Carthage of old has led Denmark to keep the trade of Iceland as a monopoly of its own, and thus her commerce is blighted and her progress is stopped.

The energy which had inspired the merchant princes of Phœnicia still lived amongst the republics of northern Italy. Once more commercial stations were found along the coast of the Mediterranean, throughout the Levant, on the Black Sea, and far away in Eastern lands; and the Genoese settlements in Spain and Barbary rose during the thirteenth century to the rank of important colonies.

It is not, however, the Phœnician, or the Greek, but the Roman form of colonisation, that we find most frequently initiated in the middle ages. Military settlements, such as had done good service to the empire in time of war, were vastly important to the mediæval states, amongst whom peace was almost unknown. The Feudal tenure of land, one of the institutions most characteristic of the middle ages, was to some extent an imitation of the system which prevailed in the military settlements of the Roman Empire.

Stubbs' "Constit. Hist. of England," vol. i., p. 251, *note*.

For instance, as Spain was slowly reconquered from the Arabs, each new frontier was strengthened by the planting of such fortified colonies. In the same way the fiefs in the north of England, and the lordships of the marshes in the west protected the country against the incursions of the barbarians from Scotland and Wales.

But the most important of England's mediæval colonies was the colony, for such it truly was, planted in Ireland in the time of Henry II. It was not merely an extension of the English power, nor was it, until the sixteenth century, a kingdom in itself, but simply a lordship held under a grant from the Pope, of varying size: at one time extending over half the country; at another limited to a small part of the Province of Leinster, and a few free cities in the north and south. The post of Deputy, as the Lord Lieutenant was then called, was not exactly a bed of roses. On one occasion we find the Irish Council writing to Henry IV. about Prince Thomas, the Deputy:—"Your son is so destitute of money that he has not a penny in the world, nor can he borrow a single penny, for all his jewels and his plate that he can spare, and that he must of necessity keep, are pledged to lie in pawn." This does not seem, however, to have been an unusual state of things, for half a century later the Archbishop of Dublin was obliged to leave his pastoral staff for eight years in the hands of the pawnbroker. It was not until the time of Henry VIII. that the theory of the Papal grant was abandoned, and Ireland was raised to the dignity of a kingdom, subject to the British Crown.

#### *Modern Colonies.*

There were two great events which separated the mediæval from the modern world; the reformation in Europe, and the discovery of America. Of these, the former has only an indirect bearing upon the present subject; the latter was the opening up of a new world of colonies, the dawn of a new era of colonisation. At this time south-eastern Europe had been overrun by the Turks; Russia had hardly come into existence; Italy was broken up into a number of petty states; England was slowly recovering from a long and devastating civil war; France and Germany were too deeply torn with internal feuds to give much heed to foreign affairs; whilst on the other hand Spain had lately been consolidated under one powerful monarchy; and Portugal was at the zenith of her prosperity. Such was the state of Europe when Columbus laid a new world at the feet of the sovereign of Castile.

From this point begins the history of modern colonisation, which naturally falls into two divisions; first, from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries, when all the countries of western Europe were busily engaged in planting rival colonies in the East and West Indies, and on the African and American continents; secondly, our own day, when the colonics of Spain, Portugal, and Holland have sunk into comparative insignificance; when France, having lost all her old colonial empire, has been busily engaged in forming a new one, with varying success; but England, although one of the brightest jewels of the British crown has unhappily been lost, has acquired a vast and constantly increasing colonial empire in every quarter of the globe.

It was the decade which closed the fifteenth century that witnessed the revolution of the world. So far we have traced the course of mariners toiling along the coasts of the Mediterranean, and watched the growth of little states in Europe and Northern Africa. Now, instead of the Mediterranean, we have the boundless ocean; instead of the narrow limits of the old world, continents vast and unexplored lie open for the discoverer and the colonist. It was to the untiring zeal and unconquerable boldness of Columbus that this was mainly due; but, although I do not wish for an instant to seem to detract from the well-earned fame of that great but unfortunate hero, we must never forget that the first European who set foot on the American continent was not Christopher Columbus, but Sebastian Cabot, a native of Bristol; nor was it mere bombast in the old writer when he spoke of—

That country so large for room—  
Much longer than all Christendom—  
Which the most noble king of late memory,  
The most wise Prince the Seventh Henry,  
Caused first to be found.

From "The Nature of the Four Elements," written in the early part of the reign of Henry VIII.

I should like to dwell on that romantic period of history; to narrate how, within half a century after the early navigators sailed away to the West, English and Norman fishermen were reaping a rich harvest from the waters of Newfoundland, the great powers of Mexico and Peru had been brought to desolation and misery by the Spaniard, and the daring Magellan had passed through the straits that bear his name, and traced the whole coast of South America; but my time is short, and such discoveries and conquests do not come strictly within the subject of Colonisation.

It seemed at first as though the newly-found lands would all fall to the lot of the Iberian Peninsula. We may now smile at the boastful impotence of Pope Alexander VI., who divided the world by an imaginary line 100 degrees west of the Azores, and granted all newly discovered countries to the west of that to Spain and to the east to Portugal, excommunicating all who might disturb his arrangement; but at least it had the advantage of directing the energies of the two nations into different channels and avoiding much jealousy, and, probably, bloodshed.

There is nothing which shows the different spirit which actuates the various nations of modern Europe more clearly than their treatment of their colonies and possessions beyond the seas. Some authors have attempted to divide them into two great families—the Latin race, including France, Spain, and Portugal, and the Teutons, including the Dutch and ourselves, and (so far as they may be called colonising nations) the Danes and Swedes. Such a classification I believe to be impossible, for a division is too large that would include both France and Spain, too narrow and too artificial that would distinguish between Portugal and Holland. I shall therefore briefly examine the history of the various states and then endeavor, to show that, making due allowance for the disturbing influences of climate and religion, the modern colonies, like those of the old world, fall naturally into three classes, according as their primary object is the development of trade, the strengthening of the national power, or the finding of a new home for a redundant population.

When Manuel ascended the throne of Portugal  
*Portuguese Colonies.*

in 1495 the Cape of Good Hope was unknown, and the Indies were still the land of fable and romance. And yet that monarch lived to see the flag of Portugal wave triumphant along the shores of Africa from Gibraltar to Abyssinia, and in Asia from Aden to Cochin, and to send embassies to the Negus of Abyssinia, the royal chief of Congou, the Sultans of Egypt and Persia, and the Emperor of China.

Dunham's "Hist, of Spain and Portugal," vol. iii., pp. 306, 322.

A great admirer of the Portuguese nation

Southey.

has said that "no nation has ever accomplished such great "things in proportion to its means as they have;" and to this it has been answered, "nor afforded an "instance of degeneracy so rapid."

But to explain this, we must remember the object of the Portuguese in the formation of these distant settlements. That they had some idea of increasing the power of their kingdom, both by direct conquest and establishing suzerain rights over foreign monarchs, is true; but their main object was trade, and the establishment of factories and depots for purely commercial purposes; except in the case of a few islands the thought of planting colonies in the rich and fertile tracts they passed on their way to the markets of India, Ceylon, China, and Japan, seems never to have occurred to them. So, as soon as the current of events drove the trade of the East through fresh channels and to different ports, the Oriental power of Portugal melted like a snowdrift in spring, and now nothing of those vast possessions remains, save a few languishing districts in India, and some thinly populated territories in southern and western Africa.

But in spite of royal plans and Papal grants, the strange irony of fate had destined that Portugal should be the mother of a vast empire colony on the American continent. The unexpected storm that drove Cabral out of his course as he was sailing southwards along the coast of Africa added the rich and beautiful country of Brazil to the crown of Portugal. So little, however, was its value realised, that at first it was used merely as a penal settlement for convicts and the unhappy victims of the Inquisition; and once again, as at Carthage of old, the exiles from their fatherland formed a new home for themselves, and these Brazilian refugees were the first European colonists in America. But few countries have had so disappointing a history as Brazil. Fertile in soil, favored in climate, rich in timber, about equalling the whole of Australia in size, and in its early days governed on the principle of religious freedom, it seemed in a fair way towards wealth and prosperity. But the foolish restriction placed on its trade in the last century blighted its commercial prosperity; the iron heel of the Inquisition crushed out thought, and stopped the progress of education; and although—when the political changes of the Napoleonic period raised Brazil from a dependency to a sovereign power, when commerce was thrown open, the Inquisition suppressed, and the art of printing introduced, it seemed that a new era had dawned upon the country—yet now, in spite of many honest efforts for the elevation of the people, and the importation of new colonists, in spite of the introduction of some of our own Australian land laws in place of the antiquated tenures of Portugal, Brazil seems to be making but little progress amongst the nations of the world; her commerce increases but slowly, religious equality is unknown, and she bears the unenviable notoriety of being the chief of the few remaining strongholds, amongst civilised nations, of the institution of slavery.

In 1876, out of a population of less than eleven millions, nearly a million and a half were slaves. The number, however, is rapidly decreasing, partly by numerous emancipations, but especially in consequence of the law of 1871, which declared that all children born after that year should be free.

Such has been the fate of the Portuguese efforts at colonisation in east and west.

Very different has been the story of the Spanish

*Spanish Colonies.*

colonies. From the cause I have already mentioned, it was to the West that the energies and hopes of Spain were directed, and indeed, her only possessions in the East—the Philippine Islands—were first reached by the Atlantic and the Straits of Magellan. Whatever mistakes Spain has made in her colonial policy, at any rate she has never undervalued her dependencies in the New World. The king became "King of Spain *and the Indies*," and wealthy men of Seville sold their houses and lands to provide equipments for their voyage to the lands of the West, not only to El Dorado and the golden City of Manoa, but also to that happy fountain whose existence they did not doubt, which would endow with perpetual youth the man who bathed in its waters; and although these fairy dreams were soon dispelled, it is hardly possible to conceive amongst mundane things a more splendid empire than that acquired by Spain in the Western Hemisphere, which included the whole continent, excepting Brazil, from the north of San Francisco to the confines of Patagonia and all the West Indian Islands. The Viceroyalty of Mexico alone, was nearly eight times the size of France, and when we read of streams abounding in the precious metals, flowing through fields in which the return of wheat to seed was twenty-four to one, in a country where the rainfall is certain, and where labor was cheap and abundant, we can understand the existence of those colossal fortunes of which Humboldt tells us. "One family" he says "possesses estates of the value of £6,000,000 without including the mine of Valenciana, which in common years brings in a net

income of £50,000. Another individual has sometimes received from his single mine £24,000 in a year; and one vein possessed by the family of the Marquis de Fagoaga, has produced in six months, all expenses deducted, a clear income of £4,800,000!"

And yet these vast sums give but little evidence of real colonial progress. The great object of the Spanish Americans was conquest, not settlement; so far as they had any idea of a colony, their type was the Roman rather than the Greek one. The wealthy owners of mines and lands lived lives of luxurious indolence in Mexico and Peru, without interests, without education, without political aspirations; Indian and negro slaves performed the manual labor; to read, write, and say their prayers, was regarded, even by the higher classes, as the goal of a complete education; political power of all classes was kept exclusively in the hands of Spaniards, and most colonial offices were sold in Madrid. Of 170 viceroys who governed the provinces of America, four only were Americans; of 610 captains-general and governors, only fourteen; and this, although Spanish America contained a wealthy and powerful aristocracy, whose interests were entirely bound up with the country in which they lived, and whose employment in the public service would have been not only beneficial to themselves, but of the utmost importance to the whole community.

Nor were the commercial regulations of Spain with regard to her colonies more enlightened than her rule in other respects. She was the first among the nations of modern Europe to introduce what has been called the "Colonial System," and her colonies were treated not as daughter communities, but as estates which the old country might work to a profit. Trade between the colonies and other countries was absolutely prohibited; and so late as the middle of the last century, a Boston vessel putting into the desolate island of Juan Fernandez to refit, and the appearance of an English whaler in the South Seas, caused the reprimand and cashiering of several officers in Peru. Even the trade with the mother-country was confined to a single port in Spain, from which about twelve ships were annually dispatched to South America, and fifteen to Mexico; and yet, to secure a cargo for the five and twenty ships that were to supply the merchandise of a continent, not only was the cultivation of saffron, hemp, and tobacco in America prohibited, but in 1803 an order was sent from Madrid for the rooting up of the vines and olives in Mexico. The few steps that were taken towards the freedom of the colonies by the later Spanish monarchs—by permitting intercolonial traffic, throwing open more ports in Spain, and even by allowing municipal corporations to be elected in one or two of the principal colonial cities,—were too late and too feeble to be of much effect, or to prevent the colonists from taking the opportunity of the Peninsular War to throw off the yoke of the mother-country. Spain was not wholly unwarmed. Thirty years before, the able and enlightened Conde d'Aranda had said plainly that if the Spanish power were to be maintained on the American continent, its unwieldy possessions must be divided into three separate kingdoms, each independent and governed by its own monarch, but paying an annual tribute to Madrid, and that thus the old country would be more than compensated for the loss of territory by becoming the head of a vast federation of Spanish-speaking nations; but his warning fell unheeded on the dull ears of the advisers of Charles III. And even after Wellington had driven Napoleon out of the Peninsula, and the Spanish monarchy was restored, so little had the Bourbons learnt, that the first idea of Ferdinand VII. was to punish the colonists for managing their own affairs during the prostration of the Home Government. When matters had come to such a pass separation became inevitable.

But the troubles of Spanish America did not end with the war of independence. It was one thing to throw off Spanish bondage; quite another to free themselves from military tyranny, official oligarchy, and clerical bigotry. The Spanish Americans knew nothing of the art of self-government,—least of all were they fitted to copy the model of the United States; and the history of the different nations which rose from the ruins of the old viceroyalties—for there was hardly a thought of cohesion amongst them—is instructive, but lamentable in the extreme. Mexico has produced emperors, presidents, military chiefs, and demagogues without end, but hardly a single real statesman; revolution has followed revolution; the first Empire of Mexico lasted less than a year; next, the Federal Republic was overturned by the Unitary or Centralised Republic; the ceaseless changes showing only how much truth there is in the the words of the poet—

For forms of government let fools contest,  
Whatever's best administered is best.

The whole of Texas and New Mexico seceded to the United States; the year 1840 saw two revolutions, and two others followed quickly after. A disastrous war led to the loss of California. After another revolution or two, so far had liberty advanced in the Republic by 1857, that a constitution was accepted, permitting liberty of worship, and thereupon all the leading men of the country were excommunicated by order of the Pope. The following year success again attended the arms of the clerical party at the capital, and for a while Mexico had two governments—one of General Zuloaga, in the palace, the other of Juarez, in the provinces.

In 1861, Louis Napoleon, declaring himself the protector of all the Latin nations, invaded Mexico and attempted to establish an empire by the aid of the clerical faction, French bayonets, and the restoration of negro slavery. Within two years the unhappy Emperor Maximilian was shot and the Republic restored; another clerical rising was suppressed by force of arms in 1876; and although the last few years have seen some progress in the matter of order and religious liberty, very much must still be done before the rich tracts of Mexico can become a desirable field for European immigration.

It was in New Granada that the South American war of independence first began, and raged most fiercely. Once more a warning voice was heard in Spain, when Blanco White urged upon the Government of Cadiz that attempts to bolster up the tottering fragments of an effete and corrupt colonial system were worse than useless, and that in reform alone lay the safety of the Spanish power; but in vain. In 1810 the war began, and was waged with a fierceness on the part of the Spaniards well worthy of the descendants of Philip II. and Alva. No quarter was given to the prisoners; before the capital surrendered, 5,000 of its citizens had died of famine. The dream of the colonists was a very bold one; they sought to bring about, under the name of the "United States of Colombia," a vast federation of the peoples of South America, but they found only too soon that paper constitutions do not make a nation. The provinces of Venezuela and Ecuador seceded, to declare themselves independent, and ruin themselves by ceaseless internal strife; Bolivar, once the popular general, became the arbitrary ruler, then the absolute dictator; since his fall in 1830, the United States of Colombia, now confined within the limits of the old vice-royalty of New Granada, have witnessed four revolutions, and many more civil wars. Progress has been delayed for half a century, and many years of peace must intervene before Colombia—containing though she does land capable of growing almost all tropical products to perfection, and rich mines of coal and copper—can take her rightful place amongst the family of civilised nations.

The history of the Argentine States is one of special interest to *us*, as that great confederation may not unfairly be called the Australia of South America. In Mexico, and New Granada, the Spanish power was founded on the ruin of an earlier civilisation; the climate is tropical; and the civil wars have taken the form of clerical and anticlerical struggles. The states of the Plate River, however, form a new, not an old country; they lie almost wholly within the temperate zone; instead of plantations of sugar and coffee, we find vast runs for cattle, sheep, and horses; rank was almost unknown; the country drifted into independence rather than freed itself by a revolution, and the clerical power was hardly a political one. Nevertheless, the internal feuds have been many and disastrous. Possessing but one great outlet at Buenos Ayres, it was indispensable for the very existence of the country that that city should be at peace with the inland states; and yet there was but little in common between the hardy but utterly uneducated and almost barbarous leaders of the Federalist party—who were scattered over the distant stations of a country nearly as large as South Australia—and the small number of intelligent politicians who formed the Unitary party at the capital. The Federal Republic collapsed at the end of four years, Uruguay and Paraguay seceding; and the tyranny of anarchy which ensued, was only changed for the slavery of military despotism under the Dictator Rosas. It is calculated that, in fourteen years, no less than 22,000 persons were put to death by the orders of this man, thousands of them being shot in wholesale massacre. From 1848 to 1852, the country was again plunged in civil war, which was only brought to an end by the disastrous plan of separating Buenos Ayres from the other provinces, to the injury of the one and the ruin of the other. Another war, however, resulted in the complete victory of the unitary party; and there seem reasons to hope that now the confederation is progressing steadily, though slowly, towards peace and prosperity; 2,000 miles of railway have been opened; there are still in the country about the same number of sheep as in the whole of Australia; colonies from various nations of Europe have been successfully planted, and although the public revenue does not equal that of Victoria, and but little exceeds that of New Zealand, the development of the country may be looked forward to with some confidence.

I pass over, from want of time, the Republics of Bolivia, and Peru (where the recent war has annihilated whatever fragments of prosperity there were left in that unhappy country), and the smaller states, and can only take a glance at Chili before leaving the Continent of South America. In Chili there existed the most fortunate combination of circumstances for the formation of an independent state. Many of the colonists were industrious, though poor, Biscayans, who had brought to their new homes the ideas of liberty that have never quite died out in their native province. The possession of numerous ports prevented any collision between the parties of centralisation and federalism, and the power of the clerical faction was insignificant. Independence was not gained without a long and weary struggle, and, ere the Spaniards had been entirely driven out, another revolution was necessary to free the nation from a director, who, like Bolivar in Colombia, was endeavoring to supplant the Spanish power by a monarchy of his own. But for half a century Chili has been without a revolution; I do not say they have been years of peace, as they have included three principal though unsuccessful insurrections, besides many smaller ones, and two foreign invasions; but life and property have been more safe there than in any other of the South American republics; and instead of trusting to the dream of a paper constitution forming a nation, the constitution and the nation have grown together. For many years land

has been offered on advantageous terms to immigrants from Europe, education has been encouraged, the clergy made amenable to the common law, and perfect toleration of all forms of religion established: and under this enlightened rule Chili has been enabled to maintain her credit in the money market of Europe, and to crush the forces of Peru by land and sea; and the only reason why her victorious forces have not been able to dictate terms to the Government of Lima is that in the Republic of Peru it was impossible to find a government to dictate to!

But the revolution at the beginning of this century, which robbed Spain of all her territories on the American continent, left her the fertile island of Cuba as almost a solitary relic of her once mighty empire. Even the Madrid Government had at last realised that concessions were necessary if a shadow of colonial power were to be retained, and in 1813 Cuba was liberated from the colonial system. There has been, too, another circumstance which has increased the prosperity of the island, but one of which it is impossible to speak with satisfaction. The revolution freed the negroes on the continent; a growing feeling of humanity put a stop, first to the slave trade, and then to slavery itself, in the other islands of the West Indies. Cuba alone retained the moral disgrace but pecuniary benefit of slave labor.

The Spanish Cortes have recently passed measures for the gradual emancipation of the slaves in Cuba. Unfortunately, however, these are not so practical in their provisions as the similar laws in Brazil.

But great as the natural advantages of the island have been, its prosperity does not equal the expectations of other days. A careful author,

Merivale.

writing forty years ago, said that Cuba was then, beyond contradiction, the wealthiest and most flourishing colony possessed by any European Power, but its exports at that time were considerably less than those of South Australia now; and since that time, although the increase of population has been slow but steady amongst the whites, and enormous amongst the negroes, the prosperity of the island has been checked by two insurrections and one desultory civil war, which caused regiment after regiment of young Spaniards to be drafted off to die of fever at Havanna, but did nobody any-good. In 1861 an attempt was made to sell the island to the United States, who wisely decided not to entangle themselves again in the slavery question; but there are many close observers on both sides of the Atlantic who consider that the time is not far distant when Cuba will either follow the example of the Spaniards on the continent of America, or become merged in the great republic of the north.

The history of the colonies of France, the third  
*French Colonies.*

and last of the colonising nations of the "Latin" race, is interesting as well as instructive. Brazil, if we except a short time when a part of the coast was in the possession of the Dutch, remained Portuguese until it separated itself from the mother-country; Mexico and America still belong to the Spanish race, although the colonists have shaken off the yoke of Spain; in France alone we find the strange spectacle of a foreign nation acquiring and nurturing great colonies with the utmost care and skill only to see them fall into the hands of another Power. Ever since the discovery of America it has been the ambition of France to extend her power by acquiring possessions beyond the sea; her colonial policy has been in the main an enlightened and certainly a liberal one, and the French have succeeded remarkably in conciliating native races; and yet at the beginning of this century France was without a colony! A history so remarkable is full of lessons to English colonists.

About the middle of the sixteenth century, before England had planted a single colony in the Western Hemisphere, the farseeing Coligny perceived that sooner or later the Huguenots would be driven out of France, and that their only hope lay in finding a new home. With this idea he planned a Huguenot settlement in Brazil; but the man to whose care the little community was entrusted turned traitor, the scheme was a failure, and in four years the few remaining Frenchmen were expelled from the country by the Portuguese. The fate of Coligny's second attempt was even more tragical. In 1562 a Huguenot expedition left France to settle in Florida; it might have been thought that in that remote province the little community might have been allowed, unharmed and harmless, to till the ground and plant their oranges in peace, but Philip II.—actuated by the same spirit which had prompted his ancestors to condemn 4,000 citizens of Seville to the flames, and many more to bonds and imprisonment, in the space of six and thirty years, on a charge of heresy—dispatched an expedition under an officer charged with the strictest orders to leave no Protestant alive in Florida; and within three years from the planting of the colony the whole body of the colonists, about 900 in all, were—with the exception of a few who were kept as slaves—massacred in cold blood, "not as Frenchmen, but as Lutherans."

In the following century, bold attempts were made by France to acquire colonies in east and west. As early as 1540 a small French colony had been planted on the banks of the St. Lawrence, and the country had been named "New France." But it was not for nearly seventy years afterwards that emigrants in large numbers flowed to Canada, and the cities of Quebec and Montreal were founded. The society of New France was intended to be a reproduction of that in the mother-country. Great tracts of land were granted out to feudal

barons, who alone had the right of grinding corn, trading in furs, and fishing; and beneath whose protection freehold tenants lived, holding their lands by a quit rent, and subject to military service. At one time France claimed the whole of the inland part of the continent, from Labrador to the mouth of the Mississippi, but in 1713 England acquired Newfoundland and Nova Scotia, and in 1763 all the rest of New France, except Louisiana, which was then ceded to Spain. The French plantations in the West Indies were rich and steadily improving. The first permanent French settlements in that part of the world were made about the year 1625. A century and a half later the exports from St. Domingo alone amounted to £8,000,000; its trade employed more than 1,000 ships and 15,000 Frenchmen; and France drew as much wealth from this one island as England did then from India, or Spain from Mexico and Peru put together. In 1791 the blacks revolted, and the troops of France were unable to quell a negro insurrection in a single island. But from the date of its independence, San Domingo, whether under negro emperors, kings, or responsible governments, has been in a perpetual state of anarchy. Martinique and Guadaloupe, however, still remain in the possession of France.

The history of the French in South America is very sad. Though France had long held a part of Guiana, but few attempts had been made to colonise it, until the loss of Canada stimulated Louis XIV. to seek for colonies in other parts of the world. Soon after the peace of 1763 an expedition of no less than 12,000 people started from France for Cayenne, for the colony proudly named "Equinoctial France." A city was to be founded immediately, and the motley group of emigrants included not only tradesmen and capitalists, but civil and military officials, and even actors and musicians. So hazy were the views of the managers of the party that they quite forgot that provisions would not keep in a damp tropical country. In a few months nearly all the ambitious colonists had died of famine and fever; the rest were swept away by the sudden rise of a river, and French Guiana was deserted. Since that time a few, more rational but hardly more successful, attempts at colonisation have been made by France in Guiana; at one time the colony fell into the hands of England; next, it was turned into a French penal settlement; but even that has been abandoned, and at present it is used as a convict station for Arabs from Algeria and negroes from Réunion.

In the early part of last century England and France were struggling for the mastery in Hindostan. Their object was trade, as neither power at that time had any idea of becoming the possessors of the country. For some time the scale seemed to be turning in favor of France; but in the wars at the time of Napoleon, one French settlement after another was seized by the English; then Pondicherry itself was taken; and though that has since been restored, yet at the present day, when British India is about the size of all Europe without Russia, the French can claim but one little tract of less than 200 square miles.

In the Indian Ocean France has been somewhat more fortunate. It is true that two attempts—one made in the seventeenth, the other in the present century—to plant French colonies in Madagascar, have been failures; yet, thriving settlements, of special importance in connection with the Indian trade, were established in Reunion and Mauritius. But in 1810, when the French settlements in India had fallen into the hands of the English, these islands were conquered too; and thus France was left without a single colony in the world!

During the period of which I have been treating, the French Colonial Policy had gradually undergone a change. For a short time French West Indies were governed by a company; but after its dissolution in 1674, their administration at home was entrusted to a Council of Commerce, and each island was ruled by a governor and council. Although the French regarded their colonies as estates, yet so far were they from working them to a profit that they actually taxed themselves for their benefit; and it has been computed that the prohibition of foreign sugar in the French markets amounted to a tribute paid by the mother-country to the colonies of nearly £2,000,000 a year, without any compensation.

The Parliamentary returns issued at the end of last year show that the British colonies are a net expense to the mother country of £2,000,000 a year. This sum, however, includes expenditure for such places as Malta, Gibraltar, the Falkland Islands, and Bermuda, which are held as naval and military stations, and are not really colonies.

The trade of the colonies was restricted to French ships, but strangers were allowed to come and go as they would. The horrors of slavery were much mitigated by Louis XIV.; and in Canada the French lived on friendly terms with the Indians. The armies of France were always ready to protect her possessions abroad; but, with a strange inconsistency, the defences of the sea, where the real war was to be fought, were neglected, and during the struggle between military France and naval England, colony after colony, island after island, fell into the possession of Great Britain.

In the course of the last century, influenced by views advanced by her thinkers and writers, France ceased to look at her colonies as *estates*, and began to regard them as *integral parts of the mother-country*. This is, in fact, the modern form of the old Roman view, and it is being acted on by France at the present day. Deputies from Algiers and Constantine sit in the Assembly at Versailles side by side with those from Paris and Lyons.

The modern colonies of France are of two classes; the fragments of her old colonial empire that have been receded to her, and new acquisitions. Of the latter, by far the most important is her splendid dependency in

North Africa, which has been gradually growing from the days of Charles X. until the present time. Algeria may almost be called the South Australia of France. Algiers, the capital of the colony, is in a latitude nearly corresponding with Adelaide. The country produces corn, wine, olives, and oranges in rich abundance; the climate much resembles our own, even possessing the charm of hot winds. It must be confessed that, in many respects, they have the advantage of us. Separated from the markets of Europe by a voyage of only two days from any of their many ports, with cheap labor, both native and imported from southern Europe; with government engineers to plan great works of drainage, irrigation, and planting, and soldiers to make the roads that open up the country in all directions; with a firm and well-administered government; with beauties of nature that attract the wealthy pleasure-seekers of the north; with snowy mountains for summer retreat, and sunny plains for winter labor; with veins of minerals and beautiful marbles; a fertile soil and *phylloxera* as yet unknown; it is no wonder that Algeria is now one of the most flourishing provinces in the world. But even here all is not perfect. The colony is still an annual expense to France. No pains have been spared to promote colonisation, immigrants being imported at the expense of the Government and of private societies; but amongst the French colonists the deaths almost equal the births. Of the 350,000 Europeans in Algeria, less than 200,000 (that is not much more than half) are of French origin;

These figures are taken from the Census of 1876. The numbers since then have doubtless considerably increased.

and it is no uncommon thing to hear Frenchmen complain bitterly that they have but labored to make a fatherland for foreigners (*une patrie des étrangers*). Although the European population in the towns is chiefly French, Spanish, or Italian, some of the most extensive and productive estates in the country are in the hands of Englishmen, just as we see some of the largest government contracts in New Caledonia taken by Australians.

In other lands, too, France has been seeking to establish new colonies. But the world's auction is over; the allotments have already been taken up. French influence in the Sandwich Islands has had no better result than it had in Mexico. The island of New Caledonia from its size can never be a serious rival to Australia or New Zealand; and though the French may establish missions and protectorates in islands of the South Pacific, a race which hardly increases in its own country is not likely to require a home for its younger sons in the colonies.

I turn now to the colonies of the Teutonic nations.

#### *Teutonic Colonies.*

Sweden and Denmark may be passed by. The settlements planted by the wise and beneficent Gustavus Adolphus, on the Continent of America, have long since passed under other rulers; and the few islands which the Scandinavians still possess in the West Indies, are, I am given to understand, all up for sale.

Switzerland has made no settlement of her own; but there is one Swiss settlement in America which deserves special mention, not so much on its own account as on that of its remarkable founder. In 1718 a Swiss named John Purry presented a memorial to the Dutch East India Company, in whose service he then was, pointing out that the true policy of commercial nations was not merely to trade with old countries in Europe, but to form permanent and self-supporting settlements beyond the seas; and urging the company to send out emigrants to such favored regions as South Africa, and Southern Australia. He was immediately dismissed from the company's service. He went to France, and met with a polite but cold reception. Next he turned to England; but our ancestors little dreamed then that what they called "New "Holland" was destined to become the Great New England of the southern seas, or that most of their American possessions would ere long fall away from the British Crown. They received the enterprising foreigner cordially, and recommended him to form a settlement of his fellow countrymen in the hitherto unoccupied districts of Carolina and Georgia; and there the flourishing town of Purry's- burg, still peopled by the descendants of Purry's emigrants, bears witness to this day to the wisdom and sagacity of that true colonist.

I have already said that some authors divide European colonies into two families—those of the Latin and Teutonic races, but that such a classification I consider too artificial. The colonies of Holland really fall midway between those of Portugal and England, for the Dutch acted with the same object as the Portuguese, but the same spirit as Englishmen. That object was commerce, that spirit was the love of liberty. It was the bigotry and cruelty of Philip II. which made the Netherlands a nation; but long before that, the burgesses of such cities as Amsterdam, Utrecht, and the Hague had, in their guilds of traders and artisans, learnt the habits of industry, self-reliance, and cooperation which at one time made them the greatest merchants of the world. There was, however, much truth in Canning's well-known lines, that

In matters of commerce, the fault of the Dutch  
Was giving too little and asking too much.

When Holland freed herself from Spanish tyranny, her people were only able, with difficulty, to keep in

repair the embankments on which the very existence of the Netherlands depended; less than fifty years afterwards Raleigh said, with hardly an exaggeration, that the ships of the Dutch outnumbered those of England and ten other nations; and the trade which was already flowing away from Lisbon was pouring into Amsterdam. This led to the formation of various joint-stock companies, only two of which, however, attained to great celebrity. In 1602 the famous Dutch East India Company received its charter, and was the first great joint-stock company whose shares were bought and sold from hand to hand. During the next half century the centres of Portuguese trade in the East, one by one, fell into their hands—in the Moluccas, Cochin, India, and Ceylon—and as early as 1618 an oriental Amsterdam had been founded at Batavia, in the Island of Java. The religious persecutions which mark the progress of Portugal in the east were unknown in the annals of Holland, and the Dutch were often looked upon as friends and protectors by the native rulers. But with a narrowness of view that marked a mere trading corporation, whose only object was their dividends, the company seized the best land that they could for their plantations, and ruthlessly destroyed all the other fruit trees throughout the islands, in order to keep up the price of their own spices.

This great company produced many trading stations, but only two colonies—the Island of Java (rich in spices and tropical products) and the Cape of Good Hope. It is specially interesting to us to watch the rise and progress of the latter, one of the earliest instances of modern colonisation on a regular system. The colony was founded about the year 1650, not by the nation, but by the East India Company, to whom it belonged, and solely with the object of benefiting their Indian trade. The bigotry of Louis the XIV., which drove thousands of his best and most industrious subjects into exile, brought many Huguenots, and with them the art of making wine, into the colony. According to the pernicious system of the time, labor was obtained by enslaving the natives. Foreigners were encouraged to settle, but trade with foreign countries was absolutely forbidden. Each settler was permitted to occupy nine square miles, 120 acres being freehold, the rest without any security of tenure. There was much to be admired in the patriarchal simplicity of these Dutch colonists. Many of them were men of deep religion, and full of that love of home and family which is the true basis of national prosperity; but it is needless to say that under such a system the population became too scattered, each generation grew up less cultured than the last, and the farming was of the rudest description. At the end of the last century, shortly before the Cape passed into the hands of the English, the Governor reported that the colony was fully peopled up to its food-producing capacity. It contained at that time 20,000 free inhabitants. The white population alone is now twelve times that number, and the annual exports are counted by millions of pounds.

The Dutch West India Company, even more than its eastern sister, shows us what admirable traders, but inferior colonists, were the men who planned its career. At the formation of the company in 1621, the States General endowed it not only with a large sum of money, but also with the most ample powers of trading and holding land abroad, but did not guarantee to it the possession of any of the territories it might occupy, or make any stipulations with regard to the liberties of those who might become its subjects. Five years afterwards the enterprising company had conquered half the coast of Brazil, and was paying a dividend of cent, per cent. But no efforts were made to conciliate the natives, who were ground down by irritating restrictions on their trade, and, with a strangely short-sighted policy, the directors reduced to so low a figure the sum allowed for the troops and fortifications necessary for the security of their important possessions, that in forty years the Brazilians succeeded in driving every Dutchman out of the country, and the trade of Brazil was for ever lost to Holland.

Yet under the protection of this company a colony was founded in North America, which was destined to have a glorious future. The settlement then called New Amsterdam, in the province of the New Netherlands, was that which we now know by the name of New York. As Canada was intended to be a reproduction of feudal France, so was this province planned in imitation of aristocratic Holland. Whoever would within four years plant a colony of fifty souls, was to become patron (or, as we should say, lord of the manor), with absolute possession of the lands he had colonised, and, should a town grow up, the right of instituting its government was his. So narrow were the restrictions on trade, that no colonist was allowed, under the severest penalties, to make any woollen, linen, or cotton fabric for himself. The principles of religious toleration had been brought by the Dutchmen from their fatherland. Once indeed we hear of a governor imprisoning a Quaker; but the directors at Amsterdam immediately sent to him these memorable instructions, admirable at all times, but doubly so when we recollect that they were uttered more than 200 years ago. "Let every peaceful citizen enjoy freedom of conscience; this maxim has made our city the asylum for fugitives from every land; tread in its steps and you shall be blessed." But the constant collisions between the ruling companies and the colonists, who flocked each year to the New Netherlands from the different countries of Europe would no doubt sooner or later have led to a civil war; and it was a loss to the few but a gain to the many, when, in 1674, the New Netherlands were finally incorporated with the Anglo-Saxon colonies in America.

In Guiana the Dutch have been somewhat more successful. Coming from a land of dykes and embankments, the colonists understood how to cultivate the rich alluvial plains, instead of planting settlements

on barren mountain slopes, as the French had vainly attempted. But a servile war, which dragged on through half the last century, impoverished the country, and although it is now sufficiently prosperous to export a considerable quantity of sugar and other tropical products, still the Dutch colony is, both in material prosperity and in political condition, behind that part of Guiana which owes allegiance to the Crown of England.

I pass over the Dutch possessions in the West Indies from want of time. In the days of Napoleon, when Holland itself had to submit to a nominee of the all-powerful Emperor, the same policy which induced England to attack all the colonies of France led her to seize on those of Holland; not because *they* were Dutch, but because Holland was French, and undefended colonies always form a tempting object of attack to a hostile power. Before this time the Dutch companies had died a natural death, and their Oriental possessions had been ruled first by a committee of the States General, then by the Government of Holland itself. Java remained English for five years only; the Cape of Good Hope and Ceylon permanently. At the present day the Dutch East Indies are probably managed better by the Government of the Hague than they ever were before, and infinitely more liberally than they would be under native princes; but, with a policy very different to that which has been pursued by England with regard to her colonial possessions, a revenue of nearly £3,000,000 a year is drawn from them by the mother-country, and spent on public works at home.

#### *British Colonies.*

I now pass from the consideration of foreign countries, and turn to that story which is dear to every true Australian, to the grand history of British colonisation. It is a tale which is marred by many a failure and darkened by many errors and much wrongdoing; but still it is in the main a glorious one, and one thought pervades the whole—the thought of untiring energy and law-abiding liberty. Circumstances may, and must change; but the spirit is the same, whether we picture to ourselves the England of Elizabeth, and the Queen herself standing on the shore at Greenwich, to wave a last farewell to three tiny vessels, the largest not more than 25 tons burden, as they sailed down the Thames on their way to the unexplored countries of the west; or think of the same spot at the present time, when fleets of steamships, compared with which the vessels of the Spanish Armada would be fishing boats, are daily passing to-and-fro between the mother country and the provinces and cities of the great empire whose people are proud to call themselves the subjects of Queen Victoria.

No sooner had Cabot returned from the American continent than the English formed plans for colonising its shores. At first indeed such ideas were subservient to the dream of finding the north-west passage to India, the plunder of Spanish vessels, and the discovery of gold on the coasts of Labrador and in the territories of the Esquimaux; but even the explorers of Newfoundland took with them cattle for the benefit of future colonists; and by the time of Elizabeth the people of England were slowly learning that it is not by finding precious metals in an icy and inhospitable region, but by the tilling of a fertile soil, that the foundations of a new commonwealth are laid. They were learning, to use the words of Schiller:

Eleusischcn Feste.

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Dass der Mensch zum Menschen werde  
Stift er einem ewigen Bund  
Gläubig mit der frommen Erde  
Seinem mütterlichen Grund.

or, as translated by Lord Lytton—

Let, that man to man may soar,  
Man and earth with one another  
Make a compact evermore,  
Man the son and earth the mother.

From this covenant between man and the earth has arisen all civilisation, and all the salutary order of human society, and upon it are based even the adornments of art and the attainments of science.

The history of the early English settlements in America is the very antithesis to those of Spain. There we found conquering armies setting forth by order of the king to sweep down empires and kingdoms before them, and plant Spanish vicerealties on their ruins with all the surroundings of civil and ecclesiastical rank and state; here we see little bands of humble men and women, many of them religious refugees, with no thought of conquest or empire, desiring only to find a peaceful home amongst the woods and meadows of a new country.

Spain began with glory and ended with disaster; England started with failure and slowly worked her way to triumph.

### *Virginia.*

The first English colony that was actually planted in America was directed, not by the State nor by a company, but by a private individual. In 1584 a patent was granted by Queen Elizabeth to Walter Raleigh constituting him "Lord Proprietary," with almost unlimited powers over a vast territory in the new world, subject only to homage and a nominal rent; and the name Virginia still bears witness to the colony that was planted in the days of the virgin queen. It is certainly a blot on this patent that it contains no direct security for the liberties, within the colony, of the colonists, who were thus placed at the mercy of a single man: but we must recollect that that man was the chivalrous and enlightened Raleigh; that he who provided the whole expenses of the venture had a right to look for substantial benefits in the event of its proving successful; that we can hardly expect a perfect colonial policy when colonisation was in its infancy; and, last but not least, that a special clause in the patent secured to all the colonists "the rights "of Englishmen," which might indeed be construed as merely reserving English citizenship to those who should return to the mother country, but might more fairly be, and actually was taken, as including the principle that Englishmen who settle in a colony are entitled there to privileges as great as those enjoyed by their brethren who stay at home.

But the Nemesis which pursued the heroic founder seemed to brood over the colony that he had founded. We owe much to those early settlers. The maize and potatoes that we eat, the tobacco we smoke, and the beautiful wild vine that adorns our walls, which from its native country we call "Virginia creeper," were brought from Raleigh's settlement; but two years after the patent was granted the colonists in despair returned home; and soon afterwards the few men placed as the guardians of English rights were murdered by the Indians. The bold spirit of Raleigh, however, was not conquered by one or two failures; the very next year he chartered fresh ships and sent out a fresh band of immigrants. With more ambitious ideas, he granted a charter to the town that was intended to be built, "The City of Raleigh"; and the summer of 1587 saw a colony of English men and women on the shores of Virginia. What was the fate of that little band? Whether they perished by a lingering famine, by a sudden disease, or by the hands of the natives, or whether they, as some have thought, wandered away into the interior, mingled with the Indians, and at length became merged in their tribes, must remain for ever a mystery. We only know that three years after they had formed their settlement, the site was once more a desert; Raleigh, from his prison, spent the remnant of his shattered fortune in searching for them, but in vain; and at the close of the sixteenth century, when the Spanish conquests in America were completed, many graves, but not a single settlement bore witness to the efforts of the English to plant a colony in Virginia.

These efforts, however, were renewed at the very beginning of the next century. Of the many English settlements in America which date from that period I shall take but three—Virginia, Maryland, and the first settlement in New England—as instances of how they all, starting with different ideas, and governed by different constitutions, gradually approached each other, as character overcame circumstances.

Raleigh had spent £40,000 in his attempts to colonise Virginia; the work was now taken up by a corporation. In 1606 a patent was granted by King James to a company in London, conferring on them the exclusive right of occupying all the land between the 34th and 38th degrees of latitude, subject only to homage, a royalty on minerals, and a prospective duty on vessels trading in the harbors of the colony. The company were to have the privilege of coining money, but legislative power was reserved to the king himself, and a code of laws was framed by him somewhat in imitation of those prevailing in England, and including trial by jury for serious offences. English nationality was promised to the emigrants and their descendants, but with that their liberties ended; they had no votes in the election either of the local council in the colony or of the superior body in London.

It seemed at first as though the new settlement would end as tragically as its predecessors. In December, 105 emigrants crossed the Atlantic, entered the Bay of the Chesapeake, ascended the River Powhattan for about fifty miles, and built the fort and village of Jamestown; but of this little band fifty died before the following August, and of the rest many were laid low by sickness, and actual famine was avoided only by the kindness of the Indians. Fresh immigrants arrived from time to time from England, merely to find a tomb where they had sought a home. In 1609 the colony contained 490 souls; before the next summer the number had dwindled down to sixty! The miserable remnant resolved once more to quit the fatal spot, make their way to Newfoundland, and beg a passage home in the ships of English fishermen. They bade farewell without a tear to Jamestown, and actually reached the mouth of the river, when the longboat of Lord Delaware, who had come with aid, appeared. The fugitives again took heart, and returned with him to their deserted settlements.

And now a happier era began to dawn on Virginia. Fresh supplies and immigrants arrived from home; and the daily morning and evening devotions in the little church at Jamestown contained the simple but touching prayer, "Lord bless England, our sweet native country."

At this time three important events took place, which changed the whole condition of affairs. The first of these was a reform of the land laws. When the original code was formed, a mistaken policy had led to the insertion of a clause that the industry and commerce of the colony should, for five years at least, be conducted in a joint stock. This premium on idleness was now abolished, and a few acres were allotted to each man as his own share, grants were promised to future colonists, and land was made saleable. Thenceforward the sanctity of private property was recognised as the surest guarantee of order and abundance.

The second was the culture of tobacco. As often happens, in a new country, much labor and expense had been wasted in the attempt to raise unsuitable crops, but in tobacco they found the one that was best adapted to their soil and climate; the very streets of the town were planted with it, and it became, not only the staple, but even the currency of the colony. Tobacco enriched Virginia.

The third event, the establishment of peace, for a time at least, with the Indians, brought about by a happy marriage. During the early struggles of the colony, food had been, from time to time, supplied to the fort by the chief Powhattan and his little daughter Pocohontas. The child had now grown up, and John Rolfe, "an honest and discreet young "Englishman," loved and won the native maiden. I must give her history in the words of the American historian.—"Quick of comprehension, the youthful princess received instruction with docility, and soon, in the little church of James-town, which rested on rough pine columns fresh from the forest, and was as frail as an Indian wigwam, she stood before the font, cut out of the trunk of a tree that had been hollow like a canoe, openly renounced her country's idolatry, professed the faith of Jesus Christ, and was baptized. The gaining of this one soul, the first fruits of Virginian conversion, was followed by her nuptials with Rolfe. In April, 1613, to the joy of Sir Thomas Dale, with the approbation of her father and friends, Opachisco, her uncle, gave the bride away, and she stammered before the altar her marriage vows according to the rites of the English service. Every historian of Virginia commemorated the union with approbation: distinguished men trace from it their descent. In 1616 the Indian wife, instructed in the English language and bearing an English name, the first christian ever of her nation, sailed with her husband for England. The daughter of the wilderness possessed the mild elements of female loveliness, half concealed, as if in the bud, and rendered the more beautiful by the childlike simplicity with which her education in the savannahs of the New World had invested her. How could she fail to be caressed at Court and admired in the city? As a wife, as a young mother, her conduct was exemplary. She had been able to contrast the magnificence of European life with the freedom of the western forests, and now, as she was preparing to return to America, at the age of 22, she fell a victim to the English climate, saved, as if by the hand of mercy, from beholding the extermination of the tribes from which she sprung, leaving a spotless name, and dwelling in memory under the form of perpetual youth." But though she thus early passed away, Pocohontas left behind her a little one that lived to grow up and keep her name alive; and to this day there are some, not only in America but in South Australia, who trace their descent from the noble and generous Powhattan and the good and gentle Pocohontas.

But it was not until the colony had been in existence for thirteen years that the fundamental change took place by which a plantation was made a nation. The original patent had already been modified, the powers at first reserved for the king being transferred to the company; but without any additional rights being bestowed on the colonists. In 1619, however—to use the quaint words of the historian of Massachusetts—"a house of burgesses broke out in Virginia." (The application to the First Colonial Parliament of an expression more often used in connection with an epidemic is doubtless an Americanism.) The governor, the council, and twenty-two members elected to represent eleven districts of Virginia formed the first popular representative body in the Western Hemisphere; the first in the world, it is said, in which the principle of universal suffrage was recognized. Two years afterwards an ordinance of the company established a constitution for the colony—a governor and a permanent council appointed by the company themselves, and a body of members annually elected by the several plantations, who, with the permanent council, would form a single House of Assembly. Legislative authority was granted to the Assembly, subject to a veto by the governor and ratification by the superior council at home; and similarly orders of the London council required ratification by the local assembly. But in 1623 the company, who had spent about £100,000 on the colony, was dissolved, and the appointment of the governor was vested in the Crown. The colonists succeeded, not without a struggle, in retaining to themselves the nomination of other officers.

The Assembly was not long in making use of its newly-acquired powers. Less than twenty years after the first settlement of Englishmen in Virginia had been effected, the Colonial Parliament made a formal declaration of those rights which long years after were only finally established by a bitter and a lamentable war—a war to be doubly regretted by Englishmen and colonists. "The Government," said the Assembly, "shall not lay any taxes or impositions upon the colony, their lands or commodities, other way than by the authority of the general Assembly, to be levied and employed as the said Assembly shall appoint." And not long afterwards the Assembly was equally emphatic in asserting their right to free trade, "for freedom of trade," said they, "is the blood and life of a commonwealth." Thus did the people of Virginia secure to themselves the three necessities

of a flourishing community—the security of property, the freedom of industry, and the possession of civil franchises.

No sooner was the Constitution established than the planters began to regard Virginia as their home. "They fell to building houses and planting "corn," and so eager were the young men to enter on family life that it is recorded that even 150lbs. of Virginia tobacco was sometimes given for a wife! Religious persecution, still unhappily rife in the mother-country, existed only on paper in Virginia, for although by the law the Church of England alone was tolerated, yet, as a matter of fact, Puritans and Brownists were invited to the colony, and lived there in peace until Puritanism had been identified with Republicanism, and its professors were banished, not as heretics, but as Revolutionaries, by the Royalist majority. The only deep blot on the history of religious liberty in the early days of Virginia was an Act passed in 1658, ordering Quakers to be banished; but even that might possibly have been avoided had not some mistaken members of that society, by their excesses, outraged feelings of common decency and propriety. Such was the story of the early struggles of the first British colony in the Western Hemisphere, the settlement which the colonists proudly, but not at that time untruthfully, called "the best poor "man's country in the world."

#### *Maryland.*

Now I come to the Colony of Maryland. Virginia was colonised by a Church of England corporation; Maryland owed its existence to a Roman Catholic proprietary. Wise men take warning by the failure of others, and the prudent Lord Baltimore steered his bark safely past the rocks on which Raleigh and the other founders of Virginia had struck. In 1632 a grant was made by the Crown to Lord Baltimore of a territory which was erected into a province, and named after Henrietta Maria, the Queen of Charles I., subject to a nominal rent and a royalty on the precious metals. But, unlike the original patent of Virginia, this charter contained a special clause securing to the emigrants an independent share in the legislation of the province, the statutes of which were to be established with the advice and approbation of the majority of the freemen or their deputies, and the authority of the proprietary was limited as to the life freehold or estate of any colonist. The following autumn a band of 200 emigrants, chiefly co-religionists of Lord Baltimore, set sail for America, and, after a short visit to the Virginian settlement, made their way to Maryland and founded the humble village of St. Mary's. The leading characteristic of this little Roman Catholic colony was perfect toleration of all forms of Christianity. From the very first, the oath of the Governor contained the memorable words, "I will not, by myself or any other, directly or indirectly, molest any person professing to believe in Jesus Christ, for or in respect of religion;" the same sentiment is expressed in one of the earliest statutes of the Colonial Assembly; and Protestants exiled and persecuted by Protestant intolerance frequently found a shelter amongst their Roman Catholic brethren in Maryland. But Arianism and Socinianism were still punishable with death; and the first colony which granted toleration to all creeds alike was the Baptist settlement of Rhode Island.

Deeply indebted though the colonists felt themselves to Lord Baltimore, they lost no opportunity of asserting their independent rights in the Assembly. They claimed the power, not merely of assenting to, but of originating laws, made provisions for an elective Assembly and declared that no tax should be levied upon the freemen of the province except by the vote of their deputies in the Central Assembly. Maryland was following in the steps of Virginia.

It is lamentable that a colony founded on such liberal principles should have become the scene of religious strife, and still more so that the Puritans, who had been treated with such hospitality, should plot against the liberties of their hosts. Yet such was the case. By the time of the English Commonwealth so many Puritans had settled in the colony that in the Assembly held at Patuxent a Bill was actually passed providing that liberty of conscience should not be extended to popery, prelacy, or licentiousness of opinion; but Cromwell merely advised the bigoted legislators "not to busy themselves about religion, but to settle the civil Government." A civil war actually broke out only to end in a compromise at the end of six years; but tranquillity was not perfectly restored until 1660, when the assembled burgesses of Maryland solemnly declared that thenceforth no authority should be recognised except that of the Assembly and of the King of England. Thus Maryland established for itself a constitution much like that of Virginia, and the two constitutions remained almost unchanged until the war of American independence.

#### *New England.*

New England, as we all know, was originally a Puritan settlement. It is impossible to regard the early Puritans otherwise than with feelings of admiration. They were men who, with a strange mixture of narrow-mindedness and some absurdity, yet held their principles dearer than life itself—principles for which they were ready to suffer, bleed, and even die. Both sides of their character were strongly marked in the history of their colonies in New England.

It had been intended that this territory should have been colonised simultaneously with Virginia, and patents had been granted to companies similar to the first Virginian one. But of the two expeditions dispatched, one left the colony in disgust, the other never reached it. New England was colonised neither by a chartered

company nor by a wealthy proprietary; but by the settlers themselves, without authority. A congregation of Puritans living in exile in Holland—for religious liberty was still making slow way in England—resolved to emigrate to the unoccupied territories of the New World. They refused a patent from the Crown, "for," said they, "if there should afterwards be a purpose to wrong us, though we had a seal as broad as the house-floor, there would be means enough found to recall or reverse it," and the only assistance they ultimately received was an absolutely valueless charter from the Virginian Company.

But though the Pilgrim Fathers had been persecuted at home and driven into exile; though they had been hospitably received by the men of another nation; though they were now starting with no help from their mother-country and were relying on their own efforts only; still they never forgot that they were Englishmen, carrying with them wherever they went the duties and the privileges that are the birthright of every British subject. The solemn compact of the body politic signed by every head of a family before they landed on the American coast, was as follows:—"In the name of God, amen. We, whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign King James, having undertaken, for the glory of God, and advancement of the Christian faith, and honor of our king and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia, do, by these presents, solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God, and of one another, covenant and combine ourselves together, into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by virtue hereof, to enact, constitute, and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most convenient for the general good of the colony. Unto which we promise all due submission and obedience."

The sufferings of the little colony were as severe as those of the Virginians. In December, 1620, a hundred souls—men, women, and children—landed in New England. Before the following summer, fever and famine had brought fifty of them to their graves. Their friends in Europe did what they could to help and cheer them. "Let it not be grievous to you," wrote they, "that you have been instruments to break the ice for others. The honor shall be yours to the world's end."

For some time the infant state was a complete democracy. A governor, chosen by general suffrage, was assisted by a council similarly elected; but the whole body of the male inhabitants composed the primitive legislature, until, population having increased, a representative system was introduced. Here, as in Virginia, community of property was given a fair trial and found a failure. After four years a piece of land was allotted in fee to each member of the community, and a vast increase of territory was granted to the colony by the Crown.

I wish that I were able to dwell on the history of the other settlements in New England, which followed each other in rapid succession. I should like to narrate at length how Massachusetts owed its origin as an independent state to a chartered trading corporation, transferring itself bodily from England to America, and how Rhode Island was colonised by men exiled by the intolerance of the earlier settlements. But I must press forward. In less than a quarter of a century from the first landing of the pilgrims the "United colonies of New England were made all as one."

But the toleration which existed in Virginia and Maryland was sorely limited amongst the Puritan settlements of the North. Episcopalians were banished as early as 1629; at a later date, absence from the worship of the Established Congregational Church was punished by a fine, the meetings of other religious bodies were prohibited, and Quakers banished. Nothing can justify this retrograde policy; still in judging the Puritans of New England, we must admit that the men who had fled from their country to avoid laws which were to them oppressive, may be excused if they had an extravagant fear of their dearly-bought liberties being invaded; and that this, as is the case with the whole history of English intolerance, must be estimated not as an isolated fact, but in connection with the circumstances and the time. I deeply regret that, in the days of Elizabeth, a law ordering conformity or exile ever disgraced the Statute-roll; but I cannot forget that a century later the French king ordered poisonous gases to be pumped into the holds of ships leaving the ports of France in case the benevolent captains might have secreted a few Huguenots amongst the cargo. It is lamentable to think that on the American soil four Quakers sealed their faith with their blood; but the lowest computation of the victims to the persecution of Charles V., in the Netherlands alone, is fifty thousand!

The liberties which had grown up under the Stuarts were attacked by the Long Parliament. That autocratic body went so far as to claim the right to reverse the decisions and control the Government of Massachusetts. It was argued that the original charter was but a licence to a trading corporation. But the Colonial Court indignantly replied—"Plantations are above the rank of an ordinary corporation. Colonies are the foundations of great commonwealths. It is the fruit of pride and folly to despise the day of small things." And at length even the Long Parliament was obliged to admit itself in the wrong, and the legislative independence of New England was secured.

I have omitted to speak of the conduct of the English settlers in America to the natives. It is a subject on which it is impossible to dwell without pain. It is true that much allowance must be made for the little bands of colonists who were obliged to defend themselves; for as they paid no taxes to, so they looked for no aid from,

the mother-country; but claimed the right to defend themselves by force of arms against every aggression as one of their privileges; and at least there was no organised cruelty, as in the case of Spain; each colony started with the intention of purchasing land and living at peace with the children of the forest. The idea of introducing Christianity was never lost sight of, and many noble and devoted men spent their lives in preaching the Gospel to the Indians; but the evil deeds of the few had more effect than the benevolent intentions of the many. One wretched Englishman kidnapped a cargo of Indians to sell as slaves in Spain; others seized the fields and gardens of the men who had been their protectors in the hour of need; and we must with shame admit that the cruel wars which led to the ultimate extermination of the Indians in North-East America were, to a great extent, brought on by the violence and injustice of the English colonists.

*The "Colonial "System."*

So far I have treated of the Anglo-Saxon settlements in America as independent communities subject to the British Crown, struggling into existence, and relying solely on their own resources. I come now to a very different period; the era of the so-called "colonial system." I have alluded to this system when speaking of other nations, but must pause to explain it more at length in connection with the colonies of England.

The colonial system may be defined as a series of restrictions placed on the production, manufacture, and trade of the colonies and the mother country, respectively, with the intention of conferring reciprocal benefits on both communities. We have seen this system developed in one direction by Spain, where the whole trade of South America and Mexico was restricted to Spanish ships and Spanish ports, in order to benefit the mother-country at the expense of the colonies; in the other, by France, where the mother-country taxed herself for the benefit of the sugar-growing colonists. In England, as I shall endeavor to show you, both ideas were followed, the object being *reciprocal benefits*.

If the colony is left perfectly free, she will naturally trade with the nation that affords the best market for her produce. At this point the mother-country intervenes, and, desiring to retain the benefits of the colony to herself, endeavors to obtain the monopoly of the colonial productions. Next, desiring to find a market for home manufactures, she forces her colonies to consume her own wares. So far, the benefit of the mother-country alone has been considered; but now it becomes necessary to compensate the colonies, and this is effected by granting to the colonies the exclusive right of producing particular articles for the home consumption. As illustrations of these three stages we may take—first, Holland, endeavoring to obtain a monopoly of the spices of the eastern islands; secondly, Spain ordering the vines and olives in Mexico to be rooted up, in order to oblige her colonists to consume Spanish wine and oil; thirdly, France prohibiting the importation of foreign sugar into her own markets.

Such is a brief history of the development of the restrictive policy amongst European nations. The restrictions themselves may be divided into five classes—

- Those on the exportation of produce from the colony elsewhere than to the mother-country.
- On the importation of goods into the colony from foreign countries.
- On the carriage of goods to and from the colonies in other shipping than that of the mother-country.
- On the manufacture of their raw produce by the colonists.
- On the importation into the mother country of articles similar to those produced in her colonies, either from foreign countries or their colonies.

Now the first of these—the restriction on the exportation of produce from the colony elsewhere than to the mother country—important though it was in the case of Spain, Portugal, and Holland, never was a leading feature in the English Colonial system. Holland, by obliging her own colonics to send their spices to Amsterdam, and destroying everybody else's, could obtain a monopoly of the spice trade in the European markets; but England could gain no similar advantage by forcing the tobacco of Virginia or the sugar of Barbadoes to pass through the hands of London merchants, as the same articles might be produced by other countries or their colonies. At one time, indeed, such restrictions were attempted; but they were found useless, and speedily abandoned.

The second class has played a large part in the history of Colonial America, and has been the cause of vast profits, made, however, by people who were never intended to be benefited. Wealth will always succeed in purchasing luxuries by some means or another, and the gold and silver which the Spaniards hoped to receive at Seville in exchange for the goods they wished to send to Mexico and Peru, made its way into the pockets of English, Dutch, French, and even Danish smugglers; and the smaller West Indian Islands became of importance as a focus for contraband traffic. In the the same way French buccaneers made their fortunes by the restrictions our ancestors placed on the trade of New England.

The third class of restrictions, on carriage of goods to and from the colonies in other shipping than that of the mother country, may seem to us at first sight trivial, seeing that the overwhelming majority of the vessels that leave the colonial ports sail beneath the protection of the Union Jack; yet it was the immediate cause of the introduction of the colonial system into England. A little more than two centuries ago, it was Holland, not

England, that monopolised the carrying trade of the world; English ships lay rotting in the harbors, whilst English sailors went to Holland to seek employment. It was intended to strike a blow at this monopoly by restricting the trade to and from the English colonies to English ships. The soundness of the scheme was, at the time, hardly doubted. We can now look back on it as a passage in history, and ask, was it successful? There are some who still say it was, and point to the steady decline of the shipping trade of Holland and the enormous increase of our own as conclusive evidence. But it may be answered, in the words of Adam Smith, and the editor of his well-known work (McCulloch's note to A. Smith"), that the carrying trade "is the natural effect and symptom of national wealth; but it does not seem to be the natural cause of it;" and that "the decline of the maritime preponderance of Holland was owing rather to the gradual increase of commerce and navigation in other countries, and to the disasters and burdens occasioned by the ruinous contests the republic had to sustain, \* \* \* than to the exclusion of their merchant vessels from the ports of England."

The fourth class of restrictions, on the manufacture of their raw produce by the colonists, was stated in its extreme form by Lord Chatham.—"The British colonists of North America have no *right* to manufacture even a nail or a horseshoe." This most unjust of all restrictions must, however, die a natural death; for a young and thinly-populated colony will spend its energies in pastoral and agricultural pursuits; it is nature, not law, that prohibits manufactures in such a state of society; and when population has so far increased as to call for the building of factories, the law must be relaxed, either by the voluntary act of the mother-country, or by the separation of the colony.

I have reserved to the last the restriction imposed by the parent state, not on the colonies for her own benefit, but on herself for the benefit of the colonies—the restriction on the importation of colonial produce into the mother-country from foreign countries or their colonies.

The existence of such an enactment shows that the real intention of the English laws in restraint of trade—whether wisely carried out or not is not the question—was, to use the words of the preamble to one of the statutes, "The maintaining a greater correspondence and kindness between the subjects at home and those in the plantations." It was certainly the strongest proof of regard that England could show Canada that she continued to build ships of Canadian timber when better materials could have been brought at a cheaper rate from the Baltic; and it would have made the system perfectly *fair*—although, as we now believe, injurious to both parties—if an exact balance between the two classes of restrictions had always been maintained; but, unfortunately, that is impossible. The loss of a single possession, or a fall in the price of a single commodity, may at any moment disturb the symmetry of the whole plan; and, as a matter of fact, the restraints on the importation of timber from northern Europe remained in force long after all burdens imposed by England on the colonies had been abolished. The attempt to substitute artificial machinery for the laws of nature failed, and the last relics of the "Colonial System" were swept away.

Such were the views that for a long time governed the colonial policy of every nation of western Europe—Spain, from the discovery of America until the War of Independence; England, for the best part of two centuries. They had one unfortunate result as far as the colonies were concerned— they made each nation desirous of seizing the colonies of its neighbors in order to obtain the benefits of their trade. Under the present system of liberty of trade, however, all such danger is avoided. For instance,—to conquer South Australia and hold it by force of arms would now confer no benefit on French trade. The vessels of the *Messagerie Maritime* are welcome to come as soon as they like, and take away our corn and wool in exchange for Paris china and Lyons silk; but if the colonial exports were restricted by law to Bristol and London, the manufacturers of the Continent might well cast envious eyes at the vast stores of unmanufactured produce annually shipped from the ports of Australia.

The precise date of the introduction of the colonial system into England has been a matter of dispute, some writers seeing its germ in an Ordinance of Charles I. prohibiting the growth of tobacco in England, or the importation of any except from the colonies. But, as a matter of fact, that referred rather to the then vexed question of Royal monopolies. The English colonial system really dates from Cromwell's Navigation Act of 1651, which was framed with the double object of injuring the Dutch shipping and punishing the Royalist colonies in the West Indies. The colonial harbors were closed to all but English vessels. But this was only the first of a long series of Navigation Acts—as the statutes were called by which the whole "colonial system" was established—for, when the policy was once introduced, all parties in England pursued it with equal energy. In the reign of Charles II. one Act prohibited the export from the British colonics of such articles as sugar, tobacco, and ginger to any port in Northern Europe except those of England; another forbade the introduction of European commodities into the colonies except in English ships from England; and a third restricted intercolonial trade. Colonial manufactures were not made illegal until the time of the Georges, and the third stage,—the granting to the colonies a monopoly of goods required for home consumption,—came last of all. The protective duty on the importation of foreign timber, to which I have already alluded, was introduced as late as 1808; a similar duty on sugar existed until less than thirty years ago.

*Period of the Restoration.*

I need scarcely say that the Navigation Acts were not submitted to without a severe struggle. Disturbances broke out from New England to Carolina. But, irritating though the Acts were, there were other things that galled the colonists still more. With the restoration was introduced a new colonial policy which displayed not only injustice, but the most absolute ignorance, on the part of England, of the wants and state of society of the colonies. During the first four years of his power, Charles II. made presents to various friends of a large part of the North American continent, regardless of former grants or existing settlements, and soon after he gave to Lord Culpepper, for a full term of thirty-one years, "all the dominion of land and water "called Virginia." Hardly less absurd than the actions of the King and his courtiers were those of English statesmen and philosophers. When Shaftesbury and Locke had completely colonised Carolina—on paper—and were busily elaborating a constitution for their colony, with different orders of nobility, four estates of the realm, counties, manors, courts-baron, and all the necessaries of a flourishing mediæval kingdom, a few settlers' huts were the only buildings in the colony, the Governor and Council were receiving a modest salary (paid in tobacco), and the wife of the Chief Secretary travelling about by paddling her own canoe down the rivers, or threading her way along the tracks through the forest. "The sacred and unalterable "instrument," as the Constitution of Carolina was proudly called, will indeed "endure for ever," but only as a monument to human folly and ignorant ambition.

It was quite in accordance with their general policy that Charles II. should forbid the establishment of a printing press in Virginia, even to print the colonial statutes, and that his successor should do the same in Massachusetts. Happily for America, however, that policy was altered by the revolution of 1688—not that perfect colonial liberty, as we now understand it, immediately resulted from the succession either of the House of Orange or Hanover. In the time of Queen Anne, the Governor of Virginia stated in his report to the Home Government—"The people, mere of necessity than of inclination, attempt to clothe themselves with their own manufactures; . . . it is certainly necessary to divert their application to some commodity less prejudicial to the trade of Great Britain." At one time the cancelling of all the charters granted to the colonies was seriously contemplated by the British Parliament, and supported by a party in America, who maintained that the country would never be worth living in, for lawyers and gentlemen," till the charters were taken away; and Lord Chatham earnestly upheld the sovereign authority of legislature and commercial control" of England over her colonies. Still, partly by the change of ideas at home, partly by the analogy between the English and colonial assemblies, and partly by the necessities of the time, the position of British colonies steadily improved. In 1704 the first newspaper was printed in America, the *Boston Newsletter*. The full benefit of the writ of Habeas Corpus was granted to Virginia by Queen Anne. No sooner was the ascendancy of Parliament established in England than the Virginian Assembly "concluded itself entitled "to similar rights and privileges," and the records of the House of Commons were examined in search of precedents favorable to legislative freedom. The severe provisions of the Navigation Acts were sometimes evaded, sometimes limited by amending statutes; and the right of the mother-country to tax the colonies without their consent, though maintained in England, was denied in America, and never enforced. The colonial legislatures had their own budgets, and the colonial money which aided England in her memorable struggle with France at the beginning of the eighteenth century, was voted by their own assemblies and expended on the war in Canada. Even in 1765, very shortly before the outbreak of the War of Independence, Sir Robert Walpole could say in Parliament, "I will leave the taxing of the British Colonics for some of my successors who may have more courage than I have, and be less a friend to commerce than I am. It has been a maxim with me during my administration to encourage the trade of the American colonics to the utmost latitude—nay, it has been necessary to pass over some irregularities in their trade with Europe, for, by encouraging them to an extensive growing foreign commerce, if they gain £500,000, I am convinced that in two years afterwards full £250,000 of this gain will be in His Majesty's exchequer, by the labor and produce of this kingdom, as immense quantities of every kind of our manufactures go thither, and as they increase in the foreign American trade, more of our produce will be wanted. This is taxing them more agreeably to their own Constitution and laws."

I wish that time would allow me to give in detail the history of the British colonies during the century that intervened between the English revolution and the American War of Independence, to tell the story of the free and prosperous Quaker kingdom of Pennsylvania, the plantations of Jamaica and the conquest of Canada; for it is a history of progress probably without parallel in the annals of the world. The exports of England to the colonies alone in 1775, exceeded her whole export at the beginning of the eighteenth century; and, except in those points in which they were shackled by the policy of the Navigation Acts, each colony was allowed to remain, as far as possible, an independent community; a system not without its disadvantages, as it has resulted in the various states of the American union, and the various islands in the West Indies, each having their own collection of statues, to the delight of writers on private international law and the perplexity of every one else; still, such inconveniences are but a small price to pay for the blessings of liberty. At the close of the period of

which I am speaking, the British possessions included besides the chartered and the proprietary colonies, the Crown colonies of Newfoundland, with the adjacent territory on the mainland; Nova Scotia; New Hampshire; New York; Georgia; and the Bahamas; and the four governments of Barbadoes, the Windward Islands, the Leeward Islands, and Jamaica. To this long list, the conquest of Canada, completed in 1763, formed a splendid addition. But less than twenty years later, Mr. Townshend had ventured on the course that Sir R. Walpole had avoided—to levy a tax on the American colonies, and the whole of the continent south of Canada was unhappily lost to the English Crown.

The loss of the American States affected the other British colonies in three ways: first, it and the French revolution brought about the beginning of the end to the colonial system, of which however a few fossilized relics remained for another century; secondly, it made it necessary for England to find new colonies to supply the place of those she had lost; thirdly, it led to the power of the Board of Trade over the colonies being abolished and the appointment of a colonial Secretary of State.

The half century, from the peace of Paris, 1763, to the end of the Napoleonic wars, forms the period of transition between the old and the new in the colonial history of England. Canada is the colony in which we can trace the progress of ideas most easily, and its history is of special interest on account of the different forces that have been at work, which have united the scattered colonies of the north into the vast dominion of Canada.

A hundred and twenty years ago, when Canada became subject to the British Crown, the whole colony contained a European population of about 65,000 persons, all of French origin, and all settled in that part of the colony which was afterwards called Lower Canada, but is now known as the Province of Quebec. The outbreak of the American War of Independence showed to England the absolute necessity of uniting these foreign colonists more closely to herself, and experience led her to trust less to Navigation Acts than to the concession of colonial liberties. Accordingly, in 1774, the "Quebec Act" was passed, by which a constitution was granted to Canada, somewhat on the model of the former Crown colonies, such as Nova Scotia or Georgia. The great problem was how to treat with equal justice the old French inhabitants of Quebec and Montreal and the newly-arrived English immigrants who had already begun to settle in the southern part of Canada; and certainly at first the former, who then constituted the majority, had the best of the bargain.

The old French land laws and the Roman Catholic Church were established, and a Legislative Council was nominated, one-third of which was to consist of French Canadians. Imperfect though this system was, it at least succeeded in winning the support of the people whom it was intended to conciliate; and French and English united in driving invaders from the States out of Canada. But when, at the close of the War of Independence, many of the Royalists from the South voluntarily exiled themselves to the wilds of Upper Canada rather than submit to a Republican Government, and a great colony sprang up round the shores of Lake Ontario, the Constitution of 1774 fell out of date and a total reconstruction of the Colonial Government became necessary. This led Mr. Pitt (who was then in power) to divide Canada into two provinces, Upper and Lower, each with a Governor, an Executive Council, a Legislative Council nominated by the Crown, and an Elective House of Assembly. But the analogy between this form of government and the constitutions that now exists in New Zealand and other colonies is more apparent than real, for the Government were entirely independent of the Assembly and responsible only to the Colonial Office in London. Canada had ceased to be a purely Crown colony; she had obtained something like representative institutions, but half a century was to elapse before the establishment of responsible government. The English Province of Upper Canada at once entered on a course of peaceful and uninterrupted progress; the French majority in the other colony, however, remained anti-English and unprogressive. For Lower Canada was not merely a copy of France but a little France of the "ancien regime"; feudal dues and duties remained, instead of the money payments of modern Europe; the clergy and landowners refused to bear their proper burden of taxation, and the common expenses of Government were thrown on the merchants, who were principally English. As time went on, however, the position of the French Canadians was changed; for the existing France had ceased to be the France of their memories and traditions, and their only alternatives were a submission to England or a still more unwelcome absorption by the United States; and thus when war broke out with the States in 1812, French and English colonists fought together in the defence of Canada. But it was impossible, with constant immigration and the example of the Republic so near at hand, that a purely nominated government could long satisfy the Canadians; disturbances broke out not only in the Lower but even in the Upper Province, the grievances of the French party being embodied in a manifesto, which I will not read in full, as it goes by the name of the "Ninety-two "Resolutions"! At length affairs in Lower Canada came to a deadlock. The Assembly refused supplies, for four years no taxes were raised, and the officials remained unpaid. A rebellion actually broke out in 1837, but was speedily suppressed; one of the most conspicuous rebels was Mr. Cartier, who subsequently became a loyal subject of the British Crown, and performed a very active part in bringing about the federation of the British North American provinces. He died not long ago, a short time after he had been created a baronet for his services to the State.

After a short interval of martial law a thorough reform of the Constitution was determined upon in

accordance with the recommendations of Lord Durham, who was sent out as Governor-General with special powers and instructions to report on the affairs of the country. It was in the year 1840 that Canada was made a united province and a free nation. The French Canadians lost their ascendancy in a local and insignificant assembly, but became entitled to send their representatives to a great Central Parliament. The first Canadian Parliament consisted of a nominated Council and an elected House of Assembly, an equal number of members being returned for each of the two provinces. From this period we may date the happy change in the history of Canada; united in herself she has become the nucleus of a vast federation of British colonies—stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and including islands in both oceans, with a population far larger than that of all the British colonies in America at the date of the War of Independence. But this success has not been gained without repeated struggles. At first there was a contest between the Governor and the Parliament, when, in the year 1846, Lord Metcalfe, whose views on government were more suited to an Asiatic dependency than to a self-governing colony, for a time refused to concede the patronage of public appointments; the Administration of Lord Elgin (1846-1854) was marked not only by wise and temperate reforms, such as the gradual abolition of the old Feudal tenures in favor of the modern English system of real property, and measures for the promotion of trade and the opening up of the country, but also by serious and disgraceful riots at Montreal. On one occasion stones were thrown at the Governor on his way to open Parliament; then the mob burst into the House of Assembly and drove out the members, and finally set fire to the building, destroying all the colonial archives and a valuable public library.

After such treatment at Montreal, the Colonial Parliament were obliged to resort to the inconvenient and expensive plan of sitting sometimes at Toronto and sometimes at Quebec. The disadvantages of the peripatetic system were apparent, but local jealousies were so keen that it was found impossible to agree on any seat of Government, until in 1857 the question was referred to Her Majesty, who named Ottawa, a town of no importance in itself, but conveniently situated on the boundaries of the two provinces.

The Constitution of 1840 has been twice reformed; once in 1854, under the administration of Sir Edmund Head, when the Upper House was made elective, and again in 1867, when the first part of the long discussed scheme of a federation of the North American colonies was successfully carried out under Lord Monck; it was afterwards developed under Sir John Young (now Lord Lisgar), formerly Governor of New South Wales. The dominion thus established included the vast provinces of Ontario, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, to which were added Manitoba in 1870 and Prince Edward Island in 1873; and thus, with the exception of Newfoundland, which will probably not long remain separate, the great federation now embraces the whole of the British possessions in North America.

Canada has one difficulty from which the Australian colonies are happily free. The imaginary line by which she is separated from the United States is 1,500 miles in length, and should hostilities at any time break out between the two powers,—an event which I do not consider in the least degree probable,—the war of 1812 might have to be fought again, under greater disadvantages. Nearly twenty years ago I was sent by Her Majesty's Government to propose a scheme for Canadian defences; and, to carry out the plans I suggested, a sum of £1,100,000 was voted by the Dominion Parliament for fortifications. The fears of war, however, soon passed away; and the money then voted (which was to be raised by a loan, the interest being guaranteed by the mother-country) was diverted to the grand scheme of a transcontinental railway, which will not only hold together more firmly the provinces of East and West, but will form a line of communication between Europe and Eastern Asia shorter by 1,400 miles than the Pacific Railway of the United States, and may be of great importance as another route from England to Australia.

As to the future of Canada, it seems impossible even to hazard a conjecture. Although it is already the fourth mercantile nation in the world, being surpassed only by Great Britain, France, and the United States, the Dominion is probably only in its infancy. Manitoba alone, which was almost unknown until a few years ago, is a fertile province of about half the size of Tasmania; the still unoccupied territory in the north-west is said to contain tracts of rich land available for agriculture and pasturage twice as large as Victoria, and great mineral wealth. There is a school of Canadian politicians who look forward to the severance of the connection with the mother-country and a union with the States; but I do not believe that the majority of Canadians will ever wish to exchange the peaceful arrangement of a nominated Governor at Ottawa, acting according to the advice of his Parliamentary Ministers, for the struggle and turmoil of Presidential elections, with a President residing at Washington, governing by means of a Cabinet of his own choosing, and retaining to himself the patronage of all the leading appointments in the country.

But the century which has been to Canada a  
*West Indies.*

period of material prosperity and political development, has witnessed the steady decay of the British possessions in the West Indies. This is usually attributed to the emancipation of the slaves; but that, though the principal, has not been the only cause at work. The fearful hurricanes to which those latitudes are subject have

from time to time ruined whole districts; in Barbadoes alone, during the storm of 1831, 2,500 people perished, and property to the value of two and a half millions sterling was destroyed. Again, the exhausted plantations of the British Islands cannot compete with the virgin soil of Cuba, or the rich tracts of the flourishing colony of British Guiana; and the final abolition of the colonial system, beneficial though it was to the empire at large, meant simple ruin to many of the planters in the West Indies, who had only been kept alive by the protective duties in favor of their sugar in the English market.

Local self-government is an excellent institution in colonies peopled by Englishmen who have gone there to make a home; but in the West Indies, where the aim of the planters was to make their money and return as soon as possible, where the mass of the people were negroes, and where even government officials resided at home and performed their duties by deputy, the powers fell into the hands of obscure and ignorant people, and the system was found to be a mere useless expense. Hence in the West Indies we see the strange phenomenon of colonics resigning their constitutions and obtaining less apparent liberty, but more real privileges under the direct authority of the Crown. Within the last few years too, better machinery has been introduced, much attention paid to the development of the natural resources of the islands, and the official returns show an increase; and if the Panama Canal is ever completed, our possessions in the West Indies may become of great political importance in connection with the trade of the Australian colonies. I need not tell a South Australian audience that Jamaica is now carefully and ably ruled by Sir Anthony Musgrave; and I trust that the attention of all his friends in this colony has been drawn to an article which appeared not long ago in the *Times* newspaper, headed "Jamaica reviving."

#### *South Africa.*

I pass over the Oriental dependencies and the trading stations belonging to England as not being, for the reasons I have already given, real colonies, and turn next to the vast group of settlements in Southern Africa.

Of the Cape colony under Dutch rule, and of how it was occupied by England at the time of Napoleon, I have already spoken. It was formally ceded by the Treaty of Paris, in 1815. Here, as in Canada, the English immigrants have found existing settlements and native races; but as early as 1820 an English colony was planted in the Eastern Province, which, after many hardships and privations in its early days, steadily progressed in wealth and importance. But wars with the Kaffirs on the frontier in 1835, 1846, 1850, and 1877, and still more recently with the Basutos, have cost millions of money, and kept the country in an unsettled state; and difficulties with regard to our Dutch fellow colonists have also retarded the progress of what ought to be one of the most flourishing colonies in the world—a country where the severe winters of Canada are unknown, nearer to the European markets by some weeks than Australia, with an unlimited supply of native labor, rich veins of copper, and beds of coal, and (as has comparatively recently been discovered) with diamond fields which can only be compared to the gold diggings of Ballarat.

To the mineral wealth of South Africa the newly-discovered gold reefs must now be added.

The Dutch have always claimed the right of treating the native races of South Africa as the Israelites treated the Canaanites; the action of the English Government in prohibiting the traffic in negroes, in making laws for the protection of the Hottentots, and finally in emancipating the slaves, was amongst the chief grievances of which the Boers complained. In 1837 many of them left their homes, "trekked" across the Orange River, and proclaimed the Republic of Natalia; but six years later the English Government were obliged, in order to protect both British settlers and natives, to declare Natal a colony, and appoint a Governor. A war between the Dutch settlers in the interior and the Griquas (who were under British protection) led to the establishment of English sovereignty for a short time over all the rich territory between the Orange and the Vaal; but this policy was speedily reversed, and the independence of the Orange River Free State was recognised in 1853. How the Boers once more "trekked" to the north, and established themselves beyond the Vaal; how the Republic fell into anarchy, and was taken over by the English; how this resulted in a disastrous and unhappy war, and the restoration of the Dutch Government in the Transvaal, are events too well known to make it necessary for me to dwell on them. I gladly pass over so unsatisfactory an episode in the story of British colonisation.

Meanwhile the prosperity of South African colonies had been steadily progressing. A great impetus was given to it fifteen years ago, when a diamond was discovered in the roots of a thorn tree in the Orange Free State, and soon afterwards there was a rush to the "Diamond Fields," towns and villages sprang into existence, and a new colony was proclaimed under the name of Griqualand West. Nor have other industries been neglected. Ostrich farming, which I hope ere long to see developed in South Australia, has for many years been a source of wealth to the Cape; the annual export of wool now amounts to nearly three millions sterling; and the imports of Cape Colony (exclusive of Natal) have in twenty-three years risen from a million and a half to upwards of £7,000,000.

The difficulties against which South Africa has had to contend have delayed the establishment of local self-government. In 1835 military government was abolished, and Executive and Legislative Councils were nominated by the Crown; but eighteen more years elapsed before representative institutions were established at

the Cape, and responsible government was not added until 1872. Now, however, both Houses are elected by the people, a small property qualification being the condition of the franchise.

Natal has reached the stage of representation, and responsible government has recently been offered. But the establishment of this is not so easy as in America or Australia, involving as it would the duty to the colony of protecting itself in the event of hostilities with native races—a responsibility which it is not yet in a position to assume.

I have not touched upon the question of a federation of the South African colonics. It has been proposed, and is in the highest degree desirable; but, at all events for some years to come, the scheme must be regarded rather as an object of desire than of practical arrangement.

#### *Australia.*

There remains but one chapter to tell in the history of the colonisation of the world. We have seen the Aryan race leaving their primæval home in Asia and gradually spreading over Europe, and establishing themselves in Africa; then crossing the Atlantic to the New World beyond, and founding vast states and empires stretching from Canada to the confines of Patagonia; we have watched how

Westward the course of empire takes its way;  
The four first acts already past,  
A fifth shall close the drama with the day;  
Time's noblest offspring is the last.

So wrote Bishop Berkeley about a century and a half ago, little dreaming that his prophecy would have so remarkable a fulfilment. But history was once more to repeat itself. The fifteenth century had its Columbus; the eighteenth had its Cook. Both failed to attain the object they had set forth to seek; both found a treasure richer than that for which they sought. Columbus had started to find the passage to India, but found his way stopped by a rich and beautiful continent. One hundred and ten years ago Cook left Deptford Docks in the hope of discovering a continent called Australia, which was believed to exist somewhere to the south of the Island of New Holland. He found that no such place existed within latitudes where it would be fit for habitation; but that New Holland, far vaster than earlier voyagers had thought it to be, where

———undying sunbeams throw  
Their clearest radiance and their warmest glow,  
  
was the real southern land—the true Australia.

Proud Queen of Isles! Thou sittest vast, alone,  
A host of vassals bending round thy throne,  
Like some fair swan that skims the silver tide,  
Her silken cygnets strew'd on every side;  
So floatest thou, thy Polynesian brood  
Dispersed around thee on thy ocean flood,  
While ev'ry surge that doth thy bosom lave  
Salutes thee "Empress of the Southern Wave!"

Not only does this continent of nearly 3,000,000 square miles, but New Zealand, the Pacific Islands, and even British Columbia, also owe their fortunes to the great navigator Cook. But just as Columbus ended his days in misery and disgrace, and Hudson was lost in the bay that bears his name, so the earlier discoverers of Australia toiled that others might reap. Cook perished by the hand of an unknown savage on a distant shore; Perouse, the French explorer who followed him, left the shores of Australia ninety-four years ago to be heard of no more.

Of the history of the vast Australian continent there is no need that I should speak. The story is too familiar to you all. Known at first only as a penal settlement, with a population of less than 4,000 at the end of the last century, Sydney, where now

A masty forest, stranger vessels moor,  
Charged with the fruits of ev'ry foreign shore,

has not only taken up her position amongst the capitals of the world, but has become the oldest amongst many cities in a happy continent, where war is unknown, where the fires of persecution are unlit, and where slavery has never existed. The feeble attempt once made by France to take possession of the coast, and rename it Terre Napoleon has been forgotten, and the group of colonies which now cover Australia are bound together, not only by the ties of race and language, but by a willing allegiance to one Fatherland, a heartfelt loyalty to one Queen!

We can afford to smile at the history of the colonies of other nations, for Australia has never been anything but a land of freedom. When it is clear that a colony is able to govern itself, a Constitution is granted to it. Each colony becomes free not only to choose its own representatives, but to regulate its own trade. New South Wales, having been at first a purely Crown colony, then under the rule of a Governor, assisted by a Council partly elected and partly nominated, obtained responsible government in 1855. In the same year, only four years after Victoria had been revolutionised by the discovery of gold at Ballarat, a similar system was introduced into that colony. For more than a quarter of a century responsible government has existed in South Australia. Queensland has governed itself from the date of its existence as a separate colony; it is only its vast size and scanty population that delays the introduction of the same system into Western Australia. Much, truly, has been done; when we count the spires and towers that rise above the lovely Bay of Sydney; when we see a city larger than some European capitals which has sprung up on the banks of the Yarra; when we find in the north the rapidly-growing and beautifully situated town of Brisbane; or look down from the Mount Lofty Hills on the rich and prosperous City of Adelaide, it is marvellous to think that less than a century has elapsed since the first band of settlers landed on the shores of Australia.

Nor as we glance at the map and see Sydney and Melbourne already connected by rail; the lines steadily advancing which will unite the former with Brisbane, the latter with Adelaide, and I hope some day Adelaide with Perth, so as to form a direct communication between all the capitals of the different colonies; and in the interior, a vast net work already planned and partly constructed, stretching from South Australia eastwards towards Victoria and New South Wales; northwards until it will ultimately reach the coast of Queensland and the straits at Port Darwin, and the bold scheme of Canada has been rivalled by the Transcontinental Railway of Australia—can we realise that this vast continent is but the latest off-shoot from one of the smallest countries of the Old World. Can any of the younger generation of South Australians, as they look at the splendid buildings of this city, or the evidences of comfort and prosperity that are to be seen all around, believe that forty years ago, £20,000 was with the utmost difficulty collected in the whole colony to purchase the Burra Burra mine, or that at one time it was even contemplated, as in old Virginia, to abandon the settlement in despair?

It has been the peculiar fortune of Australia always to find the right man and the right thing at the right moment. When New South Wales was in its infancy, the wool trade, which has brought such immense wealth to the whole country, was established by the introduction of merino sheep by Lieutenant Macarthur in 1803; at a time when labor was too scarce and costly to make reaping possible, the wheat crops of South Australia were saved by the ingenious invention of Mr. Ridley.

And it is not only by the products of temperate latitudes that Australia may make her mark in the world. I trust that in the northern part of the continent there is a vast region which, not by the forced toil of unhappy Africans, but by the free labor of our Indian fellow-subjects, may, ere long, become what the West Indies were a century ago.

But the history of British colonisation does not end with the Continent of Australia. Tasmania, at one time behind her sister colonies, is now rapidly developing her mineral resources; another England has been formed in the beautiful and fertile islands of New Zealand; Fiji has been saved from bankruptcy and ruin, and made prosperous under the British Crown.

And now the question arises, why is it that the colonies of other nations have ended in failure whilst there seems no limit to the prosperity of those of England? How comes it that our settlements in America, Africa, and Australasia (not to mention other parts of the world) have thriven in a way that has no parallel in the history of France, Spain, or Holland? Doubtless many causes have worked together; our national character, the maritime supremacy of the mother-country, and the judicious choice of sites for colonies; but there are three reasons that seem to outweigh all the others in importance. The first is the absence in English farming of the "petit culture" of the Continent. Frenchmen who come abroad think only of taking an acre or two of ground, and cultivating it like a garden, without ever stepping beyond the limits of the commune, a system which may be very suitable to an old and thickly populated country, but which will never teach men to push their way into the wilds of

Manitoba or to penetrate an Australian bush. This it is which has made Englishmen the pioneers of the world; still we must recollect that the work of the pioneer is different from that of the settler. When once the country has been generally occupied, the next step—not always an easy one, as they found in Virginia—should be to study the most suitable way of turning to account the soil that God has given us. This is the point that we have reached in South Australia; and, although I know it is a matter on which opinions are divided, for myself I feel strongly that there must be something wrong in the present system, under which, whilst the energies of the community have been mainly directed to agricultural and pastoral pursuits, a considerable part of the agricultural interest is in a depressed condition, this great colony has to import beef, and even mutton, and butter is dearer in the markets of Adelaide than it ever is in London. I trust that the time is not far distant when the industries of southern Europe and North Africa will be more generally imitated here, and South Australian fruits, wine, and oil, are exported to all parts of the world.

The next reason of the success of British colonies appears to be the strange power possessed by Englishmen of assimilating not themselves to foreigners, but foreigners to themselves. The German settlements, whether in Russia, or Sweden, or Brazil, always remain distinct communities—speaking their own language, retaining their nationality, and living amongst themselves; whereas in this, as in the other English colonies, we welcome them as fellow-citizens,—they learn the English language, enter Parliament, accept positions under the Crown, and become an integral part of the community. But the greatest reason of all is, that England has learned the true meaning of the word liberty. Liberty—the cause which united Norman and Saxon into one nation on the field of Runnymede; which led the people of Elizabeth to arm as one man to fight for England against the invading hosts of Spain; for which our ancestors ventured even to change the line of succession rather than see their privileges trampled under foot by the last of the Stuart kings; the cause which, when better understood, prompted our fathers to tax themselves to the amount of £20,000,000 in order to free the negroes in the West Indian plantations; that liberty has found a home no less in the colonies of England than

In the mother land beyond the sea.

Time will not allow me to pause to consider at length all the lessons that may be learnt from the history of colonisation. From each colony we may learn its own lesson, but a few maxims may be drawn from the story of them all. It seems an invariable rule from the days of Carthage to those of South Australia that the colonies which have had the humblest beginnings have also the most glorious results; whilst those which, like French Guiana, were transplanted not like saplings but as full-grown oaks, have withered and died. And the experience of the last three centuries has shown us that all trade restrictions imposed by the mother-country, however well intended, prove sooner or later hurtful to the colonies. And once more, I trust I have made it clear that the true system of colonisation is,—making allowance for the alterations necessitated by the change of time and circumstances,—the Greek; that is, the formation of communities having an independent existence, but united to the parent state by the closest bonds of loyalty and affection. The Roman idea, by which colonies were regarded as mere expansions of the central power, may be maintained in such a case as that of Russia in Central Asia; but is clearly inapplicable to the circumstances of Australia or Canada. With regard to mere trading colonies, we have seen how

Trade's proud empire hastes to swift decay,  
As ocean sweeps the labored mole away;  
While self-supported power can time defy,  
As rocks resist the billows and the sky.

And now I have done. I have glanced at the past, and watched the struggles of the various nations of Europe to plant new colonies beyond the seas; I have looked round at the present, when the colonies of England are spreading over the continents and islands of the world; into the future I will not penetrate. I see around me the vast dependencies of England, which, I trust, can never be driven into separation like the unhappy republics of Spanish America or become the possessions of another power, like the colonies of France; but must, should the world's history be prolonged, one day surpass the mother-country in wealth and population as they now so vastly do in size. I see before me the destiny of the future, pointing no longer to England and her colonies, but to a mighty federation, protected by a navy, and strengthened by defences belonging, not merely to the mother-country, but to the empire as a whole. I see old England, who has sent her sons to shed their blood in the defence of the colonies in Canada, Africa, and New Zealand, then, in the hour of need, protected by her daughter states throughout the world!

And, oh! Britannia, should'st thou cease to ride  
Despotic Empress on old ocean's tide,  
Should thy tamed lion—spent his former might—  
No longer roar, the terror of the fight,

\* \* \* \* \*

May this, thy last-born infant, then arise  
To glad thy heart and greet thy parent eyes,  
And Australasia float, with flag unfurled,  
A new Britannia in another world.

*Free Trade v. Fair Trade.* Buckle Crest of the Cobden Club

*Several leading Conservatives have recently proposed a Duty on Corn. It is urged that the higher wages of the operatives will compensate them for an increase in the price of the quarter loaf.*

Sketch of dog on bridge

## A Handful of Hard Sense.

*An old fable describes how a dog with a bone in its mouth was crossing a stream, when he saw the reflection of the bone in the water. The foolish animal snapped at the shadow and dropped the substance.*

### **Moral.**

The English working-classes have now a substantial advantage in the shape of Cheap Food, which they should not part with merely on the very shadowy promise of increased wages. Even the American tariff, which is almost prohibitive, has failed to maintain high wages in the United States during the year 1884, in spite of the good crops of wheat, corn, &c., there. Trade has been bad here, but is improving. Witness the great change at Bradford, which is busier now than it has ever been before. In the meanwhile let us not be deluded by the fallacious cry of "Protection" in any form. Stick to the Substance, and never mind the Shadow.

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## To the Electors of the United Kingdom.

Buckle crest of the Cobden Club

*What Does Reciprocity-Protection Propose to do?*

*It Proposes—*

1. To put Import Duties on Foreign Goods, which would make all of you who consume such goods pay dearer for them.

2. To thereby Diminish the Quantity that will be imported of such Goods, and therefore to diminish the Quantity of our staple articles that we now send abroad to pay for the same. For Goods are paid for in Goods, and Imports and Exports rise and fall together.

3. To throw out of Employment a number of Working Men now engaged in producing those staple articles. For if you Export less you must Manufacture less.

4. To Diminish our Foreign Trade in order to punish the Foreigners for not increasing it. For if we both Import and Export less there will be fewer Ships, fewer Seamen, fewer Docks, and fewer Labourers of all kinds wanted.

5. To imitate the very Policy which we condemn in Foreigners; and instead of going on exchanging our Cheap Goods for their Cheap Goods, to leave off taking the latter, and, as a necessary consequence, to leave off making the former.

6. To do a foolish thing because other Countries will not do a wise one.

*What Imports Does Reciprocity-Protection Propose to Tax?*

It must be either Food and Raw Materials which form about nine-tenths, or Foreign Manufactures which form about one-tenth of our Total Imports. Now—

If FOOD,—Are you prepared to go back to the old pauperising Corn Laws and the Dear Quartern Loaf?

If Raw Materials,—Are you prepared to add to the cost of our Manufactures, and thus assist the Foreigner to undersell us in Neutral Markets?

If Manufactures,—Are you prepared to raise their price to the Consumer and to curtail our Imports and Exports—to diminish our present production of staple manufactures—and throw out of employment the Working Men now employed in them?

*Electors! if you are not in favour of Dear Food and less Work, you must oppose all Reciprocity Candidates.*

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## The Results of Protection in Germany.

Buckle crest of the Cobden Club

From the Report of the German Chambers of Commerce,

*After One Year's Experience of the New Tariff.*

"The high duties have greatly enhanced the cost of the necessaries of life, while instead of wages rising, as was predicted, they have either remained stationary or declined, and the condition of the German workman has consequently materially deteriorated. Nor has the trade of Germany benefited any more than the workman by the new policy. A small number of large industries and joint-stock companies may have derived some advantage from the new duties, but in the great majority of trades the tariff has proved not a protection but a burden; the Germans have found that import duties fall upon the consumers and not upon the foreign sellers." [Economist, Dec. 10, 1881.]

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## The Rt. Hon, John Bright, M.P. On "Fair Trade."

*A Letter to the Electors of Hackney, addressed to Mr. Adam Wilde, of the Hackney Liberal Association.*

Buckle crest of the Cobden Club

"132, Piccadilly, W.,

Nov. 17, 1884.

"DEAR SIR,—I observe that your Tory candidate and his friends are seeking support as fair traders in opposition to free traders. They complain that we are allowed by our Government and our tariff to buy freely all the products of foreign countries, but that, owing to some foreign tariffs, we cannot sell our own products as freely as we wish to do. We can fix the duties in our own tariff and on our own imports, but we cannot fix the duties in the tariffs of foreign countries and on their imports. All this is true enough and plain enough, but what is not plain and not true is the strange belief held by fair traders that, being injured by not being able to sell so freely as we wish to do, owing to duties in foreign tariffs, we should remedy the evil by giving up the power to buy freely by putting duties on our own tariff.

"To sell freely would be a great advantage, as to buy freely is a great advantage, but neither to buy freely nor to sell freely as the fair traders recommend would, in my view, enormously increase the injury to our trade arising from the foreign tariffs which now obstruct our foreign trade.

"Let your workmen reflect on the change in their condition which free trade has made within the last 40 years, since the reform of our tariff. The Corn Law was intended to keep wheat at the price of 80s. the quarter; it is now under 40s. the quarter. The price of tea is now less than the duty which was paid upon it in former days. Sugar is not more than one-third of its cost when a monopoly of East and West India sugar existed. As to wages, in Lancashire and Yorkshire the weekly income of the thousands of workers in factories is nearly, if not quite, double that paid before the time when free trade was established. The wages of domestic servants in the county from which I come are, in most cases, doubled since that time. A working brick-setter told me lately that his wages are now 7s. 6d. per day; formerly he worked at the rate of 4s. per day. Some weeks ago I asked an eminent upholsterer in a great town in Scotland what had been the change in wages in his trade? He said that 30

to 40 years ago he paid a cabinet-maker 12s. per week; he now pays him 28s. per week. If you inquire as to the wages of farm labourers, you will find them doubled, or nearly doubled, in some counties, and generally over the whole country advanced more than 50 per cent., or one-half, while the price of food and the hours of labour have diminished. It may be said that milk and butter and meat are dear, which is true; but these are dear because our people by thousands of families eat meat who formerly rarely tasted it, and because our imports of these articles are not sufficient to keep prices at a more moderate rate.

"The fair traders tell you that trade in some branches is depressed, which is true, though their statements are greatly exaggerated. We have had a depression in agriculture, caused mainly by several seasons of bad harvests, and some of our traders have suffered much from a too rapid extension in prosperous years. I have known the depression in trade to be much greater than it is now, and the sufferings of traders and workmen during our time of protection, previous to 1842, when the reform of our tariff began, were beyond all comparison greater than they are now.

"In foreign countries where higher tariffs exist—say, in Russia, in France, and in the United States—the disturbance and depression of manufacturing industries is far greater at this moment than with us. Their tariffs make it impossible for them to have a larger foreign trade: we have a wide field for our exports which they cannot enter.

"We have an open market, for the most part, in South America, in China, in Japan; and with a population of more than 200 millions in our Indian Empire, and in our colonies, with the exception of Canada and the province of Victoria, in Australia, the field for our manufacturing industry is far wider than that for any other manufacturing nation in the world, and I cannot doubt that we shall gradually rise from the existing depression and shall reap even greater gain from our policy of free trade in the future than we have reaped in the past. In 1846, when the cruel Corn Law was repealed, we did not convert our landowners and farmers, we only vanquished them. Even now there remains among them a longing for protection; they cling still to their ancient heresy, and, believing in the ignorance or forget-fulness of our working men, they raise their old cry at every election of members of Parliament.

"If I have any influence with you or with any electors, let me assure you and them that for centuries past there has been no change of our national policy which has conferred and will confer so great good on our industrious people as that policy of free trade which the two greatest Ministers of our time—Sir Robert Peel and Mr. Gladstone—have fixed, I cannot doubt for ever, on the Statute-book of our country.

"The recent contest in the United States has overthrown the party of protection and monopoly. It may prove a great blessing to the English nation on the American continent. When England and America shall have embraced the policy of free industry, the whole fabric of monopoly the world over will totter to its fall.

"I am very respectfully yours,

"John Bright.

"Mr. Adam Wilde, The Morley Hall, Hackney, E."

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## **MR. Arthur Arnold, M.P. on "Fair Trade"**

Buckle crest of the Cobden Club

"Fair Trade" is now declared to mean a Food Tax.

Peace is largely assured by the interest of foreign nations in keeping open our free market for their surplus food.

Our success in competition, as manufacturers, rests entirely upon cheap untaxed food.

If food were taxed our people would suffer poverty, because the rise in the cost of manufacture would drive us out of foreign markets.

Cheap food brings high wages, because when food is cheap, workmen have more to spend in the purchase of manufactures.

Taxation of food, which is the avowed policy of the so-called fair-traders, is demanded for the support of a Land System, condemned by all economists, such as no Government in Europe could impose without causing revolt

A fair sample of its fruits is that 700 persons own one-fourth of England and Wales; that 1,700 persons own nine-tenths of Scotland; and that 292 persons own one-third of Ireland.

You are told that the soil will pass out of cultivation if the price of produce be not raised by a tax to be paid by your labour.

Wheat is now selling at 35s. per quarter.

Remember that in the beginning of the Free Trade struggle, the same class declared in evidence before Parliament that the same calamity would happen unless they obtained 80s. per quarter.

The most productive employment for capital is in agriculture, because the forces of nature co-operate with the powers of man, and if the distribution of land were subject to the operation of economic laws, it is not possible that where capital is so abundant, climate so good, and the demand for food so large, agriculture should not be highly profitable.

Resist the Food Tax as you would avert the ruin of the Country.

*Messrs. Cassell & Company, Limited, La Belle Sauvage Yard, London, E.C., supply this Cobden Club Leaflet in packets of 100, price 1s.*

## Bread Tax Once More.

(From "Punch.")

*(A November Night's Vision, after reading Edgar Poe and the Earl of Dunraven's Address on "Fair Trade," delivered by him, as President of the National Fair Trade League, at Sheffield, on November 12th, 1884.)*

Buckle crest of the Cobden Club

ONCE upon a midnight dreary, as I pondered weak and weary  
Over many a dry and tedious tome of economic lore,  
Whilst I nodded, nearly napping, suddenly there came a snapping  
As of some small terrier yapping, yapping at my study door.  
'Tis old *Ponto* there, I muttered, yapping at my study door,—  
Only that, and nothing more.

Ah, distinctly I remember it was early in November  
When to Town the wearied Member came, and thought the thing a bore.  
Eagerly I hoped the morrow SALISBURY some sense might borrow,  
And I thought with ceaseless sorrow of the stream-side and the moor,  
Of the rare and radiant raptures of the stream-side and the moor.  
Heather's sweep and trout-stream's roar.

Open then I flung the doorway, when, with blast as chill as Norway,  
In there stepped "Fair Trade" DUNRAVEN, solemn as a monk of yore;  
Not the least apology made he, though I thought his manners "shady,"  
But, as stiff as TATE and BRADY, stood within my study-door,  
Underneath a bust of COBDEN just above my study-door,—  
Stood, and scowled, and nothing more.

Then this sombre guest, beguiling my tired spirit into smiling  
By the *doctrinaire* decorum of the countenance he wore,  
"Smugly trimmed and deftly shaven, though I trust I'm not a craven,  
You have startled me, DUNRAVEN," said I, "yapping at my door.  
Tell me what your little game is, late at night at this my door?"  
Quoth DUNRAVEN, "Tax once more."

Much I chuckled (though urbanely) him to hear talk so insanelly,

For his answer little wisdom, little relevancy bore;  
And one cannot help agreeing no sane living human being  
In "Fair Trade" salvation seeing, could come yapping at one's door,  
Snapping, late at night in winter, at a fellow's study-door,  
Just to bid him "Tax once more!"

But DUNRAVEN, standing lonely under COBDEN'S bust, spake only  
Those same words, as though his creed in those few words he did outpour.  
Nothing further then he uttered; calm he looked, and quite unflattered.  
Then unto myself I muttered, "Other fads have flown before;  
Very soon *this* fad will vanish, as Protection did before."  
Quoth DUNRAVEN, "Tax once more!"

Startled at the silence broken by reply so patly spoken,  
"Doubtless," said I, "what he utters is his only stock and store,—  
Caught from some bad fiscal master, whom trade-loss or farm-disaster  
Followed fast and followed faster, till his talk one burden bore—  
Till the dirges of his craft one economic burden bore,—  
Of "Tax—tax Corn once more."

"Prophet," said I, "of things evil, trade is going to the devil,  
Is the plea of you and LOWTHER, CHAPLIN, many another bore.  
Sophists dull, yet all undaunted, *do* you think the thing that's wanted,  
By our land, depression-haunted,—tell me truly, I implore,—  
Is it, *can* it be Protection? Answer plainly, I implore!"  
Quoth DUNRAVEN, "Tax once more!"

"Prophet," said I, "of things evil, I *don't* wish to be uncivil,  
But, by heaven! this Fair Trade figment is becoming a big bore.  
Think you Corn with taxes laden means an economic Aidenn  
For that somewhat ancient maiden who 'protected' was of yore,  
For that very ancient maiden, Agriculture?" With a roar  
Yelled DUNRAVEN, "Tax once more!"

"Then it's time that we were parting, Parroteer!" I cried, upstarting,  
"Get thee back to silly Sheffield, twaddle on St. Stephen's floor,  
*I* require no further token of the rot your League hath spoken,  
Fair Trade phalanx to be broken by experience sad and sore.  
Take thy BEAKEY'S words to heart, who said Protection's day was o'er!"  
Quoth DUNRAVEN, "Tax once more!"

And DUNRAVEN, dolefuller waxing, still stands croaking of Corn-taxing,  
Underneath the bust of COBDEN, just above my study-door,

And his talk has all the seeming of a monomaniac's dreaming—  
Here I woke, and day was streaming through the lattice on the floor,  
And I hope that no such vision e'er again my ears will bore  
With the burden, "Tax once more!"

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## A Catechism for "Fair Traders."

Buckle crest of the Cobden Club

1. Is it true that the labouring classes are better off now than they ever were before, in times of commercial depression?
2. Is pauperism declining?
3. Is the volume of our trade actually increasing, although manufacturers and merchants are still suffering from that overproduction which deceived so many people a few years ago as a sign of great prosperity?
4. Are the manufacturers of industries of other countries, say the United States and France—where a Protective system prevails—not in a far worse state than ours?
5. Have both these nations virtually lost their ship-building and ship-owning trade to our great gain?
6. Is more tonnage turned out in the yards on the Tyne than in all France?
7. Have the American cotton spinners and weavers been driven out of nearly all the markets of the world by unprotected British manufacturers?
8. Have wages in New England fallen forty per cent, in ten years?
9. Are the working classes in many American manufacturing towns at this moment not presenting every sign of poverty and wretchedness?
10. In all countries under the Protective system is not the commercial depression greater than in this country, and increasing?

The only reply to each of these questions is "Yes!" and the answer is conclusive against any change in our laws, except that which would give us a free breakfast-table, and abolish all duties on food of whatever kind.  
W. E. Baxter.

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## Free Trade and the Working Men.

Buckle crest of the Cobden Club

CERTAIN landlords, farmers, and manufacturers, because their profits at present are not so great as formerly, are attempting to prejudice the people against Free Trade, which has made food and clothing, the necessaries and many of the luxuries of life, cheaper than they ever have been in any civilised state.

The labourers, however, are not likely to be deceived.

Before the Corn Laws were repealed—under the old Protective policy—when times were bad, the masses suffered severely; starving multitudes assembled in the streets, bread riots took place, and scenes of destitution and misery were common in town and country.

The effect of our new commercial system has been to diffuse comfort far more widely among the population, so that when masters have smaller income, the men are not driven to beg or apply to the workhouse.

Consumers in Great Britain never could buy as cheaply as they can now, and, although owing to bad seasons and over-production, many industries are in a state of long-continued depression, the operatives as a rule have no cause to complain, and are not likely to help an agitation, the object of which is simply to raise the price of all articles which they use.

If they will compare the selling rate of everything they eat and wear now with what it was forty years ago, they will be astonished and thankful, and resolved to oppose any attempt to increase the cost of living to them for the benefit of any class.

Duties of every kind are prejudicial to the working men, and their object ought to be, not to go back on laws which kept food of all kinds dear, but to get quit of custom-houses altogether.

W. E. Baxter.

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## Fair Trade and Free Trade.

Buckle crest of the Cobden Club

*A Dialogue between a Young Farmer and his Shepherd.*

F.

Joe, you and I will have to make up our minds how to vote at the Election; how do you intend to vote?

S.

Well, master, I haven't thought much about it, but I suppose you would like me to vote the same as you do?

F.

Well, yes, so I would, if I can persuade you to see things as I see them. I shall vote for Plow-right.

S.

What! you vote for that free-trader! one of them as has ruined the country?

F.

What makes you think the free-traders have ruined the country?

S.

Well, when I was at Alkerton last fair-day, I went to the meeting, and I heerd the young squire, and Lord George, and Mr. Peabody from Glassford, and they showed it all as plain as could be; that it was along of the wheat that comes to Liverpool from America, and the ribbons from France, and things they calls girders from Beljum—or some such name—as ruined the farmers and the manufacturers; and Lord George, he says, that if we will send him to Parliament, he will make the 'mericans pay 5s. a quarter on wheat, and the French and the Beljums summat on the stuff as they sends over; and that 'll put an end to the distress, and set the farmer and the working man on their legs again.

F.

Yes, so I saw in the *Advertiser*; and do you know what occurred to me? I thought it is not so long since Lord George and his friends were in the Government, and they neither put 5s. on wheat, nor anything on ribbons or girders.

S.

Well, master, you know it is never too late to mend; and it do seem hard that the country is to be ruined because the foreigner, who they say pays no rates nor taxes, is allowed to take the bread from them as employs us, and so the working man has to starve.

F.

We will talk another time about the foreigner paying no rates or taxes. I see the French farmers say theirs are more than twice as heavy as ours. But tell me, Joe, I think you lived on the farm in my father's time, before I was born?

S.

Yes, and my father before me.

F.

How old are you, Joe?

S.

Fifty, come next Michaelmas.

F.

Then you are too young to remember all about the Corn Laws; but I suppose you have heard your father speak of the time when he was a young man?

S.

Well, master, yes, many a time, and my mother too.

F.

Did you ever hear your father say what were his wages in those days?

S.

I have heerd him say that your father was a kind master, but them was hard times for farming men. Shepherds, they got ten shillings, but his wages was only nine; and there was them as screwed their men, and I heerd tell that some in our village got no more than seven.

F.

I think your father had a large family?

S.

We was eight; and I've heerd my mother tell that if it hadn't been that some was took, and that Jenny and Tom, as was older nor me, went to work in the factories, there'd been nothing for us but the work'us. Bread was ninepence and more the quartern loaf many a time those days, so she said; and they never saw a bit of bacon from year end to year end.

F.

At that time, you know, there was a duty on corn, and on ribbons, and on girders, and all the other goods that the foreigners sent over; so I suppose Jenny and Tom had plenty of work and good wages in the factory?

S.

Well, master, times they had, and times they hadn't; but I've heerd my brother Tom tell of the hard times in 'Forty-two, when all the mills was shut in the North, and there was rioting, and people dropt wi' fever. I hope we shall never see such times as them in *our* lives.

F.

Perhaps you don't know it, but in those days no live animals were allowed to come into the country, and American bacon and cheese were never seen in our shops. Still, butcher's meat and bacon and butter were much cheaper then than they are now.

S.

Why, master, how could that be, when they was not so plentiful?

F.

I will tell you. It was because the working people were so poor that they could not afford to buy them. But, Joe, suppose the four-pound loaf were a penny dearer than it is, do you think that would be a good thing for the farming man?

S.

Well, that shows you are not a poor man, or you would not ax me such a silly question; as if times wasn't hard enough, that we are to pay sixpence a week more for the bread for our children!

F.

And if your wife had to pay a penny a yard more for the stuff she buys in the town, would that help you?

S.

You had better ax our Sally!

F.

Then, perhaps, those who took the duties off all these things were not such enemies to the poor man, whether he be a farm-labourer or a mechanic, after all?

S.

Well, master, I declare I never saw it in that light before!

F.

Then I should not be surprised if you thought twice before you made up your mind to vote for those fair-trading gentlemen?

S.

I don't know what I may do; but what I can't understand is how you as gets your living by the land can vote for a free-trader.

F.

Joe, do you think it would do me any more good than you if I had to pay more money for everything I have to buy?

S.

Certainly not; but then, if we had fair trade, you would get more for all you have to sell.

F.

I am afraid I should not get more for all I have to sell. I get more for my cattle, and for my butter and cheese, than my father did in the old fair-trade times, when the working man could not afford to buy them.

S.

Yes, but look at the price of wheat!

F.

Well, I must try to grow less wheat, and make more beef and mutton, and butter and cheese, and pork, and things that spoil if they are brought from a distance; and my landlord will have to let me have my land on such terms that I can compete with the foreigner. He must not compel me to make dung of my straw if I can sell it for fifty shillings a ton, nor to consume my clover if I can get four or five pounds a ton in the market for my hay, and can buy Indian corn from America, worth twice as much for my cattle, with the same money, or thereabouts. No, Joe; don't let us be humbugged by the fair-traders. It is not fair trade, but fair rents and Fair

Play that the farmer wants. Other countries that have fair trade are worse *off* than we are. There is no market for the farmer like old England with free trade. Only let the farmer and the labourer stand shoulder to shoulder, give us sunshine and *fair play*, and we will hold our own against the world.

B. SAMUELSON.

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## Free Trade.

## What it Does for England And How it Does It.

Buckle crest of the Cobden Club

England is the only great nation which has abolished Protectionist tariffs, and has established a system of Free Imports.

Thereby she has become the greatest trading nation in the world.

She possesses more than one half of the effective ocean tonnage of the world.

No other nation approaches her in the volume and money value of her foreign commerce.

Reckoning per head of population

England's food and her materials being untaxed, while those of Protectionist nations are taxed, she is able to manufacture more cheaply than they can, and to undersell them in the markets of the world.

In the protected market of The United States England undersells France and Germany, and does more trade with them than either of these countries.

In the protected market of France England has a similar advantage.

In the protected market of Germany there is the same result.

In neutral markets England beats all other nations hollow.

This is owing to her system of Free Imports.

When Fair Traders say that her goods are excluded from the world's markets by Protectionist tariffs they state that which is absurdly untrue. The fact is that these tariffs protect and foster British trade, and will continue to do so until they are abolished.

George W. Medley.

*November, 1884.*

## Facts for Artisans.

Buckle crest of the Cobden Club

The Taxation of Foreign Imports.

It is a Fact

That out of the £400,000,000 worth of our annual imports, something like £355,000,000 are for food, and materials for our own manufactures, while only £45,000,000 are for finished products.

It is a Fact

That while Fair Traders differ among themselves as to the policy of taxing food and materials, they are all agreed that these £45,000,000 should be subjected to duties, the object being either to exclude them, or to make the foreigner pay the tax.

It is a Fact

However, that any tax paid on these imports would be paid by the British consumer, and not the foreign exporter.

It is a Fact

Also, that if any portion of these £45,000,000 were excluded, owing to tariff, just to the amount of such exclusion would there cease to be a demand for British labour; it being impossible for the foreigner to buy in our markets unless he be allowed to sell therein.

It is a Fact

That, except in a very trifling proportion, nations pay each other by goods, and not by gold or silver. Every

pound's worth of foreign goods, of whatever sort, sold here gives rise to a purchase, directly or indirectly, of a pound's worth of British goods of some kind or other; and thus, instead of curtailing British labour, causes a demand for it.

It is a Fact

Therefore, that no more fatal thing could be done than to tax foreign imports with the idea that the British artizan would thereby be benefited.

November, 1884.

George W. Medley.

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## Mr. Cobden on "Re-Distribution of Seats."

Buckle crest of the Cobden Club

The letter which appears below was the last letter Mr. Cobden ever wrote. It was addressed to Mr. Thomas Bayley Potter, who had sent to Mr. Cobden a letter he had received from Mr. John Stuart Mill on the subject of Minority Voting and Proportional Representation. Mr. Potter asked Mr. Cobden's opinion, and this letter was the result. At the present juncture Mr. Cobden's opinion will have a general interest, and cannot be too widely known. It was dated March 22, 1865, from Suffolk Street, Pall Mall, where he died:—

*"Everything from Mr. Mill is entitled to respectful consideration. But I confess, after the best attention to the proposed representation of minorities which I can give it, I am so stupid as to fail to see its merits. He speaks of 50,000 electors having to elect five members, and that 30,000 may elect them all, and to obviate this he would give the 20,000 minority two votes. But I would give only one vote to each elector, and one representative to each constituency. Instead of the 50,000 returning five in a lump, I would have five constituencies of 10,000, each returning one member. Thus, if the metropolis, for example, were entitled, with a fair distribution of electoral power, to 40 votes, I would divide it into 40 districts or wards, each to return one member; and in this way every class and every variety of opinion would have a chance of a fair representation. Belgravia, Marylebone, St. James's, St. Giles's, Whitechapel, Spitalfields, &c., would each and all have their members. I don't know any better plan for giving all opinions a chance of being heard; and, after all, it is opinions that are to be represented. If the minority have a faith that their opinions, and not those of the majority, are the true ones, then let them agitate and discuss until their principles are in the ascendant.*

*This is the motive for political action and the healthy agitation of public life."*

On the 18th of August, 1859, Mr. Cobden, in a Reform Speech addressed to the people of Rochdale after his return to Parliament for that borough at the General Election, spoke as follows on the question of the Re-distribution of Seats:—

*"This brings me to the question of the Re-distribution of the Franchise, and I would say, gentlemen, I have a very strong opinion that where you have to give, as you would have to give in any new Reform Bill, a considerable number of new members to your large cities—as, for instance, Manchester, Liverpool, and the like, and Rochdale will, of course, be included in the number—it would be the most convenient and the fairest plan if you apportioned your large towns into wards and gave one representative for each ward. I mean that instead of lumping two or four members together and letting them be the representatives of a whole town or city, I would divide the place into four wards, and I would let each ward send one member. I think there is a fairness and convenience about that plan which ought to recommend it to Lord John Russell and to every one who has to handle a new Reform Bill. For instance, you will find in a town, generally, that what is called the aristocracy of the town live in one part, and the working classes live in another. Now, I say if, in dividing a town into three or four wards, it should happen that one of the districts where the working class predominates should have the opportunity of sending a member which that class may consider will most fairly represent their views, and if in another part of the town another class, living there, choose a member that more completely represents theirs, I do not see why the different classes or parties in the community should not have that opportunity of giving expression to their opinions. I think it would be much better than having two or four members for one borough; for I have observed, in watching the progress of elections in England, that where you have one member representing a borough, as in the case of Rochdale, there is a tendency to maintain a higher degree of public spirit—there is a more decided line of demarcation in parties; and men are more earnest in their political views, than where they have two members to a borough; for I have frequently seen, as in the case of Liverpool, Blackburn, and many other towns that I could name, that the people begin to get tired*

*of contests, and acquiesce in a division of the town. They say, let us vote one and one, and do not let us have any more political contests. That is a very bad state of things, because if a country is to maintain its free institutions, it must constantly have political discussions and contests."*

T. Bayley Potter.

*Messrs. Cassell & Company, Limited, La Belle Sauvage Yard, London, E.C., supply the Cobden Club Leaflets in packets of 100, price 1s.*

## Protection in France,

*(From the Standard, the leading organ of the Conservative Party, November 24th, 1884.)*

Buckle crest of the Cobden Club

EVIDENTLY the labour crisis in France is much more advanced than in this country, and to day our Paris Correspondent gives us particulars of what would have been a bread riot, had the rioters been the really hungry classes, and not the Revolutionists who make capital out of distress.

French Statesmen are alive to the difficulties which confront them, but were it not that we have at home a few preachers of wild economic heresies it would be difficult to believe that the French Government is about to return to a Tax upon Corn as a means of making the nation contented and prosperous. The fact is so, however, and having made up its mind to take this course, M. Ferry's Cabinet is little likely to be turned from its resolution by any arguments or advice tendered to it by Free Traders at home or abroad. Its whole fiscal policy seems, indeed, to be based upon what its members think the best place-insuring expedient of the hour. It bends before the clamours of the great Agricultural interest, in the hope of winning its support, with the same disregard of principle which it displayed in dealing with the demands of the Lyons manufacturers. Had these latter been strong enough, they might have obtained a concession in the matter of the duties on cotton yarns in a Free Trade direction, though the Ministry as a body cares nothing about Free Trade; but the cotton spinners of the North have so far been too powerful for them, and the satin and velvet industries of Lyons may be doomed to languish because the Ministry contents itself with yielding to the strongest, thus playing off interest against interest.

It is upon this ground that the agricultural community may be expected to triumph, for it is larger and more influential in France than any half-dozen other interests combined, and must at all costs be pacified.

Free Traders cannot, in the long run, have anything to fear from a reactionary policy thus inspired, but those who wish to see France prosperous and happy may well tremble for the future. Her industries are already in a much worse state than ours. So much are they depressed, that the Ministry of the Interior is inundated with demands for State aid. Those who cannot hope to get more taxes put on in their favour agitate for the establishment of relief works, and only last week M. Waldeck-Rousseau had to explain anew that the State and the Municipality of Paris together would continue in future years the lavish outlay on "improvements" already in progress. By reason of these works and of the unprofitable railway extensions, the State-fostered house-building speculations and the outlays on fortifications, &c., France has been for years turned into a great State organisation, wherein one-half of the population may be said to toil for the means to keep the other half alive.

M. Tony-Revillon may have over-estimated the distress existing in the *ouvrier* quarters of Paris when he declared in the Chamber last Thursday that only two men in three had coats, and that wages had fallen by more than fifteen per cent, in two years; but that the distress is serious no one ventures to deny. The very efforts of the Ministry to find the people employment prove it to be so. In other words, the prolonged over-taxation of France is producing its natural consequences.

This is the time, when exports are declining, when business is bad, and distress increasing amongst the population of the great towns, that the French Government has chosen for increasing the cost of subsistence by an addition to the Tax on Corn.

Already bread is dearer in France than in any great European country—much dearer than in England. This is not altogether because imported grain has continued to be taxed in France, while in England it is free, for the existing tax is scarcely as much as threepence per cwt. In towns the local octrois play a much more important part in raising prices than the Customs duty.

But, whatever the cause, bread is dear, so dear in Paris that the Government has been solicited to revive the dormant but unrepealed law of 1791, which empowers the municipalities to regulate and fix the price of bread. Apparently, the mere rumour that such a step was contemplated made the bakers of the city mend their ways. They lowered their prices, but there can be no doubt that they will raise them again should the duty be put up to three francs per quintal on wheat, and four francs on flour, as is expected. That would mean an advance of about four shillings per quarter in the prime cost of the grain, and the rise would, of course, in default of

compulsion on the other side, be more than double that to the ultimate consumer.

Surely this is the strangest possible method of restoring prosperity to the people, and a very dangerous method as well.

Granting that it gives a passing gleam of prosperity to the agricultural interest, it can only do so at the expense of every other interest within the realm.

A Correspondent, for example, whose letter is printed in another column, points out the disastrous effects which a Corn Duty will have on the prosperous and advancing semolina and macaroni manufactures of Marseilles; but that is only one striking example among hundreds.

Can it be expected that the velveteen weavers of Lyons will fare better against the competition of less burdened producers in other countries, if twenty-five or thirty per cent, be added to the cost of their daily bread?

And if the spinners of Lille or Amiens have enough to do to make ends meet now, sheltered behind high Customs duties as they are, will they be better off when the agricultural interest prospers at their expense?

Such questions have but to be asked to enable all men of sense to answer them.

Economically speaking, nothing could well be more depressing than the spectacle now presented by France. There is no enlightened purpose of any kind visible in the measures adopted to tide over or mitigate the crisis which a long period of trade languor, indifferent harvests, and burdensome taxation has created. All is confusion, ignorance, quackery.

The intelligence displayed in the adoption of these expedients is of the sort employed by the proverbial Irishman who, in order to lengthen his blanket, cut a piece from the bottom and sewed it to the top.

It is odd, that after all these years people still need to be told that wealth is nowhere produced by the imposition of a tax.

A few may become rich by its means, but the masses are of necessity poorer, because the tax means money taken from their pockets to be wasted, or, at all events, to be spent by the State.

In the case of this Corn Tax, which is to render the French Farmers happy, the result must be larger expenditure upon relief works in the towns—amongst the poor everywhere.

The money taken from the consumers must in great part go to help to feed the poor at the expense of the State—of those, that is, still able to pay taxes and live.

The lesson of such a situation should be too clear to need exposition.

Yet there are men amongst us foolish enough to raise the cry that a tax on bread is the remedy for trade depression here also.

According to them, dearer bread would mean a greater ability on the part of the consumers to face the ups and downs of industrial progress.

More childish nonsense it would be impossible to imagine; and we do not suppose that there is the least danger of many giving heed to it.

Some of the farmers, indeed, appear to be inclined to do so, because the idea of State assistance for their benefit seems to be more to their taste than recommendations to energetic efforts to raise themselves.

In considering the case of France, however, we must remember that when things have gone so far as they seem to have done in Paris, it is very hard to apply any remedy which shall satisfy all the laws of political economy. Generally speaking, the most obvious remedy lies in a still further departure from the right path.

In our own country we are probably destined to solve this question by co-operation, but in France they have neither the time nor the patience for our slower methods. The two thousand people who met yesterday at the Salle Levis to proclaim death to the *bourgeoisie* and to declare that they would not starve in the presence of full granaries, nor sleep in streets while houses were empty, nor shiver in rags while shops were full of warm clothing, were a mob of the miserable creatures always at the call of the agitator; but although we also have amongst us those to whom the prospect of plunder would be sweet enough, we have also in a modified form the commune which they claim, and can put down with a clear conscience those who might turn away from the food and shelter which the law offers them to sack a baker's shop.

Still, after making all allowance for different circumstances, there is a lesson in the French situation for some of us here.

We can at least see how vain is the recourse to Protection to save a nation.

Of all industries on the face of the earth none are more miserable, helpless, and paralysed than those which have the support of Protection.

It must ever be so, because the constant effect of Protection is to drive away all that is solid and enduring in any great industry to countries where labour is unshackled.

Because that is always the case England is a steady gainer by Protectionism abroad, and the more its false and delusive stimulus is applied by Foreign Statesmen to their tottering, weak-kneed industries, the more surely does the best part of the trade gravitate to the countries where it is most untrammelled.

We shall, perhaps, have a difficult Winter to face in England this year, because of the reaction after a time

of over-speculation—there is distress in many places now—but we may be confident of this, that the worst which befalls us will come far short of what those nations are destined to suffer whose Rulers think that the only certain guarantee of prosperity is to put fetters on the hands and feet of their workmen, and make them the slaves of the State.

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## **Facts for Labourers.**

### **Taxing Foreign Wheat.**

Buckle crest of the Cobden Club

Protectionists and Fair Traders want to impose a tax on the importation of wheat.

They pretend that this would be for the interests of Agriculture, while the rest of the Community would not be injured.

There is only one class which would be benefited, and that is the Landlords, who would be able to exact higher rents.

Every other class would be robbed.

Farmers would not gain; their rents would be raised.

Labourers would not gain; they would have to pay more for their loaf and for everything else they use, and their wages would be lowered.

Trade would languish and the whole Community would suffer.

The nation has had a bitter experience of all this.

In 1815, in order to keep up war prices, and so keep up rents for the Landlords, a Corn Law was enacted.

Foreign wheat was not to be imported free until the price was 80s. a quarter, which meant is for the four-pound loaf.

In Accrington, out of a population of 9,000, only 100 were fully employed.

The reports of the factory inspectors showed that 10 per cent, of the cotton mills, and 12 per cent, of the woollen mills of Lancashire and Yorkshire, were standing idle; and that of the rest only one-fourth were working full time. As Cobden showed, in answer to Sir Robert Peel, the stocking frames of Nottingham were as idle as the looms of Stockport; the glass-cutters of Stourbridge, and the glovers of Yeovil, were undergoing the same privations as the potters of Stoke and the miners of Staffordshire, where 25,000 men were destitute of employment. He knew of a place where one hundred wedding-rings were pawned in a single week to provide bread, and of another place where men and women subsisted on boiled nettles, and dug up the decayed carcass of a cow rather than perish of hunger.

Such was the state of things which existed under a system which was called Protection.

In those days the population of Great Britain was about 15 millions; it is now over 30 millions.

In 1884, under Free Trade, there is not a man, woman, or child, who is not better off than he or she would have been under the old starvation laws.

Labourers get higher wages than they did under these laws, and with the same money they command more of the necessaries and conveniences of life than they could then.

With these Facts before them they will not listen to those who, under pretence of protecting their interests, would induce them to vote for putting a duty on foreign wheat, that is, levying a Bread Tax.

GEORGE W. MEDLEY.

*December, 1884.*

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## **The Farmers and Protection.**

By Charles Whitehead.

*From the "Liberal" for December, 1884.*

### Buckle crest of the Cobden Club

THE cycle of agricultural depression in England, which it is confidently believed will soon be terminated, commenced in 1875, coincidentally with a cycle of wet seasons which has been brought to a conclusion. From this period, the low prices of English wheat, caused, in all but the last two years, at all events, by its indifferent quality, and by the large importation of wheat and flour from America and other countries, have given great occasion to the enemies of Free Trade, who accordingly have exercised their ingenuity in propounding doctrines of Protection in the various guises of "Fair Trade," "Reciprocity," and "Retaliatory Tariffs." These heterodox doctrines have been glibly preached by so-called friends of the farmers, and have been advocated seriously and with much deliberation in certain periodicals. Mr. James Lowther, Mr. Chaplin, and other landlords are now openly advocating protection, and Lord Salisbury and Sir Stafford Northcote, whatever may be their real opinions, seem to be favouring the delusion. It is said that the recent election in South Warwickshire was largely influenced by these theories, and that a large number of the farmers of this county voted for the Conservative candidate in the hope of obtaining relief in the shape of duties upon imported articles of agricultural produce.

Without doubt there are many farmers who would like to have their own productions increased in value by the imposition of such duties, and who do not take the trouble to think much about the effect of such a policy upon the general community. Many, too, are deceived by the exponents of Fair Trade, which has such a plausible ring in its very name, and by the enticing arguments of the Reciprocity party, who, by the way, should be termed Recidivists, so that they would be willing to join any organisation to further these causes. Hut the farmers of this country, however much they may wish for protective duties in their secret hearts, should be too well informed to believe that they will ever be re-imposed. Nor is it at all likely that they will come forward in numbers and solemnly ask for such a reversal of policy, if they remember the peculiar circumstances of England, with its enormous and rapidly-increasing population, its limited area of land available for food production, and its peculiar requirements as the chief centre of the manufacturing industry of the world. That this intelligent feeling has some existence among farmers is remarkably shown in the evidence given before the Royal Commission on Agriculture in 1880, by farmers themselves, and by the reports of the Assistant-Commissioners appointed to visit the various districts, and to inquire into the causes of agricultural depression, in all of which it is stated that the farmers consider it impossible to return to protection. In Mr. Druce's able report upon fifteen counties, the following conclusion is arrived at: "But the great bulk of the farmers with whom I conversed were not in favour of a return to Protection, and it was felt that whatever might be the case as regarded other imported goods, corn could not be taxed." Mr. Little, reporting upon ten southern counties, said that "it is impossible to return to a system of protective duties."

Although there are very many Conservatives who professedly give adherence to a Free-trade policy, it must not be forgotten that this is essentially a Liberal policy, and standing that incredible quantities of good quality have been sent from America; and it is a noteworthy fact that the price of English cheese has always ruled considerably higher than of that sent from America.

Poultry of all kinds, and eggs, are dearer than they have ever been, and the demand would be almost unlimited for these articles, at a fair price. Wool at this present time is low in price, and has been low for three or four years, and though the imports of wool during this term have certainly been somewhat larger than in previous years, this increase is not by any means sufficient to account for the recent diminution in its value. The price of wool has fluctuated in a curious manner throughout this century. It was lower in 1830 than it has been in any year since, and it was higher in 1865 than had ever been known, and from 1858 to 1875, spite of Free Trade, there was a series of very high prices, ranging from 1s. 6d. to 2s. 5d. per lb.

The value of lean animals has advanced *pari passu* with the price of meat, and breeders would have had a good time generally if disease had not prevailed. This was not due to Free Trade, and it is satisfactory to find that the stock of cattle in England is larger now than it was in 1872, while the stock of sheep is rapidly reaching the high numbers of its amount in 1872, before the outbreak of foot-and-mouth disease.

From the figures and facts given above it will be gathered that free trade has not affected prices of farm produce in the manner suggested by alarmists. Except in the case of wheat there has been no important decrease in values, and in the case of wheat it is admitted that its cultivation at the prices now current is not profitable. Upon high-class land and land that is highly and properly farmed, cultivators of wheat may hold their own till prices improve. Upon poor, heavy, or badly-farmed land there must be a loss in growing wheat at present rates. The obvious remedy is to grow other crops, to lay such land down with grass, and to alter the systems and modes of cropping to meet altered circumstances and conditions. Mr. Gladstone has said frequently that fruit and vegetables should be more extensively grown by farmers, and he is perfectly right, as the consumption of these is enormous, and is daily increasing, and would increase still further if there were better methods of distributing these articles.

Mr. Jenkins, the secretary of the Royal Agricultural Society, has constantly iterated his recommendations to

farmers to take a leaf out of the book of the French and Swiss cultivators, and produce fancy cheeses, and has often advised them to pay more attention to cheese and butter-making, and not only to largely extend their production of these articles, but to be more careful in their systems of manufacture. Surely there should be a large extension of dairy-farming when it is known that with careful management and in suitable conditions the gross returns for each cow in large dairies may be made to average from £19 to £24, as is shown in the *Report of the Judges of Farms*, in the last volume of the "Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society." There must be a handsome profit hanging on in these circumstances. In short, it is clear that far more attention must be given to the "minor products" of agriculture, and to details which have hitherto been despised and neglected as beneath the consideration of farmers. Another very fertile source of income to farmers, which has only arisen within the last twenty-five years, is the sale of pedigree and well-bred animals to foreign farmers. It is obvious that only a limited number of breeders can take advantage of this branch of agricultural business; still a large amount of money has been placed to the credit of the agriculturists of this country on this account, and it is not too much to say that higher prices are at this time paid for all really good stock for breeding purposes, with the exception of shorthorns, than have ever held. There are, it appears then, many methods of farming by which agriculturists may make money, and by which much money has been made throughout this time of depression. Men may be found in every district who have held their own, and have more than held their own, by the exercise of ingenuity in adapting their modes to the altered conditions, and by the adoption of new cultures carried out with unflagging energy. To alter long-accustomed practice is, as everyone, knows, most difficult and tiresome, and it will be said that it is easy to recommend revolutions in long-established systems, but not so easy to carry them out successfully. But there are already pioneers who have led the way, and however great the wrench, however unpleasant or laborious the task, it is confidently believed that the British farmers will prefer to follow these with characteristic determination rather than to throw up their work in despair and join the retrogressive party, who would tax the food of the people and cripple the trade of the nation.

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## Facts for Farmers.

## Depression in Agriculture.

Buckle crest of the Cobden Club

FARMERS are suffering from bad times. Among the proposals for their relief the following are the most important:—

- *Re-adjustment of Local Taxation.*
- *Expropriation of Tithe Bent Charge.*
- *Reform of Land Tenure.*
- *Duties on Foreign Corn.*
- *Redaction of Rents.*

With regard to No. 1 the relief to be gained would amount to, at most, one shilling an acre; and this would not benefit the Farmer in the long-run. It would find its way eventually into the Landlord's pocket. The same thing would happen with regard to No. 2. Tithes as well as Rates are reckoned as an outgoing in the same way as rent is, and any relief in them would also eventually find its way into the Landlord's pocket. As regards No. 3, no doubt much is to be done in the way of securing the tenant for outlay of capital, and in allowing him more freedom in cultivation. As to No. 4, the proposal to put duties on Foreign Corn, this country has had experience of the thing for thirty years—from 1815 to 1846.

The only class which benefited were the Landlords, who by means of the Corn Laws were able to exact high rents. Farmers were not benefited; they had to pay these high rents.

In 1819, 1820, and 1822 Agriculture was in a state of universal distress bordering on bankruptcy, and petitions for relief were presented to Parliament from all parts of the country. Farmers were ruined by thousands. One newspaper in Norwich advertised 120 sales of stock in one day.

During the thirty years the Corn Laws existed no less than five Parliamentary Committees were appointed to inquire into the causes of the distress.

Protection did not save the Farmers.

Agricultural labourers starved, so did the artisans in the towns. The 4-lb. loaf cost from 10d. to 1s. 6d. Out of the whole population one out of every eleven was a pauper.

The only class which gained was the Landlords. All other classes were plundered by them.

Protection is Robbery.

There is no chance whatever of its being re-imposed; but if by some possibility it were, it would not benefit the Farmer.

We now come to No. 5, Reduction of Rents.

Here we have the great remedy.

It is thence that the great relief is to come. Rents must be Reduced.

Let Farmers mark what follows:

During the great wars against Napoleon, for twenty years whilst the people were pouring out their blood and treasure, the Landlords were quietly doubling their rents.

In 1790 the average rent of 100 acres was £88; in 1813 it had risen to £161; the tithe in the same period increasing from £21 to £38.

When the war was about to cease the people naturally expected relief from the high war prices.

The Landlords, however, were filled with alarm lest their inflated rents should diminish, and controlling Parliament as they did in those unreformed days, they passed a Corn Law, by which it was enacted that Foreign wheat should not be admitted till the price rose to 80s., which meant that the 4-lb. loaf should rise to more than a shilling before relief was to be afforded to a starving people.

That is the way the Landlords kept up their rents in those days.

In 1846 these infamous laws were repealed.

Then came Free Trade.

Owing to its benefits, and to those conferred by steam communication and the gold discoveries, Rents Still rose.

In 1879—80 the returns to Income Tax under Schedule B amounted to £69,000,000, while in 1852—3 they were £49,000,000. Since 1879—80 Rents have fallen, and the process must go on.

Farmers cannot afford the Rents formerly demanded and obtained.

Farm Rents must come down.

George W. Medley.

December, 1884.

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## The Effects of Protection in America.

Buckle crest of the Cobden Club

The following is an extract from a speech delivered by Sir William Bower Forwood, ex-President of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce, and late Conservative candidate for Liverpool, to the working men of Liverpool, Dec. 6, 1884, as chairman of the Saturday Evening Free Concert:—

*"Let me say a word to the working men I see here. Trade is bad, you say; and foolish men are saying to you that it is caused by Free Trade, and will not be better until we adopt Protection, or Fair Trade, as they call it. I have just landed from America; trade is bad there, and they say it is caused by Protection, and they are beginning to cry out for Free Trade as the only thing that will restore their prosperity. We must be quite wrong here or they must be quite wrong in America. Let us see which it is. Trade is undoubtedly bad enough here. I find on inquiry that the weekly pay-sheets of our great manufactories are about 30 percent, less than two or three years ago. This means lower wages and some men out of work; but there are very few works in this country closed, while in America in some districts there is absolutely no trade at all. There are many small towns in New England where every factory is closed and 20,000 to 30,000 men are out of work. The same is true of the iron and coal industries of Pennsylvania in America: at the present moment men are starving in their tens of thousands. I think you will say from this, if we are to have bad trade (and periods of dull trade must always occur), let us have it as we have it in Free Trade England rather than as they have it in Protected America. But look a little further—we are anticipating brighter days. We know that in whatever part of the world things mend, we shall feel the improvement in a demand for our manufactures. The world are our customers. They are consuming every day our cottons, our woollens, our hard-ware, our glass ware, and the hundred and one things we make and produce; and if they are buying a little less to-day, they will buy more to-morrow. We know further, that there have been grand harvests all the world over. This means cheap food, and cheap food always tends to increase prosperity. Already the cotton spindles and looms of Lancashire are*

*actively and fully employed; and we may expect other industries to follow the cotton trade, for this is the first industry to feel better times. The first thing a man does after satisfying his hunger is to clothe himself. Things may be bad, but the prospect in the future is encouraging. In America, on the contrary, the prospect is dark and gloomy in the extreme. Their Protective tariff increases the cost of their manufactures to such an extent that they cannot export them. They have no foreign markets. Their only customers are their own people—the home trade, as we call it. Their mills and factories can produce in six months all the goods America can consume in twelve. What is the result? Manufactories are being closed never to re-open, and people are beginning to rub their eyes and to call out that Protection is played out, and Free Trade is the only thing to save them.*

*"This is a true picture of the present condition of trade in great Free Trade England and great Protectionist America. Compare these pictures—they are worth a bushel of theories; and if men talk to you about Fair Trade, ask them to tell you how it works at this moment in America.*

*"In America they can afford to make great experiments, because their resources are so vast that a few mistakes will not ruin them. They have experimented with Protection on a grand scale, and have stood its terrible strain and weight in a wonderful way; but it is now bearing down even America with all her great natural wealth. With such an experience staring us in the face, Fair Trade theories, with all their plausibility, are not only worthless, but desperately mischievous."*

*Extract from the Annual Report of Secretary McCulloch, of the United States Treasury, submitted to the President of the United States, Dec. 1, 1884.*

RELIEF FROM EXISTING PLETHORA.—"The all-important question, therefore, that presses itself upon the public attention is, How shall the country be relieved from the plethora of manufactured goods, and how shall plethora hereafter be prevented? It is obvious that our power to produce is much in excess of the present or any probable future demand for home consumption. The existing iron, cotton, and woollen mills, if employed at their full capacity, *could meet in six months—perhaps in a shorter time—the home demand for a year.* It is certain, therefore, that unless markets now practically closed against us are opened, unless we can share in the trade which is monopolised by European nations, the depression now so severely felt will continue and may become more disastrous."

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## **Would Protection remove the Present Distress, and Benefit the Working Man?**

Buckle crest of the Cobden Club

SOME of the Tory party seem to have found a remedy for all the ills that afflict us as a nation.

That marvellous panacea is "Protection."

"Let us tax," they say, "the production of the foreigner when he sends it over to this country."

Well, now, we will begin with bread. Suppose, by taxing our bread-stuff, the price of the quartern loaf were 7d. Let us take a family who consume fourteen loaves every week; that would cost 8s. 2d. per week for bread alone. At present we have a good quartern loaf for 5d. Take the same number of loaves, and the bread bill of the family is 5s. 10d.

"But," the Protectionist says, "wages would be higher."

Suppose a man is earning 12s. a week, and his bread bill is 5s. 10d., and his wages rise from 12s. to 14s. per week, but his bread bill goes up 2s. 4d., what advantage does he gain?

There are many other necessaries of life that are cheap, because the tax has been taken off.

I can remember 1846, when the quartern loaf was 10d., and, at one time, a shilling; tea, 4s. per lb.; the commonest sugar, 5d. per lb.; and the labourer's wages 8s., 9s., or, at the most, 10s. a week. More than double the number of men in our rural villages were out of employ than are out of employ to-day.

There need not be a single hand out of work to-day in rural England if the land were properly tilled.

Shall we, as working men, go back to the time when many of us had barley bread to eat? I think every sensible working man will say, No.

Then let us, at the next General Election, fight this bugbear of Fair Trade at the ballot-box; insist upon the land being properly cultivated; and withdraw from our over-populous towns the thousands of men who have been driven there by our inhuman land system.

Till the Land, give the tiller security for his Capital, and we should soon see at least some of these dark clouds of depression disappear.

Joseph Arch.

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## **The Newcastle Weekly Chronicle**

### **On the Cobden Club Leaflets.**

Buckle crest of the Cobden Club

*"The Pitt and Fox Clubs have disappeared mainly because they were simply dining institutions. But the Cobden Club exists to keep the memory of the great Free Trader green by propagating his opinions. When there was a chance of a revival of a Protectionist policy under the Government of the late Earl of Derby, the Anti-Corn Law League was resuscitated. To-day, the talk about Fair Trade, which simply means a resurrection of the Bread Tax, has aroused the vigilance of the Cobden Club, and called forth all the latent energy of its hon. secretary, the member for Rochdale. Under his inspiration 'leaflets' have been prepared on the subject, which are virtually a species of hand grenades for the explosion of the fallacies of Protection. In these leaflets, fable and dialogue, narrative and exposition, are all in turn pressed into the service of an unfettered commerce. Already some fifteen of these tractates have appeared, and to those who may not have the leisure to master the more elaborate works which have emanated from the same source, they may be recommended as presenting the salient facts and arguments for Free Trade in a form at once attractive and convincing. There is, indeed, no royal road to knowledge; but the path should not be made unnecessarily obscure. There are no more useful men than the expositors of recondite science. Our French neighbours pronounce political economy 'tiresome,' and a great English writer has styled it 'dismal.' But these are gross misrepresentations of a subject which, in the hands of any competent master, can be made quite as entertaining as general literature. Alive to this fact, the Cobden Club is now raising a special fund for the purpose of scattering the truth which the club exists to make plain, over the length and breadth of the country. The generation is rapidly passing away that was educated under the great Free Trade leaders, and the necessity for a fresh instruction is made obvious by the dogmatism with which Fair Traders, ignorant of Adam Smith, and unfamiliar with the struggle for the repeal of the Bread Tax, repeat the fallacies so often refuted in that controversy as if they were substantial arguments. A lack of the knowledge of the primary principles of economic science ruined the trade of Spain, and is at this moment crippling the industry of France, Germany, and America."*

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### **Rowing a Thousand Peters to Pay One Paul.**

Buckle crest of the Cobden Club

THE latest device for obscuring the fact that Protection is the robbery of a thousand Peters to pay one Paul, is to put forward an East London Chair-maker to state the workman's case. It is right to hear him. This is what he says:—

*"I can't make chairs and get a living out of them under 30s. a dozen, but they are imported, I believe from Austria, for 20s. a dozen. What am I to do?"*

The inference intended is that a duty of 10s. a dozen should be put on Austrian chairs, to prevent them being brought into this country. This means that all the poor families of England must pay 10s. more for a dozen chairs than they need pay. This is robbing more than a thousand Peters to pay one Paul.

If this be done, the Pauls who will get all the half-sovereigns which the poor families pay will not be the chair-makers. In America and Canada, where Austrian chairs and all other things are kept out of those countries by Protective Duties, I found that articles of convenience and household comfort which cost £1 here, the workmen there had to pay £3 for, because Protection keeps lower-priced commodities from coming into their markets. As the working men had to pay prices 200 per cent, higher than in England, I asked them if their wages were 200 per cent, higher? when they owned that their wages were only 10 per cent in most cases, and seldom more than 20 per cent, higher than in England. So that the "blessings" of Protection actually robbed them of 180 per cent in their household and personal expenditure for comfort and convenience. Here was a pretty extensive robbing of the millions of unfortunate Peters to pay the few lucky Pauls, who gathered in the rich harvest which ignorance permitted them to reap.

If Austrian chairs are taxed, another thing happens—the Austrian chair-sellers, shut out from our market, cannot exchange their goods for other English goods they would buy. No business is done, and other trades lose customers. Then work is scarcer among other workmen, wages become lower, while the price of chairs rises, and so of all other articles all round; for no sooner shall the chair-maker get foreign chairs taxed to increase the cost of chairs in East London, than all other workmen will ask, and have an equal right to ask, that whatever trade they follow shall be equally protected, and nothing shall be imported untaxed which they make. All commodities would then rise, all trades would be protected, and all the people impoverished. The Peters would be robbed all round, and Paul would not be paid at all.

If Austrian chairs are once taxed, why not American wheat and all foreign corn? If the chair-maker is to be protected, why not the farmer? Then rents would rise, to the great delight of landlords, and bread would rise, until poor workmen were famished, as they were famished before, when everybody was protected and custom duties were paid upon a thousand commodities. The poor Peters of Protection had a bad time of it in those days.

Protection has been played too far, if not played out, in America. Mr. Blaine, the late candidate for the Presidency, made Protection the "chief plank in his platform," as they say out there. This was the answer working men and others made:—

*"Has Protection been a benefit?"*

*"Trade is stagnant. The commerce of the country has decayed. Mills are standing idle. Where wages have not been stopped they are reduced. Mechanics and labourers go about seeking employment in vain. Women and children are beginning to want bread, and yet the farmer can find no profitable market for grain."*

Thus it is that Protection robs many million Peters to pay a few Pauls. Is it possible that the Peters of England can be induced to believe in Protection or suffer it to be inflicted upon them?

George Jacob Holyoake.

*Messrs. Cassell & Company, Limited, La Belle Sauvage Yard London, E.C., supply the Cobden Club Leaflets in packets of 100, price 1s.*

## Less Free Trade, or More.

## Which, shall it be?

Buckle crest of the Cobden Club

WE are told that England is suffering from too much Free Trade, and some of our Squires and Landlords want to tax the Corn and Sugar and Bacon coming from abroad—the cheap food of our Working Classes.

Let us see whether that is the right way of going about the improvement of our Trade and our Manufacturing Industries.

In 1831—1839 we reduced duties on 700 foreign articles, and in the next ten years the Commerce of this Country increased a full fourth in Annual Value!

In 1842 we further lowered the tariff on 750 articles from abroad, and again in ten years our Business multiplied by more than one-half!

In 1860 we abolished every duty on foreign manufactured goods and many upon raw materials In the next twenty years our Trade about doubled!

*Thus we see prosperity follows the Extension of Free Trade, and Not the Diminution of Free Trade! What is Wanted, Therefore, in 1885, Is not Less but More Free Trade!*

Let us, therefore, see where it may be applied before resorting to the desperate expedient of taxing the food of the Poor.

First then: We want Free Trade in *Land*. The fetters that bind up millions of acres by settlements (so that their very owners are powerless to sell or

There are other directions, however, in which relief may be looked for, viz.:—

- *Variety of Cultivation.*
- *Fair Rates of Carriage.*
- *Middlemen's Profits.*

There are thus five ways in which the Farmers' condition may be improved. Let us consider them.

First, *What is Rent?*

Rent is that portion of the produce of the land which remains over after rewarding the Labourer for his toil, and the Farmer for his outlay and his work.

It is just what remains over that the Farmer can afford to pay as Rent. If nothing remains over, the land can

bear no rent.

The Labourer and the Farmer should be considered first; the Landlord last.

In practice this rule has been reversed. Rent has been made the first consideration. Agriculture has become a game of chance, and Farmers the sport of Fortune.

It is heads the Landlords win, and tails the Farmers lose.

The consequence is that Farmers have wasted their capital, and Labourers have been forced to migrate.

What Farmers want from Landlords is: Security for their Capital; Compensation for their Improvements, and no Raising of Rents thereon; more Liberty in Cultivation; Stability of Tenure; and Reduced Rents, calculated on a more equitable basis than exists at present.

Farmers should go in for Variety of Cultivation. They should remember that we annually import twenty-three million pounds' worth of butter, eggs, cheese, poultry, game, fruit, and vegetables.

Farmers should agitate for Fair Rates of Carriage. American meat and cheese are carried at 25s. a ton from Liverpool to London, while English meat is charged 50s., and cheese from Cheshire, 42s. 6d.

Potatoes from France are brought to London for 30s. a ton; from Penzance they are charged 45s. From Victoria Docks, London, to Peterborough foreign corn pays 6s. 8d. a ton, including barging, &c., while the ordinary charge for English corn for the same distance is 14s. 5d.

Fruit from Holland to London pays 25s. a ton. This fruit passes through Sittingbourne in Kent, from which station the charge on English fruit is also 25s.

The difference in the railway rates between foreign wheat and barley and English wheat and barley amounts to a rent of 5s. per acre.

As to Middlemen's Profits, the margin between what the Farmers get and what Consumers pay should be narrowed to the benefit of both parties.

The sheep which the Farmer sells for £3 costs the Consumer £4 10s.

Milk which the Farmer sells for 1d. or 1½d., the Consumer pays 4d. or 5d. for, besides sometimes getting an adulterated article.

The annual value of milk sold amounts to Thirty Millions Sterling; far more than that of the wheat crop of the United Kingdom.

Last year 230,000 tons of meat were sold in Smithfield Market.

One halfpenny per pound on this, which is more than One Million Sterling, might probably by union and combination be put into Farmers' pockets from this one market.

These are the directions in which Farmers should look for relief; not to that Will o' the Wisp—a duty on foreign corn, which, as bitter experience has shown, benefits not the cultivator but the owner of the soil.

One thing is certain:—This nation will never again consent to raise artificially, by protective duties, the price of any product, whether of agriculture or of manufacture, above what it fetches in the general market of the world.

From all time the Agriculturist has been too apathetic.

It is of the Countryman that the fable written 2,400 years ago speaks of as praying to Hercules to drag his cart out of the rut.

The story goes that Hercules refused his aid, and told him to put his shoulder to the wheel. This is what the Farmer must do if he would succeed nowadays in his noble calling.

*He must pat his Shoulder to the Wheel.*

Sketch of man holding wagon wheel

George W. Medley.

FEBRUARY, 1885.

*Messrs. Cassell & Company, Limited, La Belle Sauvage Yard, London, E. C., supply the Cobden Club Leaflets in packets of 100, price 1s. (or 2s. for those of 4pp. marked\*).*

## "Fair Trade:" *Its Impossibility.*

BY SYDNEY BUXTON, M.P.

Buckle crest of the Cobden Club

"FAIR TRADE," as defined by Fair Traders, means that England should place a heavy tax on foreign goods sent into the country, in order to retaliate on the foreigner, and to force him to adopt "Free Trade," or at least largely to diminish the duties which he now levies on British goods.

It would not be difficult to show that this plan would disastrously affect our trade and commerce, and injure

us very much more than it would injure the foreigner. But it will be sufficient, if it can be shown that it is not in our power effectually to retaliate on foreign countries, and force them, against their will, to receive our goods duty free.

Protective duties abroad are chiefly aimed at English goods, and while some persons here cry out because of the import into England of a small amount of foreign manufactured goods, foreign manufacturers complain still more bitterly of the competition from which they suffer, even in their own protected markets, from British manufactures.

Unless, therefore, it could be clearly shown that the foreigner would have more to gain than to lose from accepting our terms, it is evident that he would persist in his present course of action; and, not only so, but to parry our attack, he would still further raise his protective duties, and thus still further exclude our goods from his markets. Let us look, then, into the question of the *possibility* of forcing foreign nations to accept our terms.

The goods which we received last year (1884) from abroad were valued at £390,000,000, the goods we sent abroad at £295,000,000. As, then, our imports so largely exceed our exports, it seems easy, by imposing a duty on the imports, to compel the foreigner to take his duty off our exports.

But before we can talk of compulsion, we must examine the question a How much of this could the foreigner attack?

We will deduct the *Articles of Food* and the *Miscellaneous* as not liable to attack—total, £37,400,000—though, even now, some of the protective countries impose import duties on corn.

A large portion of the *Raw Materials*—consisting as they do of coal, copper, cotton, hemp, silk, wool, tallow, wood, &c.—is open to attack, and would certainly be attacked by the foreigner determined to maintain his protective duties at any cost; while the taxes already levied in protective countries on our *Manufactures* and *Semi-manufactures* would be immediately increased. That, by so doing, those countries would seriously injure their own prosperity can be no consolation to us who depend to so great an extent on foreign custom.

We may safely assert, therefore, that our exports are vulnerable to the extent of £240,000,000, while, as already shown, the vulnerability of the foreign imports is measured by £30,000,000—the power of foreign retaliation being thus *eight* times as great as our power of attack.

Of course we do not send all our exports to protective countries, nor do we receive all our imports from them; much comes and goes between us and the neutral, non-protective, markets of the world. But, practically, the more protective the country, the less are our powers of attack; from the most protective countries we receive the smallest amount of manufactured goods—for the very good reason, that, in consequence of their Protective duties, they cannot produce so cheaply as we can, and cannot therefore compete with us.

But without going into details as to our trade with the various countries, it is clear that however much we might desire to injure the foreigner, in order to induce him to remove his protective tariff, our powers are so very limited as to make any attempt of the sort useless.

No doubt, if we chose, we could exclude foreign manufactures from our markets; but we must not forget that the results springing from any system of Protection—as this would be—could not be confined to the thirty millions of foreign imports, but would injuriously affect our whole foreign trade of six to seven hundred millions.

Free Trade enables us to produce goods more cheaply than any other nation in the world. Any tampering with its principle would necessarily increase the cost of production all round; and would thus not only seriously diminish our powers of competing with other nations in their own protected markets, but would imperil our supremacy in the neutral markets of the world, on which our commercial future so largely depends.

January, 1885.

Messrs. Cassell & Company, Limited, La Belle Sauvage Yard, London, E.C., supply this Leaflet in packets of 100, price 1s.

## Reciprocity Explained.

Buckle crest of the Cobden Club

TERMS, like coins, wear out by use and misuse.

*Protection* is one of these terms. It was a bright, well-gilt piece of currency, bearing the lineaments of an unduly fat farmer on one side and a plethoric landlord on the other, and was largely circulated at Election and Agricultural Dinners. But during the Anti-Corn Law Agitation the gilt was rubbed off, when there were discovered on one side groups of hungry families and on the other a workhouse. The coin became defaced, broken and battered, and it had to be returned to the mint of worn-out words.

A few years ago it re-appeared stamped with the plausible name of "Fair Trade." Though very well coined, it was mere bronze metal; it never got well taken up. Lately it has been "called back," and another piece, supposed to have a better ring about it, entitled "Reciprocity," is now offered for circulation.

As Reciprocity is an old acquaintance under a new face, the present generation of readers hardly know it again. Their fathers knew it well. As everybody is destined to hear a good deal of it, it will be useful to many to explain it.

The Governments of some Foreign Countries, finding traders complaining of lack of customers and workmen complaining of low wages, say—

*"We know an excellent way of relieving you. All articles which you need, and which English merchants sell in your markets at forty shillings, we will make dearer by putting a duty of ten shillings upon each. The merchants will then charge you fifty shillings for each article. He will pay us ten shillings for permission to sell to you, and you will pay him ten shillings extra for each thing you buy. We shall be all those ten shillings richer, and you will be all those ten shillings poorer."*—This is Protection.

The Conservative party and others in England, learn- little more closely, and we shall find that it is not possible to tax any large portion of the imports.

The imports may be divided as follows:—

Articles of Food (duty free)	£133,810,000	Raw Materials for Manufactures: Textile Fabrics ... ..	£86,303,000
Ore ... ..	16,806,000	Miscellaneous ... ..	16,043,000
Articles of Food and Drink (dutiable): Wine and Spirits ... ..	£7,237,000	Tea ... ..	10,567,000
Tobacco ... ..	2,777,000	Cocoa, Coffee, Currants, &c. ...	7,844,000
Miscellaneous ... ..	28,425,000	Miscellaneous ... ..	14,140,000
Semi-Manufactured Articles ... ..	40,983,000	Manufactured Articles ... ..	53,265,000
			£389,775,000

## Imports.

**All the figures are taken from the official returns of the Board of Trade, which any one can obtain for himself.**

Now which of these items can really be taxed?

The *Articles of Food* (duty free) are agricultural produce, chiefly corn, with butter, cheese, hams, eggs, &c., articles of everyday food. It is almost universally acknowledged, even by Fair Traders themselves, that the "Food of the People" cannot be taxed; the days of the dear and taxed loaf have fortunately gone by. This amount—£133,800,000—must therefore be deducted.

The *Raw Materials for Manufactures*, consisting of wool, cotton, hemp, raw silk, copper, tin, iron ore, &c., are necessary to our manufactures, and to tax them would be a serious injury, for it would raise the cost of production, and paralyse our powers of competition in the markets of the world. This raw material—£119,200,000—must therefore also be deducted.

Lord Salisbury, expressing an almost universal opinion, has said that "the food of the people, and the raw materials of our industries, must be held sacred" from a duty.

The *Dutiable Articles of Food and Drink*, which include wine, spirits, tobacco, snuff, tea, cocoa, coffee, currants, dried fruit, &c., and which may be called "*luxuries*," are legitimate subjects for taxation. But we already raise about £20,000,000 a year from these articles in customs' duties alone, and it would be impossible, even if expedient, to increase these duties to any large extent. These articles also—£28,500,000—must therefore be deducted.

The *Miscellaneous Articles* include live animals, oil cake for feeding cattle, and seeds (not corn) of different sorts, &c., all articles which could not be taxed. These then—£14,200,000—must be also deducted.

Thus, before we come to articles on which we can impose retaliatory duties, we have to deduct from the total imports of £390,000,000—*food*, £133,800,000, *raw materials*, £19,200,000, "*luxuries*," £28,500,000, *miscellaneous*, £14,200,000—in all, £295,700,000; leaving £94,300,000 of *manufactures* and *semi-manufactures*.

But the *Semi-manufactures*, consisting as they do of such articles as wood (sawn and hewn), hides, rags, tallow, &c., are really of the nature of "raw materials," being all used in our manufactures, and they—£41,000,000—must also be deducted.

Thus, of our grand total of £390,000,000 of imports, we have left but £53,300,000 on which retaliatory duties could be placed, or which in any way compete with articles of Home manufacture—not a very large amount out of a total foreign trade of £685,000,000.

But even this total is not fully available for taxation. Some five millions of these *Manufactures* simply pass through the country, and are re-exported elsewhere, and a tax on them would prevent them coming here at all, and we should lose the profits on transit. Again, of this total, some eighteen or nineteen millions consist of

innumerable small articles, chiefly "fancy goods," taxes on which would be vexatious and unremunerative.

Thus, a further sum of £23,000,000 or £24,000,000 must be deducted from the £53,300,000, leaving a total of but £30,000,000 of *Manufactures* (cotton, silk, woollen, leather, iron, &c.); and this practically represents our *maximum* powers of attack on the foreigner.

But now we must look at the other side, and see how our trade could be attacked if we determined to enter on a "war of tariffs."

Our Exports may be divided as follows:—

ing that distress largely prevails, advise the English Government to take up the same parable and say to the people—

*"We will soon put that distress all right. In America, Canada, and other countries, they levy a heavy duty upon all our goods exported to them, which makes them dearer to the buyers. This is considered a great boon to poor people, and a form of relief in their distress, since it obliges them to pay a much higher price than they need do for what they want. We will therefore put an import duty on all articles, wheat or goods, which other countries send into our markets, so that every article they now sell the English people at forty shillings shall pay a duty of ten shillings, which will raise the price to fifty shillings here. We shall have ten shillings collected at the Custom House upon each article, and the half-employed, half-starved people will have to pay it."—This is Reciprocity.*

"This," they say, "will soon relieve the distress. All that is wanted is that the people should ask for this themselves. If they do they shall surely have it."

Protection means the Government plundering the people. Reciprocity means the people plundering themselves.

Those who propose it do not speak in this plain manner, but this is what they would say if they did speak plainly.

There are several kinds of Reciprocity—good, bad, and foolish.

When we say one good turn deserves another, that is good Reciprocity.

When men propose to meet one evil turn by another of the same kind, that is bad Reciprocity.

But when another nation taxes our commodities brought into its markets, and makes them dearer to all inhabitants who buy them there, and we propose to tax their commodities sent to our markets, making them dearer to all our own people who purchase them here, that is mad Reciprocity.

If it were not advocated as a political remedy by respectable politicians, the proposal would be brought under the notice of the Lunacy Commissioners.

George Jacob Holyoake.

*Messrs. Cassell & Company, Limited, La Belle Sauvage Yard, London, E.C., supply this Leaflet in packets of 100, price 1s.*

## **WORDS OF WARNING TO *Agricultural Labourers and other Working-men.***

BY Alfred Simmons,

The Leader of the Kent and Sussex Labourers.

Buckle crest of the Cobden Club

AFTER a twelve years' battle with that huge stumbling block in the pathway of the people, Toryism, we have secured a triumphant victory. The Franchise Bill is passed, and on the 1st of January, 1886, every country labourer who is the occupier of a house, however small and humble that house may be, will come into possession of the parliamentary vote. For twelve years the Conservative landowners and their members of Parliament opposed our demand. In their speeches and in their writings they have sneered at and mocked at you. They have declared that you were too stupid, too ignorant, too drunken, and too vicious to exercise the rights of freemen. You were down, and they tried with all their might to keep you down. One of them, a wealthy landed proprietor, a member of Parliament, and a leader of the Tory party, told a meeting of farmers they were fools not to keep a firmer grasp upon their labourers. But we have beaten them. Your political rights are now gained to you, and the Tories begin to perceive the wretched blunder they have made. Finding it impossible to bar your political progress any longer, they now turn on their heel, and are presenting themselves before you with smiling countenances, hoping to cajole and deceive you into voting for the very men who during all these years have played the part of your greatest political enemies.

A one who has been in the forefront of the Franchise battle from the first, and who has been unceasingly engaged in the cause of labour from his boyhood, I offer a few words of advice and warning to my

fellow-workers, especially to the country labourers.

It was the public policy and the class-made laws of the Tory landowners that brought our fathers down to poverty and miser. Their landlord-made land laws, their laws to restrict the amount paid as wages to working men, their detestable Corn Laws, were all directed towards making themselves richer and us poorer—towards pushing themselves up and the labouring classes down.

To the Tory landowners we owe many, if not all, of the most pernicious of our laws; to Liberal Reformers we owe every agitation for the repeal of tyrannical laws and burdensome taxes.

Our fathers, both in town and country, were absolutely unenfranchised. Many of them were shot down by the soldier before the first great Reform Bill of 1832 was passed—and that Bill of 1832 was the work of the Liberal Reformer.

The Tory landlords taxed the people's bread, and refused to allow any foreign corn to come into the country until wheat was 80s. per quarter and bread 1s. per loaf. It was due to Liberal Reformers that the Corn Laws were abolished and bread made cheap.

A heavy tax was placed on paper, and cheap books and newspapers were impossible, so that poor people could not buy them, and were kept in ignorance. Liberal Reformers again came to the front and carried the Repeal of the Paper Duties.

Liberal working men raised the great agitation of 1866, and compelled the Tories to pass the Reform Bill of 1867.

The Education Acts were carried by Liberals against the bitterest opposition of the Tories, who always have endeavoured to prevent the freer and better education of the people. And now, the latest opposition of the Tory party is seen in the insults and defiance hurled at the people before they passed the present Franchise Bill.

The Tory landlord party is the hereditary enemy of the progress of the people.

At the present moment farmers and labourers are suffering from what is called agricultural depression, and some of the landlords are raising the unworthy cry that it is due to Free Trade. They are seeking to persuade us that as corn is cheap, the farmers cannot make a profit; and hence they are clamouring for a tax upon foreign corn, so that the price of both home and foreign corn may be raised. Now, before I deal with this ridiculous notion, let us see what the landowners have themselves done to help the farmer and the labourer. Since the beginning of this century the rents of the farms have been nearly doubled. During the short period from 1852 to 1880 the rentals of land increased from £49,000,000 to £69,000,000 per annum. All the time that this last enormous increase has been taking place the price of wheat has been steadily falling, as the result of the abolition of the pernicious Corn Laws. So that, while the price of wheat has been constantly falling and the farmers have been receiving less profit upon it, the landlords have been continuously increasing the rentals of the land. I know farmers who have taken rough land, have grubbed, drained, improved, and cultivated it with their own money and muscles. As soon as they have done so the landlord has come down and increased their rents on their own improvements. I know cases where rents have thus been raised twice or thrice in ten or twelve years; and when at last the farmer has been unable to pay the increased rent the landlord has seized his stock, sold him up, and appropriated all his improvements. That is the fashion in which many Tory landowners have sympathized with the troubles of the farmers. And now, to-day, these gentlemen are coming to the farmers, and to the newly-enfranchised labourers, declaring everlasting friendship. Why? Because they know they have almost ruined the agricultural interest with their oppressive laws and their exorbitant rentals. They fear that rents are coming down. So, to keep up their rents they are striving to hoodwink the farmers and labourers by the exploded story that if foreign corn were taxed farmers could charge more for home-grown wheat. This is what they call "Protection" Let us sift it. They propose to put 5s. duty on each quarter of foreign corn, which is now, say, 35s. per quarter, and the 5s. duty will increase it to 40s. As soon as this is done the farmer here is to raise his price to 40s. Now the question comes, who will pay the extra price? Bread is now, say, 6d.; it would then be 7d. So it just amounts to this: That to prevent the reduction of the exorbitant farm-rents, *the people*, who eat the bread, are to pay the bread-tax. The landlords' rent-roll is to be kept up at the cost of the poor man's loaf. This sort of nonsense may be good enough for English farmers, but it may be taken for granted that the agricultural labourers will not be deceived by such a barefaced proposition. Then "Fair Trade" and "Reciprocity" step in. They say, Is it fair that we should admit corn duty-free from other countries, while those countries tax our manufactured goods? So, because other countries cut their own people's throats, we are to be stupid enough to do the same! We manufacture an article that we can sell to another country for £5; but before the other country admits that article into their ports they place a £1 tax upon it, and thus raise its price to their own people to £6. They go in for making articles dearer for their own people; we go in for making them cheap, so that our people may get as much as possible for their money. We make our people's bread as low-priced as we can; the landed proprietors take advantage of it to reduce labourers' wages and increase farmers' rentals, and then when complaint is made, and we ask for better consideration, Tory landlord? turn upon us with the audacious proposal to tax our children's bread in order that they may continue to extort their

increased rents.

Then, too, the people of the towns have no Inconsiderable interest in this matter. Are the working men of our great cities and towns prepared to tax their bread so as to bolster up the farmers; and because the farmers do not choose to exert themselves, but continue to pay the high rents and submit to conditions of cultivation such as are imposed on no other farmers in the universe' Are the people of the towns ready to tax their bread for the benefit of the Tory landed proprietors and their rent-rolls? I am well aware that there are a few better-hearted large landowners who scorn the idea, but, unfortunately, those who are advocating this cruel taxation of the people's bread are very numerous and very wealthy. Those of them who condemn the proposal should speak out, and in unmeasured terms expose the fallacious and outrageous arguments of the Protectionists, lest their silence implies consent.

If the farmers are foolishly led adrift by their Tory landlords—as so many have been in the past—the labourers must show their good sense by having nothing to do with either of them. It is due, in a large measure, to the apathetic indifference of the farmers that agricultural matters are in the plight in which we find them to-day. If, in the future, farmers or labourers allow themselves to be cajoled, intimidated, or hoodwinked by Conservative landlords, they will be traitors to their children and to their country. They have the Ballot to protect them; and although the new voters are being assured by interested parties that the Ballot is not secret, I will ask the labourers to accept the truth from me that the *voting by Ballot is absolutely secret*. No one can know how the voter has voted unless the voter opens his own mouth.

In concluding these Words of Warning, I will strongly impress upon agricultural labourers the necessity there is at this time to be firm and determined in their adherence to the cause of labour and progress—for this is a crisis in our history as the labouring class—and we must at all hazards be true and steadfast to ourselves and to those dependent upon us. We must put away from us, as we would the plague, not alone this cry for Protection, but also the people who raise it. We must go in for better Land Laws, better Education, and Cheap Food; and as Liberal and Radical Reformers are the men who have helped us thus far, and as Tory landlords and their friends are the men who have always stood in our pathway, it is our one paramount duty to assist and vote for the Party of Reform—the Liberal-Radical party—for in doing that we shall be steadily pursuing our great battle against ignorance and poverty—the two evils from which our fathers and ourselves have suffered so severely in the past.

Alfred Simmons.

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## How they Succeed in Canada.

*(From the Agricultural Gazette, Jan. 5, 1885.)*

Buckle crest of the Cobden Club

FOR the present farmers of Great Britain the question is—What are they to do? This cry is going up from all parts of Britain. The question is frequently asked, but never satisfactorily answered. Let us see if an answer can be given from Canada, and from an emigrant of fifty years' experience. The writer is an Englishman. He was bred on a farm in England, and learned every branch of English farming. He was bred up in comfort and luxury; then turned to industry, with the idea of emigrating; and finally came to Canada, when the greater part of it was unbroken forest. He, therefore, knows both England and Canada.

His idea is—"Let the British farmer do willingly in Britain what he will be forced to do if he emigrates, and he will find that his success in Britain will equal, if not surpass, any success which he can expect or hope to attain in any colony, and at a far less expense of comfort and labour than he would suffer if he tore himself up by the roots from his British home, and attempted to transplant himself to a new country."

The British farmer of the present day is not fit for the struggles and trials of a new land. He is too far advanced in life; his habits and ideas are fixed and established; and to expect such a man to succeed in a new land is hopeless. Canada is a great country, and has been made such by emigration; but by what class of emigrants? By the hard-handed, industrious, and temperate British labourer, who has taken the axe in his hands, has felled the forests, and raised grain amongst the stumps and roots of the trees, which he has cut down and burned, and finally made a cleared and cultivated farm where there was an interminable wilderness of trees. He commenced his colonial life in a log-shanty, scarcely better than a hog-pen; then he proceeded to a log-house, from that to a comfortably-framed residence, and finally to the handsome brick or stone villa in which he now resides.

There is no chance for the present British farmer to do this. His life is too far spent; his habits and experience, and those of his wife, are not equal to it. His sons may, if they will, come out here and begin at the

bottom round of the ladder; but if they have money and do not begin at the bottom, failure and ruin will be the consequence. If he cannot or will not begin low enough, he will never obtain the goal of his ambition. The present British farmer (if he emigrates) begins where the colonial farmer leaves off. He has capital, or no one in Britain would rent him a farm. He has a thorough knowledge of scientific agriculture, or he could never meet his first year's rent from the produce of his land. But in a colony his capital would be sunk in struggles to do as he has been used to do; his knowledge would be wasted on imperfectly-cleared land, where everything is exactly opposite to what he has been accustomed to.

What is required in an emigrant is "muscle," not "mind." He must have youth and an indomitable will, or he could not set his muscles in profitable motion. "Mind" he must, of course, have, even although his mind may be forming whilst his muscles are winning the battle, or he could not make use of the victory which those muscles have won. It is useless to expect all this from a man of middle age and of what, in a colony, would be considered luxurious habits. The emigrant must be the man of the axe, the hoe, and the spade—the man who can take hold of the lever and pile up the log heaps before he burns them. When he has burned them up, he can scratch the ground among the stumps and roots with the roughest possible implements, and then sow his grain where the log heaps stood.

I have known a man who had no means, and no help but his wife, who had no plough or harrow, who, with his wife, cut down the trees, built the log heaps, and who, when he had burned them and sowed his wheat, covered it by dragging a great thorn bush, hauled by himself, his wife, and possibly by a borrowed ox or horse. And yet that man bought and finally paid for his land, and eventually won the battle of labour, and finally became a prosperous agriculturist. He was a German.

Could the present British farmer do this? If he could not (and he could not), he is unfit for a new country.

But what is the present British farmer to do? Let him realise what he has, move to another part of the country where his "come down" will not be observed, take a new farm amongst new neighbours, give up his hunters, his dogs, and guns, go to work himself when required, take hold of his own plough, be his own shepherd or byreman, and generally take a lower stand—"the stand of industry and hard work." He cannot, of course, stint his farm, but he must stint himself and his family—banish wine and spirits, and if he cannot, or will not, do without beer (as he easily could and ought), let him brew it himself, or get it brewed by some experienced woman in the village. Stop hunting, shooting, coursing, and all such sports, which are only a waste of time. In all matters of expense which the land does not absolutely require, let him hold on to every sixpence until, as the Yankees say, "he has left the mark of his thumb-nail in it."

Let him do all this, and he will not incur one quarter of the deprivations which he would incur by emigrating.

No man could expect him to "come down" in his present place, and amongst his present friends—it would be too hard; but let him move away—he won't move so far as if he was emigrating.

But it will naturally be said, How does the writer know all this?—what experience has he had that he can lay down the law for others? In reply, he says:—I was bred on a farm in England, and naturally, therefore, know all about it. As to Canada, since I have been here I have sold and helped to sell nearly 2,000,000 of acres of bush land—mostly in 100, 200, and 50-acre lots. It was all sold on credit, small sums only being paid down. I have had to watch the proceedings of the people, and have seen their progress and marked their successes and failures, and finally received from them (by myself and others) the price they were to pay for their farms; I, in fact, looked over the game, and naturally saw more than those engaged in it. Experience could no farther go. These struggles I have seen go on for half a century, and am therefore well posted in the facts about which I write.

It is impossible to give the particulars of these struggles, but I will mention two of them.

1. A few days since I met a man in the street; he stopped me and said, "Are not you the man who used to be in the land office?" I said, "Yes; who are you?" for I had forgotten him. He said, "I knowed you was. I bought my land from you more than twenty years ago. I gave four dols. an acre for it, a great price in those days, but it is now well cleared, and has good buildings on it, and I could get eighty dols. an acre for it tomorrow. I have now ninety-five acres cleared." Further inquiry brought him to my recollection. "Now," said he, you remember when I paid you the money; well, I paid fourteen per cent, for it, and it was a hard pull, but it is all paid now, and the land is my own. I have also settled out three of my sons, and they are all doing well." We shook hands, and I wished him good-bye.

2. Another of my people, one "Bassingthwaight," when he bought his place, I asked him how to spell his name; he replied, "I do not know; I can neither read, write, nor spell; but you must put fifteen letters in it, and then it will be right." This I did as well as I could as above. He had more to pay than he expected, and when he left me he had only 7s. 6d. with which to commence his work, and he had seventy miles to travel. I wanted him to take back some of what he had paid, but he refused, and said he could get a few days' work on his road home. I was sure at once that he would do well. Some years after, when he had got a good clearing and a good deal of

stock round him, a mad dog got into his farmyard and destroyed every one of his stock except the horses; they had been in the stable.

It left the poor fellow very bare, but he bought others on credit, and struggled up again, and finally paid for his land. He had ten children. He is now wealthy, and has set out all his family. He is an Englishman.

Of course, in the end, although it may be some time first, the loss in values in Britain will fall where it ought to fall—viz., on the landlord. He has given far too much for his property, and he cannot expect to receive the rents which he formerly did; he will most likely be obliged to take one-half, or even less. He cannot work the land himself. The tenant has the knowledge and skill; and knowledge and skill, wherever they exist, are expensive articles, and must be paid for.

—E. L. CULLE.

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## Free Trade and Fair Trade.

### *What do the Words Mean?*

Buckle crest of the Cobden Club

FREE TRADE is the right which a man has to lay out his wages or income at the best advantage to himself, to buy at the shop which gives him best quality at the easiest rate.

It would seem that so natural a right could hardly be disputed. But it took years of labour to secure the right, and to defeat the claims of those who insisted that the English people should be forced to deal at those shops only which Protectionists chose to name—*i.e.*, their own shops—and who had turned these claims into law.

The expression "one-sided Free Trade" has no meaning. If every Englishman has, as he has at present, the right to buy from whom he pleases, there cannot be any one-sidedness in the situation. If his freedom is to be shortened, Free Trade is at an end.

Fair Trade, as far as it is explained, is an attempt to force a man to deal with that person only who has dealings with some other person. John Brown sells bread, and William Smith sells shoes. Fair Trade tells me that I must not buy bread of John Brown, because he does not buy his shoes of William Smith, and that I must not buy shoes of William Smith, because he does not buy bread of John Brown. I am, forsooth, to be made worse off because these two people cannot agree to trade together.

The best illustration of such a Fair Trade is the old tally shop. The employer used to say, "I find you wages, therefore you must lay out your money at my shop, where I will let you have what sort of goods I like, of the quality which I find suits me, and at such prices as I please to fix." The Parliament saw that this process meant cheating and plunder, and put it down with a heavy hand. But, according to the Fair Traders, the system must have been just and wise. It was thorough Reciprocity. But for all it was one-sided.

Fair Traders want to make everything dearer—*i.e.*, to prevent every man's money going so far as it does now. If everything is dearer, there must be stint. If every one is stinted, he has less to spend. If he has less to spend, he can buy less. If he buys less, he causes less employment to be given, and, if times are bad, the supposed remedy makes them worse.

When we say that times are bad, we mean that there are *three* men seeking for *two* men's work, and of course there are less wages earned. Does any person out of Bedlam believe, if the Fair Traders got their way, and thereupon *three* men are seeking for *one* man's work, that wages would be better. Does a master pay higher wages because he gets more profit? Not a bit of it. He pays higher wages when hands are scarce, lower wages when hands are numerous and are seeking work. Working men who listen to the Fair Traders, and are taken in by them, are deliberately lessening, or trying to lessen, their own wages.

James E. Thorold Rogers.

*Messrs. Cassell & Company, Limited, La Belle Sauvage Yard, London, E. C., supply this Leaflet in packets of 100, price 1s.*

## Free Trade v. Protection,

# ***Alias "Reciprocity," alias "Fair Trade."***

*Facts are Better than Arguments.*

*How do they Decide the Question?*

*The Following Facts Answer.*

Buckle crest of the Cobden Club

## **British Produce and Manufactures Exported.**

The highest value ever exported was in 1872, one of three remarkably prosperous years, when it reached £256,257,000; but much of the increase was owing to inflated prices. For example, in 1872 we exported 3,537 million yards of Cotton Piece Goods, value £58,931,000; in 1884 we exported 4,417 million yards, value £51,661,000. Our Iron and Steel Exports in 1872 were 3,382,000 tons, value £35,996,000; and in 1884 they were 3,496,000 tons, value £24,487,000.

## **Analysis of Imports and Exports for 1884.**

Of the Importations of Textile Fabrics, Silk, formerly the most protected of British Industries, accounts for £10,976,836; Cotton, the freest from Protection, for only £2,230,800. Of the whole £389,774,000 of Imports, £318,594,000 consisted of Food, Drink, Tobacco, and materials of manufacture, while the Exports of British Produce are mainly Manufactures.

## **British Shipping under Protection and under Free Trade.**

It was prophesied that the repeal of the Navigation Laws would ruin British Shipping, but it still maintains its supremacy.

## **Consumption of Articles of Imported Food per Head of the Population**

To proceed to the consideration of the price of the staff of life—*Bread*.—*Under Protection*, the best wheaten *Loaf* of 4 lbs. frequently stood at *One Shilling, and sometimes higher*. Under *Free Trade* it has rarely exceeded *Eightpence*; for a long time it was *Sixpence*, and is now *Fivepence-halfpenny*. Nor was this the worst feature of the case. *By the operation of the Corn Laws* the consumption of Foreign Corn was prohibited, except at famine prices. In 1845, the year of the Irish Famine, there were imported, to meet the failure of the harvest and the potato crop, only 4,723,000 cwts. of wheat and wheat flour. In 1884 our imports of the same articles were 62,217,516 cwts.

*What would have been the Price of Bread and the state of the Nation during the recent deficient harvests if the Corn Laws had not been Repealed?*

The present high price of butchers' meat, which seems to be an exception to the favourable results of Free Trade, really proves—first, that the consumption and the ability to purchase are both greater than under Protection; and, secondly, that were it not for the free import of foreign provisions and cattle we should at this moment be labouring under a dearth of animal food. Up to the year 1842 the importation of live Animals and of dead Meat was prohibited, except Bacon and Hams, and Salt Beef and Pork, upon which heavy Protective duties were imposed, and of which we imported in 1840 to the value of £132,537. In 1884 we imported live and dead Meat to the value of £25,514,929.

## **Social and Economic Results of Free Trade.**

The number of paupers relieved in England and Wales on the 1st January, 1849, the first year of the present statistics, was 934,419, the population being 17,564,000; on the 1st January, 1884, the number of paupers was 774,310, and the population 26,951,000. In 1849 the proportion relieved to population was 1 in 18; in 1884 it was 1 in 34.

The amount expended in poor relief per head of the population was the same in 1883 as in 1845, viz., 6s., a fact largely attributable to increased humanity in the treatment of the poor, but the rateable value of the property assessed to the Poor Rate increased from £62,540,000 in 1841 to £141,407,686 in 1883.

The Total Capital of the Savings' Banks was £24,474,000 in 1841; it was £86,756,000 in 1884.

The Total Traffic Receipts of Railways were £4,535,000 in 1843, and £71,062,000 in 1883.

The Total Assessment of Income Tax in Great Britain in 1842 was £251,000,000; in 1882 it was £565,251,000.

## The Balance of Trade, and How it is Paid.

It is said we are draining ourselves of gold to pay for the excess of Imports. What are the facts?

The account of Imports and Exports on the first page shows an excess of the former over the latter of £94,403,259, but the Exports of Bullion and Specie only show an excess over Imports of £1,677,369, or *seventeen farthings in the pound*. It may be said that a single year is no test, but the case of the Fair Traders is not strengthened by taking a series of years. The following are the figures for the previous ten years:—

From which it would appear, according to the Protectionist theory, that the foreigner had paid us £14,000,000 in Bullion and Specie to take £1,115,000,000 worth of goods off his hands.

The apparent mystery is very easily solved. Free Trade has given England the lion's share of the carrying trade of the world, and of Marine Insurance. Our merchants do not work for nothing, and English capital is largely invested abroad. Hence we receive yearly payments from abroad. For fuller details see "The Reciprocity Craze," by Mr. G. W. MEDLEY, which contains the following estimate of these payments:—

## Such are the Facts of Free Trade.

CAN THERE BE ANY DOUBT AS TO UPHOLDING OUR PRESENT COMMERCIAL SYSTEM?

*Resolve, then, to*

Reject the Fallacies of "Protection," "Reciprocity," or "Fair Trade,"

*Or by whatever other Name the Delusion may be called.*

John Noble.

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## The British Peasant On The Rt. Hon. J. Lowther's Proposition,

*That he should pay a "farthing a week" on his bread, to benefit the landed interest.*

Buckle crest of the Cobden Club

A Farthing a week! why, that's nowt, to be sure,  
In no way could it better be spent,  
A Farthing a week from each house of the poor,  
To add to the landowner's rent.

Poor fellows! their rentals have fallen of late;  
No wonder they're downcast and flat,  
When we think of their low and unfortunate state,  
It is right they should send round the hat.

How foolish were Cobden, and Villiers, and Bright,  
As they fought in their famous career;  
They declared that cheap bread was a boon and a right,  
Now, we know that it ought to be dear.

There's Lawson declares that too freely we drink  
Of the liquor which most hold so sweet,  
But it's perfectly clear to all statesmen who think,  
That we really have *too much to eat*.

Thank God that such statesmen we've still in the land;  
"Fair Traders," and all of that brood;  
Men of light and of leading, who quite understand  
That we suffer from too much of food.

Then we'll pay our fresh farthings on bread that's made dear,  
Of sound policy still we're the aiders;  
And each British peasant will heartily cheer  
The kind and sagacious "Fair Traders."

Oh! Life will be all milk and honey,  
How sweetly the moments will fleet,  
When the landlords shall get all the money,  
And we shall get *nothing* to eat.

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## The Farmer of Kent.

(From "THE SUFFOLK CHRONICLE" of forty years ago.)  
Buckle crest of the Cobden Club

GOOD farmers, give ear, for this tale is for you,  
And it's one, as you'll find, not too strange to be true.  
It relates to a farmer of Kent,  
Who complain'd to himself, as he walk'd out one day,  
"Here I've toil'd many years on this cold, hungry clay,  
And what money I had that's not melted away  
Will soon all be swallowed in rent."  
*Chorus:* "Rent, Rent, Rent!  
Will soon all be swallowed in rent."

Then he went to the Landlord, and "Landlord," quoth he,  
"That farm on the hill has well-nigh ruin'd me,  
For my capital's nearly all spent;  
What to do with that soil in these times I can't guess,  
And the truth is, I'm now in that state of distress  
That, unless you are willing to take one-half less,  
I never can pay you your rent."

*Chorus:* " Rent, Rent, Rent!  
I never can pay you your rent."

"Worthy farmer," the Landlord replied, "understand  
That the one thing we want is Protection for land;  
We must keep foreign corn out of Kent.  
Come with me to the poll, vote as I shall advise,  
And then open your mouth (but be sure close your eyes),  
And what good things will drop in you'll see with surprise,  
But pray say no more about rent."

*Chorus:* "Rent, Rent, Rent!  
But pray say no more about rent."

The Landlord was civil, the farmer obey'd,  
With his help a monopolist Member was made,  
And straightway to Parliament sent.  
Laws were pass'd to decree that the poor man might die,  
But that food from abroad should no starving wretch buy;  
"And yet," said the farmer, "no better am I,  
For my profit goes always in rent!"

*Chorus:* " Rent, Rent, Rent!  
For my profit goes always in rent."

But in vain to the Landlord again he complain'd;  
The Landlord said, knowing his object was gained,  
"You may quit if you can't be content.  
As to lowering your farm, that's all fiddle-de-dee;  
(Then aside) don't you wish you may get it?" said he,  
"Protection, you fool, was intended for me,  
And its use is to keep up my rent!"

*Chorus:* " Rent, Rent, Rent!  
And its use is to keep up my rent."

"Well-a-day," said the farmer, "let those laugh who win,  
But I'll not be a second time so taken in  
By monopolist Landlords of Kent;  
Try an old bird with chaff, and to catch him you'll fail.  
I now see through the juggle of Peel's sliding scale—  
Protection's a cheat and the end of the tale  
Is—the Corn Laws mean nothing but rent!"

*Chorus:* " Rent, Rent, Rent!  
The Corn Laws mean nothing but rent."

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of 100, price 1s.*

# ***Will a Five-Shilling Duty on Corn raise the price of Bread, or not?***

Buckle crest of the Cobden Club

BEFORE answering this question I will ask another. If a duty on Corn would not have this effect who would have asked for it? The answer is—No one. The demand for it, although adopted by many Conservative candidates, comes from the Agriculturists, because a duty would raise the value of the corn which they grow; and from Landowners because it would increase their rents. But some of these candidates, who are coming forward for towns where corn is consumed but not grown, deny that it will have this effect. Let us examine into this.

The price of wheat, as of everything else, depends upon the supply keeping pace with the demand. If the supply is shortened, the price must rise. And the supply would be diminished by any increase in the cost of sending corn to England, because it would just make the difference to a large number of growers, of profit or no profit. Every farmer or grower in America, or India, or Russia, who gets a better price, even though it be but one shilling or two shillings a quarter, by sending it to England rather than by selling it at home, will of course send it here. But, if the cost of sending it here were increased by five shillings a quarter, the advantage would disappear, and the foreign grower would sell his corn in his own country, or grow some other crop. The supply here would then fall short of the demand, and the price would rise, to the grievous injury of the English consumer.

One of our ablest economists, Sir JAMES CAIRD, has recently calculated that every shilling of duty on corn would cost the consumers in this country about four millions of pounds. Judge, then, what a burden would have to borne if a duty of five times this amount, or twenty millions of pounds, were imposed; and some have proposed even a heavier duty than this!

Moreover, this tax would fall most heavily on those who spend the largest proportion of their incomes on bread—namely, the working man.

We are bound, therefore, to resist to the uttermost this demand for a duty on the first necessary of life.  
E. N. Buxton.

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## **United States Protection Versus British Free Trade.**

*By the Right Hon. W. E. Baxter, M.P.*

Buckle crest of the Cobden Club

ALL over the world trade for some time past has been and is now, very unremunerative and depressed. In this country landlords and tenants are suffering from bad seasons and low prices, manufacturers and merchants from over-production and a lessened demand.

The consequence is a thoughtless cry on the part of certain people who seem to think that legislation can cure all the ills which flesh is heir to, for some kind of protection to native industry. They forget that, notwithstanding the losses of the upper and middle classes, the great body of the operatives have scarcely felt the pressure at all; the statistics of pauperism, the deposits in the savings banks, and other facts as remarkable as they are notorious, show that the cheap food, and the cheap clothing of Free Trade, and its attracting to Britain the commerce of the world, have warded off from the poor those dire calamities which used to overtake them before the days of Mr. Cobden and Sir Robert Peel.

But what is the condition of things in the United States, where, for a hundred years, public men have been endeavouring to create and bolster up native industries, and where duties are now levied varying from twenty to one hundred per cent.?

The answer is—a stagnation, glut, and want of markets, such as, perhaps, was never witnessed anywhere before. The tariff, taxing as it does raw materials as well as everything else, has made American goods so dear that British manufactures are driving them out of nearly all the markets of the world, and Congress is at its wits' end where to find a remedy. Throughout the whole of the Eastern States armies of unemployed men are walking the streets; 50,000 are out of work in New York, 20,000 in Boston, 25,000 in Chicago, 15,000 in St.

Louis; while house-rents remain high, and the reduction in the cost of living is comparatively small. In Fall River wages have been reduced twenty per cent, during the year, and fifty per cent, since 1874. Mr. McCulloch, Secretary to the Treasury, in his report presented to Congress at the opening of the Session, says:—

*"Some manufacturing companies have been forced into bankruptcy; others have closed their mills to escape it; few mills are running on full time, and, as a consequence, a very large number of operatives are either deprived of employment or are working for wages hardly sufficient to enable them to live comfortably or even decently."*

The position of the American shipping interest is still more deplorable. In 1883-4 only 225,514 tons were turned out in the United States, whilst the shipbuilders of Britain turned out 700,000 tons, and raised a terrible outcry at the falling off from previous years. Once upon a time the Stars and Stripes threatened to supersede the Union Jack on every ocean; now the mercantile navy of Britain amounts to 7,200,000 tons, and is rapidly increasing, while that of the United States is 4,270,000 tons, and doing little more than holding its own.

Thirty years ago seventy per cent, of the ships engaged in the foreign trade of America bore the national flag, only twenty-three per cent, do so now. Let me quote Mr. McCulloch again:—

*"The humiliating fact stares us in the face that while the United States not many years ago led all nations in shipbuilding, and was second only to Great Britain in ocean tonnage, it has almost ceased to be recognised as a maritime Power; that nearly all our agricultural productions and manufactured goods which find a market in Europe or South America and the articles received in exchange for them are carried in foreign ships; that the many thousands of Americans who annually visit Europe on business, or for pleasure, go and come in European steamers; that large foreign steamship lines are, in fact, supported by the people of the United States."*

Fair Trade is, of course, merely Protection disguised; it means everywhere, certainly it has meant in the United States, the making of great fortunes on the part of the few at the expense of the many, and the building up of a fabric which, although attractive-looking for a time, being built on false foundations, must speedily fall to pieces, and involve widespread and general disaster.

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**The Influence of Free Trade on Wages; Why Working Men Should be Free Traders**

By B. R Wise (*Barrister-at-Law, Author of "Facts and Fallacies of Modern Protection," circulated by the Cobden Club*).

Vignette Stewart and Clarke, Allan C. Wood Sydney. Yass: George-street "Courier" Printing Office. 1884

To the Memory of Arnold Toynbee, Who Suggested this Work, And Gave to it all its Value by His Teaching and Criticism.

## Summary of Contents.

Vignette

Vignette

## Addenda.

Page 7, line 19.—For "1894" read "1854."

Page 18, line 9.—For "Chatst" read "Chartist"

Page 20, line 7.—For "in" read "to."

Page 31, line 2.—For "a" read "an."

Vignette

## Preface:

THIS Pamphlet is not intended as an exhaustive statement of the objections to a Protective Tariff; but only as an enquiry into the truth of the common Protectionist assertion that Free Trade causes low wages. It is attempted to disprove this assertion in two ways—1st, by showing that from its very nature it is impossible that Free Trade could have such an effect; and, 2ndly, by showing that this effect is not in fact produced in a Free Trade country. Attention is also directed to the influence of Free Trade upon the general welfare of the working

classes.

Vignette

## Introductory.

Vignette

1. THE object of this Pamphlet is to put forward an aspect of Free Trade which is not generally regarded, viz., Its effect upon the the Distribution of Wealth as distinguished from its effect upon the Production of Wealth. The reason for thus changing the point of view is the alteration which has been made of recent years in the centre of political power. In the days of Cobden and the anti-Corn Law League, when the middle classes formed the bulk of English voters, it was most politic to dwell upon the influence of Free Trade in cheapening the price of goods; but an electorate of Working Men prefer to see the influence of that policy in raising wages. Accordingly, although the old arguments remain perfectly true, it is desirable now, if we wish to arrest general attention, to lay them aside for a time, and bring out others which are more particularly attractive to Working Men.

But Free Traders have been slow to recognise that under the altered circumstances of an extended suffrage they must change the popular presentment of their views. As a rule, they still deal only with the figures of Production. They tell us, for example, that the trade of England has advanced by leaps and bounds: that since Free Trade was introduced, the income tax returns are ten times what they were: that the quantity of funded wealth is daily growing larger, and the population is increasing with an unsurpassed rapidity. They point to the tables of exports, to the growing cities, to the decline of pauperism, to the many signs of English industry and enterprise in every quarter of the globe, and, rolling out their columns of magnificent statistics, they expect the world to be convinced. But Working Men, at least, know well that this is not the last word upon the subject. The matter of concern to them is not so much that goods should be produced in plenty as that they themselves should have more money. A man, who has but sixpence in his pocket, is not likely to be greatly moved on hearing that the price of silk has been reduced to half a crown.

Accordingly, Free Trade must be justified to poor men in quite another way than by a catalogue of its effects upon Production. They must be shown that Free Trade has also some effect in raising wages, and that, while suggesting new desires, it also gives the means of satisfying them by cheapening most articles of common use, and by bringing about the conditions, which are most favourable to a fairer distribution of wealth and most conducive in any community to a lasting rise in the average standard of comfort.

2. There is also another point to which Free Traders must direct their arguments. They must endeavour to remove the popular idea that Free Trade is hostile to attempts to secure the interests of the Working Classes by the means of Legislation.

Working Men need other things besides high wages—such as regular employment, opportunities for investment, means of amusement, and many others, which would tend to give them more security and independence.

Many Free Traders, however, not only ignore these wants of the wage-receivers, but some of them have even gone so far as to denounce, in the name of Free Trade, almost all the measures which the Working Classes have had most at heart in order to secure them. Rightly or wrongly, Working Men have believed that their condition could never be permanently bettered until the Government should interfere actively on their behalf, and they have accordingly demanded and obtained a long series of Acts of Parliament to regulate and protect labour, of which the Factory Acts are the best-known example.

All these measures have been opposed in the name of Free Trade, although, as will be shown later in this Pamphlet, Free Trade is a mere expedient of commerce, working in the field of Production, and affords no argument for or against the interference of Government within the field of Distribution.

Most of those, however, whom the public regard as the champions of Free Trade, from Ricardo to Professor Fawcett (with the two notable but often unobserved exceptions of Richard Cobden and John Stuart Mill), have been pedantically attached to that declining school of political thought, which would restrict the action of the State within the narrowest bounds. In consequence of this, Free Trade has come to be identified with the general principle of "Laissez-faire," or "Let Alone;" and so deeply rooted is this confusion of ideas that it is not uncommon, even in Radical journals, to find Trade Unions mentioned as a violation of Free Trade Principles, and a system of unregulated competition between masters and men justified by the same authority.

Later in these pages an attempt will be made to define the limits of State action, and to show the true relation of Free Trade to the general scheme of government. At present, the misconception which exists upon this point is only mentioned as one reason for the prevalent mistrust of Free Trade doctrines, and as a special reason for their discredit among Working Men. What wonder that Working Men, when they have found Free

Trade confronting them at every effort to alleviate their lot by legal interference, have ceased to take an interest in its promised benefits, and have regarded it as a Middle Class doctrine, comforting enough to the well-to-do, but offering no help to them in their especial needs.

3. If, therefore, we would justify Free Trade to Working Men, we must break away a little from the ancient line of argument. We must, first of all, do justice to the honesty and intelligence of our opponents, and then we must define precisely the scope and operation of a Free Trade policy. We must cease from that vague talk about Prosperity, which sounds like an unseemly gibe to men who spend their lives in insecurity and want; and we must bring the doctrine home to those whom we address by tracing its particular relation to each of their especial needs.

But while Free Traders must endeavour to look at things more from the standpoint of Working Men, they must be careful not to raise excessive hopes in the minds of those whom they address.

Much of the present antagonism towards Free Trade arises from a profound discontent with our existing social conditions. Forgetting or not knowing that these conditions prevail even more in the protected country of America, a Workman often turns against the system under which he feels their irksomeness, and seeks the wished-for blessing in another policy.

But, in truth, the remedy for the social evils, of which both Free Traders and Protectionists complain, lies altogether outside the influence either of Protection or Free Trade. Their causes are too deeply rooted to be removed by alterations in a fiscal policy. Free Trade, as this Pamphlet is designed to show, has largely helped the Working Classes, even although the bulk of its advantage has apparently gone to the consumers—the profit of the wage-receivers being profit of another kind, and one more difficult to trace. But the main grievances of Working Men continue under any fiscal policy in their low wages and irregular employment, their monotonous existence, and their insecure old age.

Free Traders do not glose these facts, nor are they indifferent to the higher interests of the Working Classes. Because a Free Trader advocates the remission of a tax on imports, it does not therefore follow that he regards this measure as a panacea for every industrial evil; nor, because he urges the advantages of Free Exchange, must he be supposed to hold that the highest social ideal is reached merely by buying in the cheapest and selling in the dearest market. Some few Free Traders may also be advocators of "Laissez-faire;" but others, on the contrary, regard Free Trade simply as an instrument, which clears the ground for more effective action by the State in other quarters.

A Free Trader can recognise as evils everything of which Protectionists complain. He can join with a Protectionist in his protest against labour being huckstered like a bale of goods. He, too, may refuse to believe that masters and men can never be secured against the cruel misery of fluctuating trade, and can prefer that the evils of dependence should be lessened, rather than that the number of millionaires should be increased with an un-paralled rapidity. In short, the final aim of a Free Trader differs but little from that of a Protectionist, however much they may dispute about means. The ideal of both is the same—to prevent the labourer sinking into the mere drudge of a machine, and to make him once again a handicraftsman, with an artistic love and knowledge of his work.

But while thus fully recognising the evils of our present industrial system, a Free Trader would desire it to be understood by those who suffer that, if Free Trade has proved an imperfect remedy, Protection is a poison. The grievances of the Protectionists are real enough, but their hostility is misdirected. The remedy, as this Pamphlet will endeavour to point out, is independent either of Protection or Free Trade. But Protection aggravates these evils, while Free Trade does much to mitigate them. Free Trade, moreover, also brings about the only conditions under which these evils can be finally removed.

This will be the contention of the following pages.

Vignette

## **"The Influence of Free Trade on Mages; or, Why Working Men Should be Free Traders."**

Vignette

IN a rightly ordered State, the interests of every class would be identical, and none would have particular requirements. But it can hardly be denied, that, in the present state of society, this happy condition has not yet been reached, and that each class still has its peculiar interests. Take for example the class of Wage-Receiver. This class sets before itself certain objects of desire, which are distinct from the objects of the Trading Class. It

demands to be admitted to a share in certain benefits, which are believed to be within the reach of other classes. Whether its peculiar grievances arise from the conditions of society or from the negligence of law-makers need not be considered, since we are, at present, only concerned to know how class interests are affected by Free Trade. For, since every set of men judge of a policy by reference to their own interests, it is desirable, if we would justify Free Trade to Working Men, to show how it affects them.

Now, the class interests of Working Men are (1st) that they should have high and steady wages; (2ndly) that they should have decent dwellings, within a reasonable distance of their work; (3rdly) that they should have opportunities for secure investment, and for provision against sickness and old age. It is necessary therefore to explain the attitude of Free Trade towards each of these requirements, in order that it may be seen both what Free Trade has done already for the Working Class, what more may be expected from the policy, and what are the things which lie outside its influence.

In the first place, let us treat of Wages. Working Men make two demands in respect of Wages. First, that Wages should be high; secondly, that Wages should be steady. It is hard to say which of these requirements is the most important; but it seems to be admitted that employment at a steady rate tends to more security and independence than would larger, but uncertain gains. We will, however, consider Free Trade from both these points of view, and trace its influence both in raising and in steadying Wages.

A statement of the theory of the Wages Question is beset with many difficulties of technical expression; but these may be avoided, and a principle laid down, which is in accordance with the facts, by saying that Wages are the labourer's share of that which is produced. Whatever, therefore, increases the total products of a country, gives a larger fund from which Wages may be taken. It does not follow that the labourers will receive in every case a due proportion of this increase; but it is impossible to say, from the simple fact of this enlargement having taking place, that the Wages of a labourer would be lessened. It may be that, simultaneously with an increase in National Wealth, Capitalists become more able to appropriate what ought to be the labourer's share; but this must arise from causes which are independent of the mere increase; because it is obvious (to put the case in its simplest form) that where a certain sum has to be divided between two parties, an increase in the sum to be divided cannot, of itself, lessen the quotient. Accordingly, if it can be shown that the policy of Free Trade will cause an increase in the total quantity of National Wealth, that, in itself, is an assurance that Free Trade cannot lower Wages, unless it can be shown that the policy, either by weakening the labouring class, or by strengthening that of the employers, or by some other means, will so depress the Wage-Receiver that they cannot claim their proper share. Later in these pages this hypothesis will be dealt with, and it will be shown that, in fact, Free Trade does not depress the labourer. For the present let it be assumed that this point is proved, and follow the singly enquiry how Free Trade affects the aggregate of a country's wealth.

This is a matter which has been already over-laboured by writers on Free Trade. Regarded in its influence on production, Free Trade is simply an expedient for carrying the principle of the division of employment into International Commerce. As it is found in a domestic industry that the largest quantity is produced when each man confines himself to a particular department, so it can be shown conclusively that wealth will accumulate most rapidly in a country which produces those articles, in the production of which it has especial natural advantages, and exchanges these for the other things it needs. Just as a baker would waste his time by making his own clothes, so will a nation spend its labour uselessly by producing articles at greater cost than it can buy them from another country. Nature gives gratuitously to every country advantages peculiar to itself—to one it is coal, to another iron, to another wheat, to another wool—but, thanks to Free Exchange, men in every quarter of the globe can serve themselves of these free gifts. These may seem dogmatic statements, resting on no proof, but the arguments by which they are established have been skipped, because it is believed, after a perusal of the writings of most of the Protectionist economists, that the effect of Free Trade in increasing National Wealth has never been disputed. Protection is justified on other grounds, chiefly moral and political, but not because of its effect upon the aggregate of wealth produced. Under such a policy, production admittedly takes place with greater effort and at greater cost, although this loss is supposed to be made up by counterbalancing advantages.

Here it may be mentioned that Free Traders readily admit that Protection must at first raise Wages in the protected trade. If you put a tax of 10 per cent, on all imported boots, the employer would have a larger margin of profit out of which he could pay his men. But this increase would be only temporary. Men would crowd in from other trades to get the higher Wages, and employers would come in from other businesses in order to obtain the higher profits. The result of this internal competition would be to depress Wages back to the former level: moreover, other trades would, in their turn, demand to be protected, and the bootmakers would have to pay away to the workmen in other trades whatever extra profit they might make themselves; and if it is thought that this will give everybody high Wages, let it be remembered that all-round Protection can never be fully carried out. The immense body of clerks, seamen, retail dealers, carriers, and all those who do not themselves actually take part in the manufacture of an article, cannot have an import duty imposed in their favour. They are, as regards those articles which a tariff could touch, consumers only. They must consequently suffer from a

rise in prices, and their suffering will recoil upon the producing classes by lessening the demand for products of consumption. All-round Protection will also cause in a more aggravated form that un-settlement of trade, which will be referred to in the following pages as one of the most hurtful effects of a Protective policy. It will also give rise to the lowest forms of political corruption by the temptations which it offers to manufacturers to obtain modifications of the tariff for their own advantage; and if these arguments should not be thought sufficiently deterrent, and if any Protectionist really thinks that by putting taxes upon all imports he can raise Wages in all industries, let him answer this question—"Where does the money come from so pay the higher Wages?" Either a tariff raises prices, or it does not. If it does not raise prices, then Wages cannot be higher, because the Protectionist assertion is that the lowness of prices under Free Trade is the cause of low Wages; if it does raise prices, how is it that, although everyone has to give more for what he wants, there is a larger sum available for Wages? Where does the money come from? By whose labour is it created? These are questions which Protectionists must answer. The present Pamphlet is not intended to deal with the points raised, being confined entirely to considering the effect of Free Trade upon Wages, but they are none the less questions of importance in the Free Trade controversy.

It will, therefore, be waste of time to quote more than one instance to illustrate these statements.

In 1840 there were nearly 1000 articles upon the English tariff, and in that year the exports of British and Irish produce from Great Britain were valued at £51,400,000. In 1845 Sir Robert Peel carried a Free Trade Budget, by which export duties were abolished, and many taxes upon imports were also abolished or reduced. In the following year, 1846, the value of exports was £57,000,000; in 1850 it was £71,300,000; in 1860 it was £135,800,000; in 1870, £199,586,822; and in 1880 it had increased beyond 200 millions. But it will be said by what title do you claim the credit of this increase for Free Trade alone. Have not railways been discovered in those fifty years, and have not great improvements taken place in every kind of mechanism, to which at least some portion of this growth of trade may be accredited? Undoubtedly! But, none the less, it can be proved that it is to the removal of the checks upon the intercourse of nations that we chiefly owe this increase; nay, more, we can go further, and show that it is only through Free Trade that men can reap the full advantage of mechanical improvements.

These statements can be substantiated in two ways. The first method is a comparison of the condition of trade in the years immediately preceding the remission of a tax on imports, with its condition in the years immediately following. If, then, it is found that in every case a dose of Free Trade has been followed by an otherwise inexplicable increase in the volume of a country's commerce, it may fairly be concluded that there is some connection between this increase and the legislation which preceded it. Or we may adopt a second method of enquiry, and endeavour to ascertain the influence of mechanical or locomotive agencies when they are at work without Free Trade, in order to deduct their influence from the total increase.

This latter method is extremely complicated, and not perhaps altogether satisfactory, owing to the difficulty of making an accurate estimate of the value of the locomotive factor. Fortunately, however, the matter has been thoroughly considered by the greatest living master of finance, Mr. Gladstone, in a paper published in the *Nineteenth Century* of February, 1880. Without attempting to summarise that paper, it may be useful just to indicate the method of Mr. Gladstone's enquiry. He first estimates the average increase in the volume of Trade caused in England by the use of railways up to 1842, the first year of Free Trade legislation. For twenty years, from 1810 to 1830, English trade was almost stationary. With the invention of railways came a sudden increase, which continued year by year as new railways were opened. The first instalment of Free Trade took place in 1842, so that the growth of trade since 1830, but previously to that date, may, for the purpose of this calculation, fairly be set down to locomotive agencies alone. But how are we to use the figures thus obtained for the purpose of comparison with other years? Mr. Gladstone attempts to get over this difficulty in the following way:—He takes the number of miles of a railway open during the years 1830 to 1842, together with the mileage receipts during the same years, and on the assumption that the increase we have spoken of was owing to the locomotive agencies alone, he arrives at a rough estimate of the effect of each new mile of railway upon the volume of English trade. Then he calculates from this basis, the deductions to be made from the yearly increase in that volume subsequently to 1842 on account of railways, and making an equal deduction on account of telegraphs and ocean steamships, he arrives at a conclusion that by far the largest portion of the increase in English trade during the last forty years has to be assigned to other causes. The conclusion is, at best, imperfect; but it is at least as worthy of attention as the unsupported statements of Protectionist orators and letter-writers that the whole of the improved condition of our trade in recent years is owing to mechanical inventions.

The first of the two methods already referred to gives more accurate results, and enables us to make a more precise estimate of the effect upon trade of the removal of Protectionist restrictions. This method is, as has been stated, a comparison between the exports of the years immediately preceding Free Trade legislation and those of the years immediately following it, in order to see whether the removal of restrictive laws produces any

effect upon the expansion of trade. But first let us look at the state of trade during the years 1816-1830, when railways were not invented and Protection had the field entirely to itself. It is instructive to find that during those fifteen years of peace, down to 1830 inclusive, although mechanical invention was in constant growth, the value of British exports remained almost stationary at about £36,000,000, or, if we took into account the growth of population during that period, that there was an actual decline in the value per head of the population. Well may Mr. Gladstone say that during those years Protection proved itself to be, in the United Kingdom at least, but another name for paralysis!

The first instalment of Free Trade legislation was granted in 1842, by which time, thanks to the growth of railways, English exports had increased to £51,400,000, but the remissions of duty did not take effect until 1843. That year is consequently the first in which the influence of Free Trade can be perceived. The concession to freedom was very slight, consisting almost entirely of a permission to import certain articles, which had previously been prohibited, at reasonable duties; yet, slight as the concession was, the three years, 1843-45, showed an average export of £57,000,000, an aggregate growth that is of £6,000,000, and an annual growth one year with another of two millions.

The second instalment of Free Trade was given by Sir Robert Peel in the year 1845. By the tariff of that year all export duties were abolished, and 430 out of 813 articles of raw material were admitted free of duty; but the Corn Laws, the Navigation Laws, and the Sugar Duties remained untouched. The three years during which this tariff was in force were marked by three great calamities. The first, scarcity in England and famine in Ireland; the second, commercial panic with the suspension of the Bank Charter Act in 1847; and the third, in 1848, wars and revolutions on the Continent, which in one year drove our exports down £6,000,000. In the days of more stringent Protection, any one of similar occurrences had caused a disastrous decline; under Free Trade, however, the result of all of them combined was little more than a stoppage of growth. The average of the exports for the three years, 1845-8, was £56,500,000, as compared with £57,000,000, which had been the average of the period from 1842 to 1845.

The third dose of Free Trade was given in 1849 by the repeal of the Corn Laws at the beginning of that year, and the abolition of more than 100 other taxes upon imports, together with the repeal of the Navigation Acts later in the Parliamentary session. For that year the exports rose suddenly from £52,800,000 to £63,500,000. The rise steadily continued, so that the average annual value of exports for the three years, 1849 to 1852, was £72,000,000, representing an increase of £15,000,000 per annum over the preceding triennium.

The fourth instalment of Free Trade legislation begun with the new tariff of 1853. The three years from 1853-55, notwithstanding the Crimean war, show an average export of £97,000,000. From 1853, a very flourishing year, with an export of £78,000,000, we pass to 1894, with the enormous increment of £20,000,000, and a total export value of £98,000,000. The effect of the war is seen during the next two years by the exports remaining about stationary; but, in spite of this, the average for the three years, 1853-5, is £94,000,000 or an increase of £22,000,000 on the previous triennium. This increase continued steadily up to 1859.

The fifth and last Free Trade period is marked by Mr. Cobden's French Treaty, and by the Customs Act of 1860, which finally established the principle that no protective duties should be charged, and by the repeal of the paper duties. This was again followed by an increase in our exports; but it is not possible to estimate the quantity of this increase for any purpose of comparison, since we have no limit provided by any fresh epoch of Free Trade legislation. It is, however, very noteworthy that since the removal of the Free Trade stimulus—if we leave out of account the exceptional years 1870-75, when owing to the consequences of the Franco-German war trade advanced by leaps and bounds—the increase in English exports tends to become more regular and steady, as if it were henceforward to be attributed mainly to the growth of population.

It may be that these figures are not rigidly conclusive, because social problems do not admit of being demonstrated like a rule of mathematics. But let any candid man put this question to himself—"Supposing that in any other case but one in which Protection was at issue with Free Trade, I found that legislation of a certain character was always followed by the same results, for which no other cause can be suggested, must I not therefore conclude that there is a close connection between this legislation and the subsequent events?" This is a test which we should recognise in every other matter of political experience, and Free Traders only ask that the same openness of mind and the same readiness to look to facts alone should be displayed by everyone who enters on this field of controversy. But, lest it should be imagined that the same results as those which have been quoted with regard to English trade can also be exhibited in a Protected Country, it is desirable to make a very brief reference to the figures of American trade.

America for the past twenty-five years has been a very hotbed of Protection. In no other country are the natural resources so enormous and so easily available. There are millions of acres of alluvial land, with soil thirty feet deep; there are minerals of every kind, coal fields, oil wells, and every sort of natural product in astonishing abundance, and moreover these resources are not locked up in inaccessible regions, but are brought near to the markets of the world by a most extensive system of railway and river communication. Add to all this

that on an average 200,000 immigrants are being poured into the country every year, representing each of them a capital expenditure of £200, or a total increase of forty million pounds per annum to the national capital, and that America has neither to bear the expense of a Civil List nor of a costly armament, and we have a combination of every circumstance most favourable to the increase of wealth. And America enjoys as well the blessing of Protection!

Well! In 1840 the exports (and it is the exports and not the imports to which Protectionists attach a value as an indication of the state of trade) from America were £1 11s. 1d. per head of the population. The exports from Great Britain in the same year were £1 18s. 9d. In ten years' time, American trade had decreased 13 per cent., and the exports in 1850 were £1 3s. 2d. The increase in Great Britain during those ten years had been 30 per cent., and the average of her exports was £2 11s. 10d. per head. The same disparity between the rate of increase between the two countries was kept up throughout the next ten years, and in 1860, while England was exporting £4 14s. 7d. per head, the exports from America per head were only £2 10s. 11d.

Between 1860 and 1870 the Civil War arrested the growth of American trade, so that the exports of 1870 were only £2 6s. 11d. per head, or a decrease of 7 per cent. The exports from Great Britain during that period had, on the contrary, increased about 70 per cent., and the exports for the corresponding year were £6 7s. 11d. In 1880 the exports from England were £6 9s. 5d. per head as against £3 8s. 1d. from America. That is to say, an English workman makes for export nearly twice the quantity of goods which he could make in the protected country of America; and as a proof that this is owing to Free Trade, let attention be directed to the figures already quoted. Previously to Free Trade, that is in 1840, the exports per head from England and America were within a few shillings of each other, but since that time the difference has become much greater, and, with the exception of the period when America was recovering from the war, the distance has been increasing in each decade.

The statistics of imports tell the same story. The imports per head of the population of the United Kingdom in 1880 were nearly four times those of the population of the United States, the figures being £11 18s. 7d. for the United Kingdom, and £3 os. 9d. for the United States. And lest it should be thought that this is owing to Protection having closed the American market against the foreigner, let us remember that the increase in the total imports into America between 1840 and 1880 is 610 per cent., as compared with an increase of only 560 per cent, in the total exports.

The first point in the argument is now established, namely, that Free Trade is more favourable than Protection to an increase in the aggregate of National Wealth.

Attacks upon Free Trade must, therefore, be directed to another quarter. It is absurd to say that because Free Trade increases the amount of wealth to be distributed, it lessens upon that account the share of anyone.

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We arrive, therefore, at the second head of our enquiry as to the effect of Free Trade in Raising Wages, viz.—Does Free Trade depress the Labourer? Let us recapitulate. The products of industry, we have said, viewed as an aggregate, have to be divided between the two classes of labourers and employers (rent may be left out of account in the present argument, because it is only a deduction from the share of each class, after the division has been made). Wages and profits—these are the two factors which, roughly speaking, make up the sum total of human wealth. Now, there is no reason why, as labour becomes more fruitful, and the aggregate of wealth increases, Wages and Profits should not rise together in the same proportion. But it might be that the causes which have made wealth greater, have also strengthened one class and depressed the other, so that the increase is not properly divided between labourers and employers. Now, Protectionists assert that this is the case with Free Trade. They say that the policy encourages monopolies, and tends to place the labourer at the mercy of a rich employer. The question therefore comes to this—" Does Free Trade increase profits at the expense of Wages?" and to this Free Traders must attempt an answer.

It is a commonplace of certain writers that the interests of employer and employed are identical. So they are—up to a certain point. It is certainly to the interest of both parties to a bargain that each should be in a position to fulfil his part; but, none the less, they would not usually regard their interests as identical while they were making terms. It is the same in striking the bargain between Capital and Labour. There is a point below which Wages cannot be reduced without impairing the efficiency of Labour, and there is a point below which profits cannot be reduced without discouraging the use of Capital. But between these two points there is a wide field of debateable ground. Every pound of profit beyond the least which will induce the capitalist to employ all available labour is so much to be fought for by the Wage-Receiver; every shilling of Wages beyond that which is enough to make the labourer able to do justice to his power of work is so much taken from potential profits. High Wages and great profits may occur together when labour is efficient, but to say that high Wages mean low Profits, and great Profits mean low Wages is not a contradiction to this statement, if it is understood with reference to that margin of distributable produce which remains when both Capital and Labour have received their minimum.

This is how it comes about that Trade Unions can raise Wages. A Trade Union is to the workman just what Capital is to an employer. It enables him to wait until the market for his labour rises. Alone, a workman must take work or starve; in union, he can wait for better times. Of the many other virtues of Trade Unions, of their social services as benefit societies and sick clubs, of their intellectual services in giving practice in affairs, of their moral services in encouraging honest workmanship and in stimulating self respect, it is not necessary to speak in this connection. It is to their effect in raising Wages that attention ought to be directed, because it is with Wages that we are now dealing, and because it may be shown that Free Trade acts in raising Wages by making Trade Unions more intelligent and more effective.

The power of a Trade Union depends greatly upon two things, the number of its members, and its knowledge of the markets.

Now Protection tends to create a number of small industries, or, to use a simile which was first suggested by Bastiat—instead of collecting water in a deep reservoir, it scatters it among numerous claypans which the summer heat evaporates.

Under Free Trade, on the contrary, natural resources are developed more slowly, but the industries are on a larger scale.

For an example, the following may be cited from the Victorian Trade Statistics given in Hayter's Year Book for 1883:—Shot manufactories—2 establishments, 9 hands: ships, wheels, blocks, etc., manufactories—3 establishments, 10 hands: macaroni works—2 establishments, 4 hands: curled hair manufactories—2 establishments, 9 hands. There are 29 different protected industries mentioned in Mr. Hayter's list, which severally employ less than 30 hands, and 67 which employ less than 100 each. In almost all these cases, and in many others, it would be cheaper to the country to give pensions to all the hands employed, and remove the Tariff. The manufacture of pianofortes, for example, gives employment to 24 men. For their protection a tax is levied on imported pianos, amounting to £21.175 per annum. If each of these 24 men were to receive from the Government a free pension of £500 a year, as a compensation for removing the tax on pianos, they would get more than they get at present, and the people of Victoria would save nearly £10,000 a year.

Follow the effect of this difference in an individual struggle. Suppose that every attempt at settling a dispute in a particular trade has failed, and that a strike has taken place: How much weaker is the Union where the workmen are dispersed in small bodies among numerous industries artificially created? How can it be supposed that the nine men and boys who form the total number of hands employed in the great industry of manufacturing curled hair in an adjoining colony could enforce their demands against an employer? Let them strike! The master can still supply his customers by imported goods. He loses for a time the extra profit which the tariff gives him, and the interest on his plant, and that is all. But when a strike takes place in a large industry of natural growth, employers cannot execute their orders by importing goods, because the very fact of the industry existing in a Free Trade country shows that goods can be produced in that country more cheaply than they can be imported. Consequently anyone who imported goods to supply his customers would do so at a loss. Employers therefore have a stronger material inducement in a Free Trade country to come to terms with their men.

The difference in the size of a protected and of a natural industry tells also in another way. The employer of labour in a protected country can more readily change the direction of his capital, both on account of the smaller amount invested in machinery and plant, and also because of the variety of openings which Protection gives to a manufacturer at the expense of the rest of the community. Our friend, the curled-hair maker, to return to our former example, would find it much easier to change his occupation and become, say, a macaroni manufacturer (a protected industry in the colony of Victoria, which, in two establishments, employs four men), than if he had employed ten thousand men, and if there had been no tariff to promise him profits from the pockets of consumers in whatever trade he undertook.

Trade Unions have been spoken of, so far, as if they were nothing more than a weapon of industrial warfare. But it must not be forgotten that, in reality, the main purpose of a well-organised Trade Society is the prevention of strikes. Nevertheless, in every case, a strike remains the Wage-Receiver's last resource. It is the knowledge that the workman has that weapon lying by which constitutes his strength. *Si vis pacem, bellum para*—He is left at peace because he is prepared for war. Everybody knows, however, that nothing could be more disastrous to the Working Classes than an unsuccessful strike. It not only paralyses industry—that is done by every strike, no matter what its result—but it consumes the savings of years without the least return. A strike, at any time, is a doubtful expedient, to which wise leaders will only be driven in extremities; but to strike upon a falling market is simply suicidal. It follows, therefore, that it is of the highest importance to the Working Classes that the leaders of their Unions should be well-informed. Now it is just in this respect that Free Trade gives an advantage. Free Trade means closer and more frequent intercourse with foreign countries, through which is gained a knowledge of the markets and a solidarity of the Working Classes in different countries, which is of inestimable value. Men, in a protected country, have but little means of knowing what is the

condition of any market save their own. They cannot tell what channels are open for export, nor do they know what stores are ready to furnish the supply, which they themselves have stopped; while, from their policy of isolation, they will find it hard to act in concert with their fellow workmen in another country. But a Free Trade industry, since it is not created only to supply the home demand, will answer to the changes in the markets of many different countries, so that both masters and workmen run less danger of mistaking a local congestion or a local failure for a universal phenomenon. It is in fact observed everywhere that the larger and more powerful the Trade Union, the better are the relations between masters and men. Thus the Society of Amalgamated Engineers, whose head-quarters is in England, comprises 50,000 members, has invested capital of nearly £300,000, and an annual income of £130,000. It has 390 branches, and correspondents in almost every civilised country. It has been in existence for thirty-three years, and during all that time there has only been one trade dispute, which has not been peaceably settled. The Society of Boiler Makers furnishes another example of the increased efficiency and intelligence given to Trade Unions by Free Trade. That society has 20,000 members, with an income of £40,000 a year, and an invested capital of £50,000. Many other instances might be given, but anyone who cares to follow up these enquiries can see in Mr. Howell's work upon the Conflicts of Capital and Labour abundant evidence of the assertion that strikes occur more frequently in the small and local societies, and that a larger organisation and amalgamation of local Unions makes peaceable settlements more easy.

But it is not necessary to go so far afield as England to show that in a protected country, where every industry is artificially created and artificially sustained, the Working Classes have less strength than they would have, if their labour were allowed to flow in its natural channels. A sufficient illustration can be taken from the recently-published Report of the proceedings of the Trade Union Congress at Melbourne during the present year. Victoria is a country with a more democratic constitution than that of New South Wales, and one in which the Working Classes might therefore be presumed to have a greater influence. Nevertheless, in two matters of the highest importance the Working Men of Victoria do not yet enjoy the same advantages which we enjoy in Free Trade New South Wales. The Victorians are still demanding the Employer's Liability Act which we received in 1881; and they are still demanding that Trade Unions shall be recognised to have a legal existence.

It would be difficult to name two measures which more closely touch the welfare of the Working Classes, and yet, in that country, which, according to Protectionists, is the Paradise of the Working Man, neither of these measures has been yet obtained. The greater power of the Working Classes in a Free Trade country could hardly be more strikingly illustrated.

The same phenomenon can be observed in America. There also the power of Trade Unions is less than it is in England. This is doubtless owing to other causes besides Protection, such as the mobility of the population and the exaggerated sense of personal independence, which characterises the inhabitants of a young country; but the phenomenon is none the less very striking. It is hard to believe that, were American industry left quite untrammelled, it could continue in its present state of disorganisation. Workmen in America are, at present, able to protect themselves by the facilities which the Continent offers for migration to new employment; but they are none the less underpaid as compared with English workmen, if the cost of living be taken into account, and in very few States is there any legal restriction upon the number of hours which make a day's work.

But there is little use in proving that Free Trade ought to cause a rise in Wages, unless it can be also shown that, that, which ought to be, has actually happened. With regard to Wages in England this is capable of proof.

The first authority upon the point is Mr. Brassey, the well-known contractor, who, in his book entitled "Work and Wages," has analysed the pay-sheets of his enormous business during the last thirty years, and given a faithful record of the rise and fall of Wages, during that period, in the two great trades of the Builders and the Engineers; secondly, there is a collection of Statistics made in 1866 by Professor Leone Levi and Mr. Dudley Baxter, under the title of "Wages and Earnings of the Working Class." These are collected chiefly from private sources, and most of the information appears to be drawn from the more favoured trades, so that, without questioning the accuracy of the figures themselves, the estimate of the average earnings of the Working Classes, so arrived at by these gentlemen, is somewhat too high. The last, and perhaps the most useful source of authentic information, is the annual return furnished by the Chambers of Commerce in different centres to the English Board of Trade. These are published among the Miscellaneous Statistics of the United Kingdom, and will be the chief figures relied upon in the course of this Essay. From these reports, although they are arranged without reference to any system, and on miscellaneous principles of confusion and inconvenience, it is possible to obtain a continuous record of the Wages paid, during the last forty years, in the four great English industries—the Cotton, Woollen, Worsted, and Iron Trades—in which considerably more than one-half of the artisan population is employed. These records also contain much information about other departments of labour, from which it can be shown that, in many other industries there has been an enormous advance in Wages, while, at the same time, there has been a lessening in the hours of labour, so that many workmen now get twice as much pay in a day of nine hours as they did formerly in a day of twelve hours. Mr. Giffen, who is the head of the Statistical Department of the Board of Trade, considers that the average wage of a Working Man has

doubled since 1830. It is possible that this is the case, and certainly no one can differ without hesitation from such a great authority as Mr. Giffen; but the average advance in Wages certainly does not appear to be so great in the four great industries already mentioned. The statement is quite accurate with regard to skilled labour, the rewards for which have, in many cases, even more than doubled; but among the body of unskilled labourers in the Iron, Worsted, Woollen, and Cotton Trades, the increase, so far as can be gathered from the Board of Trade Statistics, is not more than from 25 to 50 per cent. In fact, it is a remarkable illustration of the truth which has been mentioned earlier in these pages that the stronger the labourer, and the better he is able to protect himself, the more likely is he to obtain good Wages, that these figures show that, not only is it the class of skilled labourers who have benefited most, but, in almost every case, they have been the first to get the advantage of a rising market. Indeed, the figures of the Cotton, Woollen, Worsted, and Iron Trades lead to these two conclusions: First, that the increase of Wages has been largest among the best paid class of artisans, less among the class of medium ability, and least among the common labourers; and, secondly, that a rise in Wages comes earliest to the best paid class, later to the middle class, and latest to the unskilled workman. These assertions are not put forward as the invariable laws of rising Wages, but they are certainly conclusions from a large number of important observations. [See Appendix.]

But, it may be said, the unskilled labourers form the mass of the community, and since it is the poorest classes that suffer most, it is in their prosperity that the country is most interested. This leads to another branch of our enquiry, viz., whether Wages have increased beyond the greater cost of living. There can be no doubt that even the poorest workman receives more money than he used, but does a sovereign in England go as far now as it did thirty years ago? In the hands of a workman it does! If anyone will make a table of the articles of a labourer's consumption, and, by a reference to any book on Prices in the Public Library, estimate the cost of living, say thirty years ago, and at the present time, he will find that in respect of most items of a labourer's ex-expenditure there has been a marked decrease of price, and that in respect of only two items has there been any increase. These two are meat and house rent. The price of meat has nearly doubled, and rent has increased one and a half times. But none the less it is not true, as has been written, that Rent has swallowed up the *whole* of the increase in workman's Wages. Theoretically, Mr. George's views are sound enough. Imagine a country with entirely unrestrained competition, with a limited quantity of land in private hands, shut out from all foreign trade, and its people prohibited from emigrating, then, undoubtedly, Rent would increase at the expense of both Wages and Profits. But these theoretical conditions do not prevail in any country in the world, not even in Ireland, and in a Free Trade country least of all.

Take a simple instance. Suppose that where a man paid 5s. a week for rent, he now pays 12s., and that his Wages have increased in that period from 15s. to 25s. a week. In the one case he would have a balance for other purposes of 10s.—5s. from 15s., in the other a balance of 13s.—12s. from 25s. Moreover, house accommodation now is better than it was, and larger rents are paid partly in consequence of the larger capital invested in buildings. Nor has the greater cost of meat reduced the workman's real income. By making a table of the average expenses of a workman with a wife and three children in 1840 and at the present time, it will be found that, while, in 1840, an unskilled workman seldom eat meat more than once a week, now, allowing for meat every day, and allowing for the rise in rent, he has a larger balance than he used to have. That is to say, under a Free Trade policy, even where the rise in Wages has been lowest, namely, among the class of unskilled labourers, it has at least outpaced the increase in the cost of living. Many other facts point to the same conclusion. The consumption of tea and sugar, for example, per head of the population, is now four times what it used to be in the days of Protection. It is the same with the consumption of Rice, Tobacco, Wine and Spirits, and similar luxuries. What better evidence could be given that the prosperity of the last forty years has been diffused among the masses. The articles named are none of them such that the increased consumption of the rich could have made much difference. They are emphatically poor men's luxuries.

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But there is an even more important consideration with regard to Wages, namely, the steadiness of prices since Free Trade. In the days before Free Trade, the price of a quartern loaf was seldom steady for a month together. When England was dependent for her corn, upon the products of the Home Market, every frost and every fall of rain might be the presage of starvation. The price of a quarter of wheat has often doubled in a single year, while, since Free Trade, it seldom varies more than between ten and fifteen shillings. Or, to give another illustration of the same fact, the price of the quartern loaf, which in one year reached eighteenpence, and in another sold for fourpence, has, since Free Trade, remained almost stationary between fivepence halfpenny and sevenpence. And not only so: While under Protection, high prices were the rule; under Free Trade they are exceptional; so, that, in twenty years, the average price of wheat has been reduced 10s. the quarter. It is perhaps difficult for those, who have never lived in a country, where poverty and want abound, to realise the inestimable boon of such a state of things. But those who have read the literature of Charlist Period, such tales, for instance, as Kingsley's "Yeast," or Disraeli's "Sybil," know well that, in those days, the varying

price of corn continually drove the Working Classes to sheer starvation. Periodic starvation was, in fact, the condition of the Working Men in England previously to the introduction of Free Trade; and, if this statement seem exaggerated, the cruellest and most rigid proof of it is given by the tables of mortality. The returns of the Registrar-General show an increase in the number of deaths with every rise in the price of bread.

It is sufficient to speak only of the price of corn, because that has given the most striking illustration of the working of Free Trade; but it would be possible to show that, the prices of other articles are, similarly, both lowered and steadied by the removal of a tax on importation.

It is, in fact, impossible that Free Trade should have any other result; since, by opening many sources of supply, it lessens the chance of a general failure, and makes the market independent of local accidents. Suppose, for instance, that we were dependent for our iron supply, only on the furnaces of Lithgow, the price of iron might be doubled in a day by any one of many accidents. A strike, a breakage of machinery, disease among the workmen, might any of them temporarily stop the output. But, when we can buy iron from England, Belgium, and America, and (as we may hope shortly to be able to add) from Lithgow also, the failure of one market would only have a small effect upon prices in the others. The wider the area for production, the greater the security for steadiness.

But, by making prices steadier, Free Trade produces a direct effect in steadying Wages. For, since real Wages consist not so much in money as in money's worth, whatever steadies the prices of articles in common use, makes it easier to estimate incomes and to calculate expenditure. This offers opportunities for saving, and creates a sense of independence and security, which no one can fail to appreciate. Nor is the benefit of steady prices confined to Working Men. Employers also find it an advantage to know beforehand all the items of their outlay. From being able to make more certain estimates, they are encouraged to undertake more business; and they can undertake this at a lower cost, without reducing Wages, because the risk is lessened. This activity in business soon reacts upon the Wages of the labourer, until it is shown by yet another instance that Free Trade means Great Trade, and Great Trade means Prosperity. Moreover, through this steadying effect on prices, Free Trade proves itself to be a great security against commercial crises. Fluctuating trade, with all its misery of wasted efforts, savings squandered, homes destroyed, is an evil, which lies far outside the range of any fiscal policy. But, although the cause of fluctuating trade is independent either of Protection or Free Trade, Free Trade at least can mitigate its evil. Wars, excessive speculation, dishonesty, gambling in land—these are among the causes of commercial crises which cannot be affected by Free Trade, and with regard to which Protection is most certainly as impotent. But Free Trade does at least remove one source of danger. It gives a larger area for the production of raw materials, so that no industry is now dependent upon the supply of a single country.

Closely connected with this virtue is the effect of Free Trade in giving a more accurate knowledge of the state of distant markets. A Free Trade country, which encourages intercourse with foreigners, is less likely to mistake its markets than one whose policy is isolation. The danger of producing goods, which are not wanted at the time, is plainly lessened by a closer intercourse with those who are your customers. Free Trade, like Telegraphs and Railways, serves to keep producers and consumers both informed as to each other's needs. Thus, although commercial crises will continue to occur in Free Trade countries, there is perhaps no risk of their resembling some of those in earlier times, when, for instance, a cargo of skates was shipped to the Brazils, and grand pianos lay upon the beach at Valparaiso for the want of storage room, and diamond tiaras were consigned for sale among the savages of South America! Moreover, when the crisis comes, the Workman will be more prepared to meet it in a Free Trade country. In the first place, owing to the greater accumulation of capital, employers will be able to keep business going for a longer time. Secondly, the larger foreign trade will afford a quicker outlet for the surplus stock, and bring the market sooner to its normal state; while, whether the spasm be prolonged or momentary, the workman's greater power of saving and the lower price of his domestic necessaries will both relieve the pressure of the harder times.

This is no imaginary picture. Between 1877 and 1880, England suffered from a Trade depression as profound as any in her history. During that period the writer once counted, within the limits of a two hours walk outside a midland country town, no less than 16 starving men tramping to find work. But there is no need to multiply instances. That time is near in all our recollections. It was the time of reaction from the artificial stimulus which followed the conclusion of the Franco-German War. It was also itself a time of war in Europe, Africa, and Asia. There was such a famine in Ireland as had not been known since 1846, and for seven consecutive years the English harvest had been bad. Events like these in former days produced the Luddite and the Chatst Riots. Yet during those three years in England there was not one single outbreak. There were splutterings of a disorder in France, Germany and Spain, while in America the workers in the iron trade, the most protected industry of that protected country, suffered such extremities that they broke into actual riot and occupied the town of Pittsburg.

But that is not all. Not only was England quiet when other countries were disordered; but, in spite of her difficulties and in spite of the slackness of work during those three years, there was actually no perceptible

increase in the number of paupers. The Working Class largely lived upon their savings. It is hardly possible to offer a more pointed illustration of the working of a Free Trade policy.

Yet all the recent facts of English industrial history point to the same conclusion. Crime has diminished; pauperism has diminished; the deposits in the Savings' Banks have increased; the funds of the Friendly Societies have increased; the consumption of domestic articles in common use, per head of the population, is nearly three times what it was in 1840; the rate of mortality has declined, so that on an average a man lives two years and a woman three and a half years longer than they used.

Where, we may ask again, is it possible to get an accumulation of facts like these to support the contrary conclusion of Protectionists that Free Trade has injured the Working Classes?

No doubt Protection in a young country and Protection in England are supported by very different arguments; but English experience is at least of so much value that it justifies us in putting Protectionists to a proof of their assertions. They tell us that Free Trade creates monopolies; they tell us that Free Trade increases profits at the expense of Wages; they tell us that Free Trade produces paupers! The contrary has been the case in England! Let them prove their statements! And surely, too, there is something reasonable in holding to a policy which has already done so much? Terrible, indeed, is the present misery of the poor in England, and little enough has been their improvement, even measured by a low ideal, so that it is hard to see things as they are without desiring something like a revolution for the better. Still, the fact of an enormous progress must be kept in view; progress which may not be recognised until comparison is made with the former state of things. As Mr. Giffen warns us—"Discontent with the present must not make us forget that things have been so much worse."

It was said earlier that the particular requirements of the Working Class are (1stly) High and Steady Wages, (2ndly) good and convenient dwellings, (3rdly) provision against sickness and old age.

So far an attempt has been made to show the effect of Free Trade upon the first of these requirements only; and the argument, if it has been followed, leads to these results:—That Free Trade has only an indirect influence in making Wages high by increasing the national productiveness, but that with respect to the steadying of Wages it produces a direct effect by widening the area of production. This equalises markets, cheapens the articles of common use, and lessens the danger of commercial crises. Consequently Free Trade benefits the Working Class in two ways, indirectly by increasing the aggregate of a country's wealth, and strengthening the workman in obtaining his share, and, directly, by steadying Wages and reducing prices.

We have now to examine the attitude of Free Trade towards other Working Class grievances. Mention has been made at the conclusion of the last section of the diminution in the number of these grievances, and the growing improvement in the condition of the poorer classes. But much still remains to be done, and much which cannot be affected either by Protection or Free Trade. Crowded homes, an existence without pleasure, an insecure old age, are causes of complaint which cannot be removed by any changes in a fiscal policy. No mere tariff reform will give the poorer workmen healthy and convenient dwellings, or find them openings for secure investment, or relieve the monotony of their dull existence.

But, if Free Trade provide no remedy for many social grievances, it offers no hostility to any that may be proposed. Its attitude towards social questions is completely neutral. For Free Trade is not a principle of Government, but an expedient of commerce. It is an expedient of commerce, just like credit or bank notes, of which the special function is to cheapen produce and to level markets. Within its proper field, which is that of production, it justifies the utmost competition, and proves the value of allowing the greatest freedom in the choice of occupation and in the manner of exchange. But to carry the doctrines of Free Trade from the field of Production into that of Distribution inevitably leads to anarchy.

This is a doctrine which many writers on Free Trade have been unwilling to accept, with the result, as has been said earlier in these pages, that their peculiar views have come to be connected with the doctrine of Free Trade, and that Free Trade is in consequence discredited among Working Men. Accordingly, before pointing out in detail the lines of social reform, which in a Free Trade country men have the leisure and the means to follow, it will be desirable to explain the scientific distinction between the application of Free Trade in commerce and the application of similar principles to general Government, and, more particularly, to illustrate and to enforce the radical distinction between the ideas which may be applied in the Production of Wealth and those which may be applied in its Distribution. Working Men have always insisted, by their actions, if not by their words, that the Production and the Distribution of Wealth stand upon different planes, so that the rules, which may apply to one, may be totally inapplicable to the other. Some Free Traders strenuously denounce this doctrine, and, strangely enough, invoke the experience derived from the practice of Free Trade to justify their denunciations. And yet the contention of the Working Classes is no less sound in theory than it is true in fact. The Wages of Labour and the Price of Goods are not in fact now, nor have they ever been, determined by the same forces; nor is that condition of free and equal competition, which political economy assumes in determining the Laws of Production and Exchange generally, if ever, present in determining what portion of the

Product the Labourer shall receive in Wages. That effective competition, which is the fundamental assumption of abstract Political Economy, does not exist between the two classes of Employers and Labourers. The Laws of Production and Exchange can be rigidly determined if we start with the assumption of free and universal competition; but when from the very nature of the case there cannot be an effective competition, then we must seek for different Laws by examining the different conditions. This is the theoretic distinction between the field of Production and the field of Distribution. Buyers and sellers may, for the purpose of an abstract argument, be presumed to stand towards each other on a footing of equality; but to assume that the competition between the employers on the one hand, and the Wage-receivers on the other is a competition between equal units, is so fanciful and contrary to fact that any conclusions drawn from such an assumption have little value under present circumstances.

Very slight consideration will show how misleading it may be to apply the principles which determine the Price of Goods to determining the Wages of Labour. The value of human Labour cannot be determined, like that of a commodity, simply by the higgling of the market Labour cannot be stored, moved, or sampled like a bale of goods. As Mr. Frederick Harrison puts it—"For those who have commodities to sell there is a true market Here competition acts rapidly, fully, simply, fairly, it is totally otherwise with a day labourer, who has no commodity to sell. He must be himself present at every market, which means costly personal locomotion. He cannot correspond with his employer: he cannot send a sample of his strength: nor do employers knock at his cottage door. Moreover, when buyer and seller meet, the bargain is made: his price is paid: the goods change hands: they part: the contract is complete: the transaction ends. But the relation of employer and employed is permanent, or at least continuous. It involves the entire existence of one at least; it implies sustained co-operation. This is no contract to sell something, it is the contract to do something; it is a contract of partnership or joint activity; it is an association involving every side of life."

These words contain the kernel of the Labour question, which Free Traders are apt to overlook. And yet, if we would persuade the Wage-receivers to support Free Trade, it cannot be too often repeated that such sentiments are not at variance with the teaching of that policy. Free Trade justifies unrestricted competition only within the field of Production, because within that field there is a competition between equal units. But within the field of Distribution, the competition is between unequal units. There is some approach to an equality between those who buy and those who sell commodities. Goods and Capital can both be moved from place to place, and the postponement of a sale or purchase leads only to a loss of money. But between the labourer and the employer equality rarely exists. The labourer is tied down to certain places by the ties of home, association, or necessity. He is seldom capable of any but a single occupation, at which he must find work or starve. Therefore, although Free Trade may be an expedient of great value in furthering the Exchange and the Production of Goods, it does not follow that the same policy should be applied in respect of their Distribution. Unlimited competition may be good in the one case, and evil in the other. Upon that Free Trade gives us no guide for pronouncing a judgment. Free Trade has a particular province, and within that province the practice of Free Trade has proved the benefit of competition being unrestricted by law. But Free Traders need not therefore make a Deity of Competition, and forbid us to regard its ravages. There is nothing in Free Trade which says that competition ought to be the governing influence of social life, "Rather," a Free Trader is inclined to say, "competition is a force of nature like a flood or a gale, which, in Bacon's phrase, 'Man must obey so as to command.'"

To hold otherwise, and to justify the reign of Competition pure and simple in the regulation of the Labour Market, is to reject experience. There is no period in English History in which the labourer has been left entirely unprotected in making terms with an employer. "Custom," as John Stuart Mill observed, "has always been the great protector of the weak against the strong." Many illustrations of this saying might be given if it were necessary, from the example of the growth of villeins into copyholders down to the example of a benevolent despotism, founded upon custom which may be seen in many English parishes at the present time. The artisan population has also been similarly protected. In the old days of domestic industries, the Trade Guilds, the power of which rested mainly upon custom, helped the labourer to a better footing, and prevented unscrupulous men from taking advantage of his weakness. But the Trade Guilds broke down before the accumulation of capital and the growth of foreign trade, while the introduction of machinery and the adoption of the factory system inaugurated an entirely new industrial era. A new set of employers grew up, with no high traditions of their class, and no public opinion to restrain them in their dealings with workmen. The consequence was that for some sixty years—from 1770 to 1830—the relations between employers and employed were largely determined by an unrestricted competition, with a result so frightful in its cruelty and horror that the experiment will never be repeated.

At last it was perceived that, under these new circumstances, legislation was imperative, in order to protect the workman. Then began the long series of enactments designed to place the workman more on an equality with his employer, such as the Factory Acts, the Mining Acts, the Friendly Societies and Trades Union Acts,

the Education Act, the Employes Liability Act, the Pawnbrokers Acts, the Irish Land Act of 1881, and many others. These were all, in the strict sense of the word, Socialistic measures. They invoked the intervention of the State to remedy artificial irregularities. They were all of them, as was said early in these pages, opposed in the name of Free Trade as an interference with Freedom of Contract. In reality they were attempts to establish a real state of Freedom, in which the stronger party to the bargain could not take advantage of the other's weakness. This sort of legislation is not ended yet. So long as there are any who are forced by external circumstances, in whose ordering they have had no voice, to start in the struggle for existence handicapped by want of education: so long as there are others who are weakened in the power of self-improvement by the conditions of society: so long as the State maintains any institutions which directly or indirectly cause to others physical misery or mental darkness: so long it will be the duty of Free Traders and Protectionists alike to agitate for a policy of action, which may bring us nearer to the time when inaction can be justified.

Thus far, we may claim to have shown that the practice of Free Trade opposes no obstacle of principle against a legislative remedy for the evils of unequal Distribution. It is not the purpose of this Pamphlet to advocate particular measures of social reform. It is enough at one time to point out that those reformers, who are following Protection, are being lured by a false light upon a wrong path. Legislation may, or may not, provide a cure for social evils. That is not a matter upon which Free Trade provides an answer. Towards legislation on such questions as the Eight Hours Movement, the prevention of Chinese Immigration, the settlement of the People on the Land, the attitude of Free Trade is neutral. It clears the ground for other agencies to work, and does not, of itself, build up the edifice.

Nevertheless, it should not be forgotten that, under a policy of Free Trade, there are strong tendencies at work towards social improvement, the efficiency of which would be materially impaired by Protection. These tendencies exist independently of legislation, although the influence of some of them might be extended by legal measures. But, for the present, it is not necessary to consider how far legislation can ameliorate the condition of the poorer classes. For the moment, we need only point out, what Protectionists apparently forget, that, even under the present industrial system, there are some tendencies at work towards social improvement both in the field of Production and in that of Distribution. After enumerating these we shall be able to judge whether their influence is greater under a Protective or a Free Trade policy.

In the first place, as telegraphs, railways, and steamships bring together the markets of the world, uncertainty as to the supply, which is the main element of gambling, tends to be eliminated. The China tea trade furnishes an illustration. In the old days of sailing ships, and before the telegraph, that trade was in the hands of a few merchants, who, from their large capital, could afford to leave a wide margin for their great risk. Now, however, thanks to the policy of Free Trade having allowed the English nation to make use of superior means of intercourse, the price of tea in China can be accurately fixed according to the state of the demand in London. Purchases are consequently made to meet actual orders, and the trade is distributed among men of smaller means. The same thing is taking place every year in other trades, so that in this respect, at any rate, there is a lessening of the danger of producing unsalable articles. Improved means of locomotion are tending everywhere to steady markets by bringing together the producer and consumer, and by making the supply of any article adjustable to the demand for it.

But of what advantage are facilities of intercourse with other countries to a nation which shuts itself within the wall of a protective tariff? No doubt in a protected country producer and consumer are near enough to know each other's wants, because the tariff shuts the door on foreign trade; but it is not enough to be able to calculate Demand alone, unless one can also calculate Supply. The home Demand of any country can be accurately estimated, whatever may be the fiscal policy; the problem is that the Supply should be adjusted accurately to that Demand. Under a Free Trade policy, every improvement in the means of intercourse gives assistance in the solving of this problem; but under a Protective tariff the Supply is drawn from limited and uncertain sources, and can find no outlet if it is excessive. Gluts and scarcities in consequence alternate, and the manufacturer is driven to relieve himself by periodic slaughterings of his surplus stock in foreign markets. The same thing will no doubt sometimes happen in a Free Trade country: that is not denied, nor is it in question in the present argument. Free Traders do not claim that their policy prevents commercial crises, but only that it removes some of their causes, and that it mitigates their ill effects. And, in particular, it lessens the chance of a commercial crisis arising from an inability to calculate markets, because it enables a nation to make the fullest use of every mechanical invention which brings nearer together those who are far off.

This suggests another expedient for adjusting the Supply to the Demand, which, although at present in its infancy, is already in successful operation, and promises to be the most important agency of moral and material growth, namely, the principle of cooperation.

Co-operation, if we analyse its working, is only another expedient for bringing together the producer and consumer. In Cooperative Distribution, the consumer buys his goods directly from the manufacturer, and thus saves for himself what would have been the profit of the middleman. In Co-operative Production, the workmen

gain the total profit of the article produced. By becoming their own employers they reap the full advantage of their work, and at the same time they have themselves alone to blame for any misdirection of their labour. As yet, however, Co-operative Production has very rarely been successful—the Rochdale Cotton Mills are perhaps the only exception—but the reason of this has not been any fault in the system, but in those who worked it. The greatest friend to Working Men is not he who is afraid to blame their failings, and it must be said that workmen up to present time have not succeeded in industrial enterprises. They have shown a want of those qualities which make up business aptitude, decision, patience, confidence in a leader, knowledge of the markets, so that, although Co-operative Production is, we may believe, destined to be the most important civilising influence which has yet appeared in the industrial system, attempts in that direction have at present failed, though a lack of the necessary moral qualities on the part of those who undertook them. The principles of Co-operation are, however, already at work, and their field is widening every year. Fortunately, also, they can work independently of any fiscal policy, with a beneficent influence which even Protection cannot weaken.

Thirdly, in addition to Co-operation and the improvement in the means of intercourse, there is yet another tendency at work within the field of Production to remove the evils which arise from misdirected labour. This is the continuing elevation in the average standard of comfort.

Everybody knows that one very disastrous cause of fluctuations in trade is the incalculable variety of fashion. For example, many men and women engaged in the Irish poplin trade, or in the manufacture of Bradford goods (to take another instance) have suffered the greatest misery, simply on account of a change in the caprice of a few women in London. Now, without necessarily offering suggestions on a matter of feminine costume, it may yet be pointed out to those, who think that there are no signs of improvement in the industrial world, that every increase in the wealth of the poorer classes tends to make Working Men more independent of the whims of fashion. As the standard of the poorer classes rises, their expenditure is chiefly upon necessaries, or upon those small luxuries, such as music, books, household ornaments, which, to a civilised man, make up three-quarters of his necessaries. The demand for such things will always be steadier than the demand for extravagant fopperies, and will increase with every improvement in general well-being. A clothing manufacturer, for instance, is much more certain of a steady trade with one thousand customers of the poorer class than with one hundred rich ones. The fancies of the rich will alter every season, but a class which has once worn broadcloth is never likely to go back to fustian.

Summing up, then, this branch of our enquiry, we find three tendencies at work to steady trade and to prevent the production, of unsaleable goods, namely, improvement in the means of locomotion, co-operation, and the more general diffusion of wealth. It is not, therefore, necessary to believe that Protection is the only remedy for industrial evils.

Passing now away from the field of Production, we can trace similar tendencies at work within the field of Distribution. It would be impossible and out of place at the conclusion of this Pamphlet to give a full account of all the methods by which Labour can protect itself. But, in view of the frequent assertion of Protectionists that Labourers must sink from bad to worse under a Free Trade régime, it is of use to show that the only means by which labour can obtain its proper portion of reward is something independent either of Protection or Free Trade.

Combination is the Workman's only source of strength. But Combination must not be entirely on one side.

Employers often give this answer when Trade Unions ask for higher Wages:—"The competition among ourselves is so severe, and the rate of profit is already cut so low, that if we give you higher Wages we shall have nothing for ourselves." That may be perfectly true, but the employers have the remedy in their own hands. Let them say to each other—Stop this reckless competition, and form a Union among ourselves to keep up rates or prices (as the case may be) to such a point that we can afford to give our Workmen reasonable Wages.

But, it will be said, this is an organisation of Employers and Workmen to benefit each other at the expense of the consumer. Undoubtedly it is; but this need not be the hardship that it looks; because, if the Workmen ask for an unreasonable Wage, so that prices have to be put up to an excessive height, consumers will join with other producers in a system of co-operation. It freights, for instance, should be raised too high, the merchants will become their own carriers; or, if the price of boots and clothes became excessive, a body of tailors and bootmakers would find it to their interest to agree together to supply exclusively the other's wants. Moreover, any scheme of combination must ultimately break down if public opinion is against it. One man may successfully defy public opinion, but a large number of men would find it impossible to sustain demands which were manifestly unfair to the rest of the community.

But who shall decide upon the question of their fairness? Public Opinion! But not a public opinion like that which now prevails, and which justifies adulteration and bad workmanship, until these quite obliterate the limit of dishonesty and overreaching; but a larger and healthier Public Opinion, under which each class will rise to a higher conception of the duties which it owes to others. The Workman then would be ashamed to offer as an excuse for his bad work the silly reason that another man will have to be employed to remedy his wilful error:

the employer will realise that he has other duties towards his men besides the paying them good Wages, and that he stands to them in the position of the leader of a band of comrades; while the consumer will not then think only of the price of what he buys, but whether it was made by honest men and honest means—a Public Opinion, in fact, through which the man who enriches himself by grinding wages down—by "sweating," for example—or he who by cornering or any other form of speculation, creates an artificial scarcity, and makes men pay, in consequence, a price which is out of all proportion to the ordinary value of the service that he renders, will be marked with the same infamy as one who follows a disgraceful calling or a convicted felon.

Such a state of things, as yet, is only dimly shadowed in the future, so that it may be perhaps absurd to talk and argue about that which seems at present both fantastic and impossible. Yet, surely, it is not entirely idle to attempt to picture to ourselves the goal of our improvement, if that should help us to remember that they are wrong, who tell us we are drifting into chaos? Material agencies are everywhere at work to elevate the individual, and with a wider moral growth each class will learn to recognise its duties. Duty, not self-interest, is the strongest influence in social progress. But, although the first result can only be attained through a more active moral development, there are, in the meantime, certain political objects, which we may immediately pursue in preference to Protection. There are certain objects of desire which neither the widest Free Trade nor the strictest Protection could succeed in giving to the poorer classes, but which might become more easy of attainment through the means of legislation.

This is not the place to elaborate a theory of State interference. But, since Free Traders are accused of being fanatical adherents of that theory, which would confine the action of the State to keeping order and administering affairs, it is well, before mentioning particular cases, to state summarily and without reference to other theories the general principles, on which Free Traders might justify a more active interference by the State.

The State exists in order to secure Liberty: that is to say, to bring about conditions under which every citizen can at all times do that which is best. Having provided these conditions, the function of the State is at an end. Other influences must determine what is Good or Bad, and must supply the motive which would make men choose the former. Philosophy and Religion begin their operations upon the ground which the State has cleared; but the action of the State should not interfere with the work of either. It consequently becomes one part of the business of political science to define the limits, within which the State can act without trenching on the province of moral agencies. It is not necessary now to show in detail where those limits reach. It is enough for our present purpose to mark them in rough outline. Laws exist to prevent men unduly interfering with the individual freedom of their fellow-citizens; or looked at in another way, a Law defines a sphere within which each man's will may work with complete freedom. What then determines the exact amount of interference with individual freedom, which is necessary for the advantage of society? To that we answer—"Experience, and a clear sense of what is needed by the individual, in order that he may attain to a full and harmonious development. Whether this clearer sense of what is needed is evolved by inherited instinct, or whether it is due to the inspired direction of sacred writers matters not to the State. All that the State has to do is to see that such social conditions exist that Society may satisfy its wants, so soon as it becomes aware of them, and so soon as it is certain that their satisfaction is necessary to human development. This is the utmost which the State can do. It must not attempt to decide for Society what moral influence should guide its judgments, still less must it interfere with the free determination by every individual of the guiding principles of his own life. Consequently, every act of the State is bad, which weakens the motives to self-improvement, either by unnecessarily taking away a duty which is owed to others (as, for instance, the care of children), or by preventing the full play of the human instinct towards self-development. A Law which forbids men to think as they like, and to express their thoughts with a due regard to the public order, is bad on the same ground that a Law would be bad, which weakened individual self-reliance, or which removed the motives towards thrift and industry.

It would seem, then, that the principles by which any act of State Interference should be tested maybe summarised as follows:—

- The State ought in no case to weaken the motives for morality.
- The State should not do that which might be done as well by private persons.
- The State should never act in such a way as to weaken individual self-reliance.

But where the object to be gained is one of national importance, which the efforts of individuals cannot accomplish, and when it can be gained without discouraging any from making efforts on their own behalf, or from entering into Union for a common purpose, then all the conditions are present whose presence is required to justify State action. Or to express the same thing still more shortly, we can ask, as the ultimate test of the goodness of every Law—Does it help the development of man's moral nature?"

It is not the purpose of this Pamphlet to enquire at length what further applications of these principles may be required; but only to bring before the mind of those who, from disgust at the present state of things, may be

attracted towards Protection, that there are other legislative remedies still untried.

In the first place, the resources of legislation are not yet exhausted as regards the question of the Housing of the Poor. Where overcrowding is a desperate evil, with which, owing to the high price of land, private enterprise has shown itself incapable of grappling, legislation need not weaken individual self-reliance. Any Municipality might be empowered to do, as the Board of Works in London has already done, indirectly, in the case of the Peabody Buildings, viz., to buy up land, and let it to Building Companies under certain conditions. These companies should be limited to a certain rate of profit, so that rents could not be raised indefinitely, and that Workmen could be decently housed, at a moderate price in the centre of a city. But this is a question in itself of immense importance, and one quite worthy of occupying all our minds, without the distraction of a noise about Protection.

Then there is the question of Recreation: whether Government cannot do something to relieve the dreadful dreariness in which so many pass their lives. Free Libraries, subsidised theatres, public concerts: any of these are things more worth considering than a flat unprofitable squabble about tariffs.

Then there is the question of insurance. It has been remarked that "many of those who talk about insurance overlook the fact that thrift may often brutalise a man as much as drink. That is to say that a man may make huge efforts to save and raise himself, and so become narrow and selfish and careless of his fellow men." We ought, therefore, to consider whether the Government can overcome this moral danger by helping men to insure themselves on easy terms. It may be that this cannot be done at present; but it should none the less be borne in mind that various schemes have been proposed, and that some are even actually at work, any one of which at least deserves attention.

Then there is the most important question of Taxation—whether it is not wise to check the dangerous accumulation of wealth in single hands; and whether it is not possible to do this, without unduly checking the stimulus to saving. This is a question of enormous difficulty, and one not to be solved without a patient and laborious study into that most difficult of all economical questions—the manner and the causes of the Distribution of Wealth. Closely connected with this is the question of the Land. By what means is it possible to secure to the body of the community a fair portion of that increase in the value of land which is caused by the natural growth of the State? It is simply astonishing to see so called Working Class politicians clamouring for Protection, while they do not lift a finger to remove that great cause of poverty—speculation in land. A Land Tax assessed on the true value of the Land, as determined by periodic valuations would do far more to encourage native industry than the most ingenious tariff; while, if our Railway Policy and our Land Policy went hand in hand, so that the Railways might be paid for from the increased value of the land through which they passed, it is no rash prophecy that the name Protection would never be heard again in New South Wales.

As an illustration, suppose that the Government, before constructing the Illawarra line, had resumed to a depth of say 1000 feet on either side of the permanent way, as far as George's River. The profits from the sale of this land after the line was made would almost pay for the construction of the whole railway. The same principle might be applied to all suburban lines.

Finally there is a question of Administration, which to a Democratic country is more important than any other, and here any legislative efforts are directly aided by a Free Trade policy. Free Trade will not give us, of itself, a honest and capable administration; but it does not, like Protection, offer a direct encouragement to political jobbery. The Legislature in a protected country cannot fail to be beset by many sturdy beggars, each eager to obtain a tax upon his special article, and ready to pay money freely to any who will help him to obtain it. Under Free Trade this temptation to corruption is at least removed, and by so much is a country which adopts Free Trade the more likely to obtain the services of Statesmen—the services that is of men who see what the people need, know what they ought to have, and by patient self obliteration become competent to give it.

These, then, and not Protection, are the political questions of the day—Land, Taxation, and Administration. Even when the utmost has been done in each of these reforms, much will still remain which is beyond the power of Legislation. But in the meantime, and by the side of Legislation, there are growing tendencies at work towards better things, among which the influence of Free Trade is certainly not least important. Free Trade undoubtedly cannot accomplish everything, since many of our desired reforms lie quite beyond the scope of any fiscal policy. But Free Trade does what Protection cannot do, when, by the stimulus it gives to trade, and by the steadiness it gives to prices, it betters the condition of the poorer classes, and helps them in the use of other means of rising. The issue between Protection and Free Trade ought to have been settled long ago. The question of the Land, of Taxation, of Administration—these, and not Protection or Free Trade are the really pressing questions of the day. Let Protection alone. It is a "dead and disgusting doctrine," which ought long ago to have been decently interred. Protectionists are wasting time in asking for a tariff now, and turning men's attention from important matters.

Free Traders are alive like them to the evils of our industrial systems, but they refuse to follow a quack remedy. The grievances of Protectionists are real enough, but they are only aggravated by the proposed cure.

Let Protectionists and Free Traders end their empty quarrel, and join in a common effort to establish and sustain democracy. Free Traders are not, of necessity, advocates of the established system, and enemies of the poorer class. Rather they may say to the Protectionists—"We aim with you at common class ideals: we will work with you in everything except that matter of the tariff, and we ask from you in turn a similar support."

Vignette

## Appendix I.

IN order to illustrate the statements in the text, some tables are subjoined, exhibiting the fluctuations in the Wages of the four principal English Industries—the Cotton, Woollen, Worsted, and Iron manufactures. The figures are extracted from the Reports issued by the Board of Trade, under the title "Miscellaneous Statistics of the United Kingdom." Unfortunately these Reports contain very little evidence upon which positive conclusions can be based. They contain, it is true, a good deal of miscellaneous information about Wages; but they appear at irregular intervals, and their information is exhibited on miscellaneous principles of inconvenience and confusion. In one Report an industry is scheduled by itself, which in the next is lost among a mass of details of the state of trade in certain districts. Sometimes Wages are estimated by the hour: sometimes by the week, and sometimes by the piece. Upon occasions the employments of workmen are distributed; while, upon others, an industry is treated as a whole, and its rate of Wages is expressed in averages; and, not unfrequently, an important trade, the condition of which has been described for several years with a most useful fulness, drops out entirely from the record never to appear again

But, in spite of the impaired value of such ill-arranged statistics, the figures are useful up to a certain point for purposes of comparison; and, in respect of the four great industries already named, they have been presented with some approach to an uniform method. These trades together give employment to about one-half of the Working Class, so that the varying rate of Wages paid in them, during the last thirty years, will indicate an approximate answer to the question—"Whether Wages in England have on the whole risen or decreased?"

### A. Wages in the Cotton Industry.

The Wages paid in the Cotton Industry are particularly valuable indications of the rates in other trades, both because for the last forty years that industry has maintained the same position of importance, and because it has also, during that time, been singularly free from any disturbing fluctuation in the number of hands employed.

The number of hands employed in all branches of the Cotton Trade is given at 420,000 for 1874, and in 1840 it was estimated at 400,000.

This is mainly owing to the gradual introduction of machinery, by which, in spite of the great increase in the production of Cotton Goods, the necessity for employing more labour has been avoided.

In examining the fluctuations, it is convenient to adopt a rough division of the Cotton operatives into four classes, according to the degree of skill required in their several occupations.

In the first class would come the overlookers and superior artisans in each department, together with those spinners who, according to the number of spindles each man can manage, would be classed above No. 100 in the technical language of the factory. The bulk of the adult males would fall into the second class, as being spinners and weavers of average skill. Women should be ranked alone as a third class; and, for greater clearness, the Wages of children under 16 should also be considered separately.

The subjoined Tables are an attempt to carry out this principle of division.

### Table showing the fluctuations in the average rate of Weekly Wages paid to persons employed in the Cotton Trade during the year 1839-77 in Manchester and the neighbourhood:—

Occupation. 1839. 1849. 1859. 1874. 1877. 1ST CLASS. Superior Operatives. s. d. s. d. s. d. s. d. s. s. s. s. s. d. s. d. (i) Overlookers .. .. 24 0 to 25 0 28 0 28 30 0 to 45 30 0 to 45 0 (ii) Skilled spinners, above No. 100 .. .. 40 0 to 45 0 36 0 to 40 0 40 to 45 45 0 to 50 45 0 to 55 0 (iii) Engineers .. .. 24 0 28 0 30 42 0 58 3 2ND CLASS. Unskilled Operatives. (i) Spinners below No. 100 .. 23 0 to 25 0 21 0 23 to 25 42 0 40 0 (ii) Bleachers .. .. 21 0 18 0 18 24 0 28 0 (iii) Strippers and grinders .. 11 0 to 13 12 0 to 13 0 12 to 13 22 0 to 23 21 0 (iv) Labouress .. .. 15 0 15 0 15 19 6 18 9 3RD CLASS. Women. (i) Carding Department .. 6 6 to 7 6 6 6 to 8 6 7 to 9 11 0 to 16 16 6 to 18 7 (ii) Doublers .. .. 7 0 7 6 9 10 0 to 15 12 0 (iii) Weaving .. .. 9 0 to 17 0 9 0 to 18 0 10 to 20 12 0 to 24 0 Weekly hours of labour 69 60 60 59 56½

It appears from these Tables that in the year 1839 the Wages of the highest paid Overlooker, in any Department, was 25s. for a week of 69 hours, which is twelve hours a day, with nine hours on Saturday for a half holiday. Ten years later—after Free Trade—his Wages had risen to 28s., and his hours of work had been



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The Relation of Philosophy to Science, Physical and Psychological.

An Address

Delivered Before the Aristotelian Society, OCTOBER 20, 1884

(Being the Annual Presidential Address for the Sixth Session of the Society),

By Shadworth H. Hodgson,

Honorary LL.D. Edin., Honorary Fellow of C.C.C. Oxford,

President.

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Williams and Norgate London, Edinburgh 14 Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, 20 South Frederick Street 1884

# The Relation of Philosophy Science, Physical and Psychological.

## I.

WE reassemble to-night, for the first time at the beginning of a Session, in our new quarters in Albemarle Street. I hope it may be the first of many Sessions to be held in the same place, and prove in fact to mark the close of the nomad stage in our history, and the opening of a period of steady and united progress. Indeed I think that indications are not wanting of greater homogeneity and definiteness in the aims which we set before ourselves as a Society, and also that we can now form a tolerably clear notion of the means at our disposal for realising them, including more particularly the amount and kind of aid which we are to look for from without. We issued last Session what I may call our appeal to the general public, in the shape of a Circular stating our aims and objects as a Society, and inviting all who took a genuine interest in the serious investigation of philosophical questions to join us. That appeal gained us many new and valued members. Thereby we placed the Society, as we hope, on a definite and sound basis. We now know on what we have to depend for our future prosperity as a Society. We know that we are not to look, for any further accession of members, to any general appeal of the same kind again. The work which we do within our own walls, and the influence which individually we can exert over those with whom we may come in contact, must henceforth be the means, the gradual but I trust the sure means, of increasing the numbers and extending the influence of the Society as a whole. Ultimately, therefore, it is on the reality of the benefit which we are each conscious of receiving from the discussions of the Society, that our prosperity as a Society depends. And this benefit can only be received individually from the discussions, if we contribute individually, by steady and continued mental work, to make the discussions genuine and thorough. I mean, that the fortunes of the Society, and the work which it can do towards the maintenance and spreading of true philosophical thought, are henceforward in our own hands, and in our own hands only. We are the first and only Society in this country, so far as I know, which has arisen spontaneously, and unconnected with any College, University, or other public body, "for the systematic study of Philosophy."

I could have wished, indeed, that the appeal which I mentioned had procured us more numerous additions from the ranks of those who are or have been professionally employed in the teaching of the various branches of our own subject, of Mental and Moral Philosophy, Logic, Psychology, and Ethic. I could have wished also, that a greater number of scientific men had joined us, in response to that appeal. Philosophy has an independent message to science; an independent message to convey, as well as an independent message to receive. For however true it is, that science proceeds from definitions and by methods of its own, which are justified by their results, yet the moment you begin to reflect on the source, the validity, and the range, of the ultimate conceptions which it employs, such as those of number, measure, quantity, matter, motion, force, energy, cause, and the like, you are necessarily examining science on its subjective side, as a process of *knowing*, and are thereby treating science itself as an object of philosophy.

Again I should have rejoiced to welcome as our members more of those for whom, from their professional character, the questions which are especially connected with religion have pre-eminent interest. The old

intellectual framework of religion, the old Theology, in Aristotle's sense of the term, the old bottles, so to speak, into which the new wine was poured at the beginning of our era,—this old intellectual framework has given way, in the natural course of man's intellectual development, and is being slowly but surely replaced by new forms and modes of thought. The gradual demolition of the old, the gradual formation of the new, intellectual clothing or body of the old incorruptible spirit, are philosophical processes in which we are called to bear a distinctly conscious and intelligent part. I could have wished, therefore, that we had attracted more professed theologians, that is to say, students of man's relations to God, as well as more professed men of science in both its great branches, the group of human or moral, as well as the group of physical sciences, into our ranks;—these two classes, of men of science and theologians, being the representatives, and as it were the double vanguard, of all human progress, one in the direction of pure knowledge, the other in that of morals and aspiration; and one main function of philosophy this, to discern and manifest the unity between them. All we can say is, that to those who *have* joined us from each of these classes, as well as from that of professed teachers of philosophy, the warmer welcome is extended. Would only, that I had not here to mix with welcome the expression of our keen regret for the premature death of one,

Mr. Walter Raleigh Browne, at Montreal, Sep. 1884.

whose active participation in the work of last Session seemed to promise, that he would equally adorn the ranks of this Society, as he already adorned by his talents the profession of his choice.

For let us not conceal it from ourselves, the position of philosophy in this country is not a recognised one. We are a nondescript tribe; a small tribe; a tribe which has to grow by accretion, by attracting to itself new members who, in many and perhaps most cases, have already intellectual homes and intellectual affinities elsewhere. To the ordinary Englishman of culture we appear as a rare and inexplicable variety of the dilettanti species. A friendly acquaintance said to me only last summer, alluding to this Society, "By the way, haven't you joined a kind of debating club?" "A debating club!" I replied; "I have the honour to be President of one of the learned societies of London, if you please." And considering what a very miscellaneous company of societies, from the Royal to the Shorthand, is covered by the term, I did not think I was exorbitantly ambitious in laying claim to it. But you see that even our right to rank as a learned society would be contested by any one to whom, as to most Englishmen of education, it had never occurred to regard philosophy as a definite pursuit, based on a definite method, and having thereby a definite position by the side of and beyond all other recognised branches of scientific investigation. For the rank of this or any other Society must depend first and foremost, other things being equal, on the rank of the subject which it makes its study.

Now philosophy claims, and always has claimed the very highest rank among all intellectual pursuits. It receives contributions from all the rest, and then by reflecting on these contributions, and their relations both to each other and to the process and nature of *knowing*, as such, it brings them, as it were to a focus, and arranges them in a scheme which embraces the whole body of experience, the whole of the phenomena of the universe, so far as these are in any manner or any degree within the ken of human speculation. But the claim of philosophy to this rank can only be substantiated,—and this is the point I would insist on as important,—the claim can only then become a reality, a well grounded and justly recognised claim, if philosophy is in possession of a definite method, as well as a definite object, a method by which it can really proceed to *do* what it aims at doing, by which it can reflect on the contributions, new as well as old, and on future ones as they arise, made by other pursuits, that is, other sciences, and weave them into a living and ever growing web of philosophical system. It must be a method at once distinctive of philosophy from science, and common to all philosophical workers. It must be no single principle or hypothesis, which contains its results implicitly in its commencement, but a method which can be applied to examine and judge phenomena, and applied by all, irrespective of the use they make of it, and the results which they bring out. In other words, it must leave the investigation of the phenomena perfectly free and unfettered, giving scope for individual differences of opinion within the method which is common to all, just as any special science gives scope, within the bounds of scientific method, for the most divergent theories respecting its subject-matter.

Of all kinds of knowledge, philosophy is the one which is most completely dependent on the interrogation of consciousness as such, its acknowledged test being that of immediate evidence to the individual enquirer. The disappearance therefore of differences of opinion, springing from differences of idiosyncrasy, or habit, or the use of different languages, and so on, in individual observers, is by no means to be anticipated. The bane of philosophy has hitherto been the prominence given to these differences of idiosyncratic origin, by the adoption from time to time of some principle which has seemed self-evident, now to one man of genius, now to another, as a principle of universally applicable method, although it was really a principle which carried in itself implicitly a whole constructive system, and was therefore a principle, not of method simply and solely, but of much more besides. The problem for philosophy is to find a principle of method, which shall be universally applicable, and yet shall be a principle of method and no more, which, not being of idiosyncratic origin, shall not involve idiosyncratic results, which are really due to the principle adopted, and not due to the facts

examined, or subject-matter.

At present, it must be owned, there is but too much excuse for the ordinary Englishman of culture, when he denies the claim of philosophy to be a definite pursuit. At present there is no philosophy, because there are too many philosophies. There is no philosophical method, because there are too many philosophical first principles. There is a wrangling of sects instead of a catholic church. The aim of this Society must be to alter all this; not to make a new sect, but on the contrary to discover the true method; this ought to be our first and foremost aim, because it is the necessary preliminary of all true progress in philosophical thought. The true method, if it can be found, is destructive of sects, and the parent of a general and progressive philosophy, in which all who adopt the method can take part. I fear however that we have to reckon, not only with indifference from without, but also with what in one sense is the opposite of indifference from within; I mean too little indifference to results, too much addiction to the particular principles of particular schools. To those who are satisfied with this state of things, as well as to those who are confirmed disciples of any existing school, or of a school of their own, and therefore look forward to seeing or making that school triumphant, the search for a method such as that I have described must seem worse than superfluous. I do not think that this will be the view taken by this Society, and therefore it is that I once again moot this great question, and venture, as a contribution towards its solution, to submit again to your consideration that particular method, which seems to me to answer the requirements of philosophy at the present juncture, leaving it for you to form your own opinion of its merits; that method, I may remind you, being briefly definable as "*subjective analysis of objects of consciousness by means of the distinction between conditions of their essence and conditions of their existence*;" a definition which was obtained in my third Address "The Method of Philosophy," and repeated in the following one, the Address for last year.

[The method

The parts within brackets were selected for omission in delivery, in order to bring the Address within due limits of length.

is distinctive of philosophy from science, not because of its two questions, *what* and *how comes*, or "conditions of essence" and "conditions of existence," being put to phenomena successively and in that order, but because it puts those questions to objects of consciousness as such, that is, to objects forming the immediate content of consciousness. To put these two questions and to put them in that order are simple dictates of good sense, obeyed almost unavoidably, and at any rate obeyed both in common-sense enquiries and in scientific, equally as in philosophical. Only in philosophy they are put with distinct consciousness of the fact that, and the reason why, they are put; and are also put to objects as forming part of the immediate content of consciousness, and thus constitute its method of subjective analysis.]

Accordingly I will resume the thread of the subject, where it was dropped at the conclusion of my last Address, the result of which, you may remember, was to exhibit the distinction between what I called the two senses of *Reality*, one in which it denoted objects as perceived, or the *percipi* of objects, the other in which it denoted objects as conditioned or conditioning, that is to say, their dependence upon, or their place and function in, an order of *real conditioning* or causation. [But first I would remark, that the result thus obtained, namely, the distinction between the world of objects, simply as perceived, and the order of real conditioning to which they belong, with its consequence, the two senses of the term *real* as applied to objects, is not a simple deduction from the distinction which is the principle of the method, but follows from the application of that principle to the facts of experience, from putting the questions *what* and *how comes* to those facts successively. The question *how comes*, when put to the facts, leads us to discover in their genesis, that is, *within* the question *how comes*, an order of *real conditioning*, distinct from the order in which the objects are perceived originally, as immediate objects of consciousness. And since this result is in harmony with experience, as given both by common sense and by science, it represents a real advance in knowledge by means of the method, a new stage or foothold, so to speak, from which we may proceed to apply the method again, by again putting its two questions, *what* and *how comes*, successively.]

Upon this distinction, then, I propose now to build, applying it for the purpose of demarcating the province of philosophy from that of science, and more particularly from that of psychology, which of all the sciences is the one most closely allied to philosophy, and occupies a definite territory in common with it. What this territory is, we shall see later on. It is clear that the demarcation of boundaries is a question of method, and also that this particular demarcation is the proper business of philosophy, since philosophy is that general science which embraces all others, along with itself, in its purview. I shall thus, I hope, make evident to you the applicability of the method which I am explaining to one of the most vital questions of philosophical controversy.

II.

CLAUDE BERNARD, in that most profound as well as luminous work, his *Introduction à l'étude de la Médecine Expérimentale*, thus expresses himself on the limits of knowledge: "The nature of our mind leads us to seek the essence or the *why* of things. In this we aim beyond the mark which it is given us to attain; for experience soon teaches us, that we cannot go beyond the *how*, that is, beyond the proximate cause or the conditions of existence of the phenomena. In this respect, the limits of our knowledge are the same in the biological sciences, as in the physico-chemical." (Second Part. Chap. I. § 9, p. 187-8 of the edition of 1865.) And presently he adds, taking an illustration, I believe, from one of his own great discoveries: "If for instance in physiology we prove, that oxyde of carbon kills, by combining more energetically than oxygen with the matter of the blood globule, we then know all that is possible for us to know of the cause of death." (*Ibid.* p. 139.)

I have quoted this passage in order to bring out the great general difference between the two domains of science and philosophy. It is perfectly true, that the scientific interest is to know how to get at the proximate cause (*cause prochaine*) of phenomena, how to avoid aiming beyond (*viser plus loin*), *i.e.*, at the essence or *why* (*pourquoi*) of things. But the philosophical interest is to know how it happens (1) that we form the idea of the *essence or why*; (2) that we imagine it to *exist*, though unknowable by us; (3) that we place it somewhere beyond (*plus loin*) the proximate cause or conditions of existence (*conditions d'existence*) of the phenomena; and (4) that we identify this "essence" with the answer to the question *why*. In other words, the special interest of philosophy *begins* where that of science *ends*, with the *fact* that "the nature of our mind leads us to seek the essence or *why*" We want, in philosophy, to know the "how," the "*comment*," of this process of our "mind," when it so leads us. What is the analysis, within consciousness, of this peculiar process? But note, that this "how" is not the "how comes" of science, but the mere "what" of a process of consciousness, since the analysis of a *process* is that which shows *how* its parts are related to one another. The whatness of the process A—B is the how of B, its *terminus ad quem*. Such is the nature of the philosophical question, which is quite distinct from the scientific question, and at the same time in perfect accord with it.

Having thus obtained a general idea of the distinct purposes of the two pursuits, I proceed to show you the peculiar importance of the distinction previously established, between the world of objects immediately present to consciousness and the order of real conditioning, comprising the further distinction between the two senses of *reality*, the two senses in which objects are called *real*. Its importance consists in this, that it enables us to draw the line of demarcation between philosophy and science. Of course I use the term *science* collectively, meaning the sciences one and all, from psychology at one end of the list to dynamics or kinetics at the other. One and all, what they seek is to determine the order of real conditioning, affecting their several groups of phenomena, that is, the particular kinds, quantities, interactions, and combinations of forces, upon which the varied play of common-sense phenomena depends, and without which that play would not take place as it does take place.

Mathematic stands on a peculiar footing; in its two branches of geometry and calculation it forms the link between the positive physical and physiological sciences, on the one hand, and philosophy on the other; for it is founded on the formal elements in consciousness, spatial extension in its geometrical branch, and the act of attention dividing time, which is numbering, in its arithmetical or calculating branch. At the same time these elements of consciousness are also elements of things conceived as external to consciousness; the surface of an orange, for instance, is identical with the surface *seen* and the surface *touched*, that is, with the surface in our sensations and representations of sensation. Again, an act of attention, once performed, is performed for ever; not even God, it has been said, can make the done undone. That is the subjective root of the objectivity of Number.

But distinct from, though founded on, these sciences of pure mathematic, all the other positive sciences seek the *real conditions* of things, and rest when they have discovered them. The first business of any science is to discover, in what the real conditioning, governing its phenomena, consists. This it does tentatively, by hypotheses, connected into theories, and verified by observation or experiment on the phenomena. Till this real order of conditioning is discovered, the science can hardly be said to be constituted as a positive science; at least has not reached its state of full maturity. It is a mere grouping of phenomena held together by some *hypothetical* real condition, as for instance the vortices in astronomy. Gravitation was a *vera causa*. After this the search ended; the science was established; notwithstanding that the intimate or (so to speak) the *nonmenal* agency, the *essence* of the agency, in Claude Bernard's sense of the term, was still unknown; and quite as much unknown in the case of gravitation as in that of the vortices.

So also in chemistry. What is the real process which takes place, when, for instance, two gases combine; and what are the ultimate portions of matter which enter into the combination? It is questions of this kind which are the fundamental ones for chemistry. So in electricity. What exactly is it that happens, when the electric circle is completed, or when one body communicates electricity to another? So in biology. In what consists that tension and movement, that organic loss and growth and repair of parts, which constitute what we call the *life* of an organism? Everywhere in science, it is the real and for the most part hidden processes, and the real and

hidden ultimates between which they take place, and upon which the obvious, or rather the common-sense phenomena of daily experience depend, that are the objects of search. First, science seeks to discover what these processes and these ultimates are, and then to carry to further completion its knowledge of their effects, both actual and possible, in common-sense phenomena; which latter stage of enquiry marks the maturity of the science, its full fruit-bearing period.

Admitting this as a brief description, sufficient for our present purpose, of the true aim of science, and allowing that it falls in with our great distinction of method, by assigning to science the discovery of the order of real conditioning, the next point for consideration is, how we bring this search for real conditions into connection with the correlative member of our distinction, the world of objects, taken simply as percepts, that is, immediate objects of consciousness.

In the first place it is clear, that the double task, first, of analysing the latter world, and then of determining the relations between its own special work of analysis and the work of science, belongs to philosophy. It is philosophy which draws the distinction between the two worlds in the first instance, in consequence of its putting the question *what* to experience. It is philosophy, not science, which perceives in the first instance, that by things are meant *known* things, or objects of knowledge, and thus distinguishes, without separating, *knowing* from *the known*. All further relations made out between this pair, of which the present correlation between the world of immediate perceptions and that of real conditions is an instance, must proceed on the basis of that originally philosophical distinction. The philosophical conception of a world of immediate perceptions thus comes to throw an entirely new light upon the scientific conception of real conditions. There is, in knowledge, no road from unknown things to knowledge, but there is from knowledge to unknown things. This fact gives the primacy to philosophy over science, in the realm of knowledge. In order to investigate real conditions, you must first either assume them or infer them. Philosophy throws light on this necessity. Science takes things exactly as it finds them in ordinary common-sense experience, and knows no more of their connection with that world of percepts immediate to consciousness, than the man of ordinary common sense knows; and yet that perceptual world, the only world we are ever immediately conscious of, is the only material, so to speak, of which that common-sense world, which we seem to know so well, is composed; the world, I mean, of *mixed* objects, objects made up of sensations and real conditions mixed together and undistinguished; the world of things and persons, events and actions, as commonly understood.

[But now to show somewhat more particularly the mode in which philosophy brings the two members of its distinction into correlation.] And here we come upon the beginning of the whole matter in actual experience. The world of common-sense objects, just described, is our starting point historically, in philosophy, as it is in science; it is the common starting point of both; but there are two ways of starting from it. One is by assuming its objects to be ready-made existents, and examining their relations on that footing, which is the way of science; the other is by examining its objects as they are known to us, that is, examining our *knowledge* of its objects, which is the way of philosophy. It is owing to this its primary assumption, this its original choice of road from the common starting point, that science is debarred from explaining the connection between real conditions and the world of knowledge. No such assumption bars the road of philosophy. But on the other hand philosophy necessarily renounces the search for real conditions, at least for real conditions of any kind which can come within the scope of science, or be the objects of scientific hypothesis or verification; and contents itself with the analysis of knowledge generally, including a knowledge of the connection between the search for real conditions and analysis itself.

[When,

For the part here omitted the following short transition was substituted in delivery: Time compels me to omit what I have written here, concerning the steps by which we first analyse the world of common-sense objects into a stream or moving panorama of consciousness, and then secondly place the analysis of this second world, the stream of consciousness, over against the former one. But enough, I hope, has been said, to show at any rate where the conception of real conditions has its origin.

therefore, we say that we must begin with philosophy, if we would explain the position and function of science, because science is precluded from knowing more in this direction than common sense already knows, we mean that the road is barred, to common sense and science alike, by an assumption which is natural enough to common sense, and never retracted in science, I mean the assumption, that common-sense objects are ready made, or technically *absolute* existents, that is, have an existence *per se*, though not of necessity wholly unconditioned, besides the existence which they have as known to percipients, that is to say, in relation to a certain class among themselves, namely, to those of them which are endowed with sensibility. This assumption is, I do not say false, but premature; it is false *as an assumption*. To refuse it is distinctive of philosophy, and opens that road to philosophy which is barred to science, though both alike start from the same ground of common-sense knowledge, the world of which every man finds himself a denizen, when he first comes to years of intellectual discretion and enquiry. In starting from this world and analysing it on its subjective side, we are

virtually, though not actually, reconstructing the history of that forgotten period of our own lives, beginning with the earliest days of infancy, during which our knowledge of it as a world of common-sense objects was originally built up. I mean, that we now begin to analyse that knowledge, including the ideas and feelings connecting its several parts, which we have been accumulating and organising from infancy onwards, without then reflecting on the fact that we were building up a systematic world of knowledge, as well as acquiring an acquaintance with what appear to us as "absolute" persons and things. We can never trace the steps of its acquisition in their actual history, because they have long faded from our memory; we can only analyse them in their result. But then we are also at the same time continuing that history, even while we are analysing its past results; and in the first and subsequent moments of philosophical reflection, we can look back, from time to time, upon the course immediately before traversed, while it is still fresh in memory.

This brings us to the central fact, or cardinal operation, in all knowledge. Reflection, taken in its simplest form, or lowest terms, is the act or moment of consciousness, an act continually repeated, in which we look back upon the state of consciousness immediately preceding it, without which act the preceding state would be no more to us, than if it were a state of consciousness in another person, or a feeling in a severed limb. The preceding state taken alone is not to be regarded as below the threshold, or out of consciousness, altogether. It is more than a state of the organism simply. It is strictly a state of consciousness, but not yet of *our* consciousness; belonging not to *us* as a whole, but only to a part of us, an organ not in full intercourse with the rest. The next step towards completion of the intercourse is the arising of reflection, which is therefore strictly to be described as consciousness of states of consciousness, or consciousness conscious of itself, or having itself, not the conscious being or agent, except incidentally, as its object. When we use the term *we* to describe this process, as in saying "*we* look back," the term *we* is of course used proleptically, in anticipation of a future justification, since it is a term of common sense as yet unanalysed, and therefore to be taken in philosophy as a term simply designative of the facts intended. And the same may be said of the verbs as well as the nouns which we employ in the description, *perceiving*, *looking* back upon, *being* conscious of, and so on, as well as of *we* the agents, and *things* the objects of the process.

But now to go a step farther. Philosophical reflection, which is reflection distinctly conscious of asking the question *what*, and that question only, of the phenomena presented to it,—philosophical reflection looking back upon its previous history, that is, prior acts of reflection and the content of consciousness perceived in them, becomes aware, that reflection therein gives us what we may call a varied stream of consciousness, consisting of feelings of all kinds, extended colours and pressures, as well as feelings having duration only; and not of presented feelings only, but of represented also; not isolated but in combinations and groups; in fact, a full and varied picture, changing its content from moment to moment. This picture or stream, given in reflection, is also perceived by philosophical reflection to be the counterpart or equivalent for the common-sense world of objects, to be in fact the matrix or the material out of which the knowledge of the common-sense world of objects has been and is still being produced; so that we have, as it were, two worlds before us, the common-sense world with which we began, and the varied stream or picture, woven out of consciousness, which is now seen to be its perennial source, so far as our *knowledge* of either of them goes, apart from the causes or conditions which may have produced, or may still sustain and govern them.

Philosophical reflection next proceeds to analyse this new world which it has discovered, and to analyse it in connection with the common-sense world, so as to have in either analysis the means of controlling the other. The work of simple reflection is taken up and continued by philosophical, in its conscious comparison of the old world with the new. Both worlds are *objective* to both stages of reflection, but the important point to notice is, that it is only the new world, the varied stream or picture of consciousness, which is in all its parts their *immediate* object. To reflection a representation is as immediately present as a presentation. Presentations are usually more vivid, but they are not more immediate. When I look at a tree, for instance, a coloured surface is presented, the solidity and the unseen sides of it are represented. But those representations, whenever they are actually represented, are immediately present to reflection. When, however, we look at the tree as a common-sense object, we do not actually repeat all the representations which are involved in the knowledge of it. The word *tree* is a shorthand or symbolic expression for the result of a long history of presentations, associations, and thoughts; and therefore the object, the tree itself, contains much that is *not* immediately present to reflection, and can become so only by being, and while being, referred to the *other* world, the stream or picture of consciousness, in contrast to the world of common sense. This fact gives much scope to fancy, and indeed trees were at one time thought to *be* trees, by having Dryads or other living beings inside, to animate them.

Common-sense objects, then, as such, are not immediate objects of reflection. It is only their component parts, by which I mean of course the component parts of them *as known* to us, that is, the various presentations and representations which compose our knowledge of them, which are such immediate objects. We speak, indeed, as if the tree itself, when actually seen, was immediately presented to us; but we do so only because we

habitually think in common-sense terms, and because we regard ourselves also, the *we* spoken of above, as being common-sense objects in presence of the tree, as well as the tree in presence of ourselves. But the *we*, or self, requires philosophical analysis, just as much as the tree does. Both alike are objects of reflection, but also both alike are remote, not immediate, objects of it. Parts of them only are immediate objects, and in order that all their parts may become so, it is requisite to refer them to their original source in the stream of consciousness. Thus, to reflect on the world of common-sense objects is the same thing as transforming it, for and during the reflection, into a stream of consciousness; and to reflect on the stream of consciousness is to subject every part of it successively, whether it be a presentation or a representation, to immediate inspection, and so make it immediately objective.]

Standing on this distinction between the two worlds, we shall now have no difficulty in seeing where the notion, or fact as known to us, of real conditions has its origin. It is clearly in the world of common-sense objects, and not in the stream of consciousness. The tree as a common-sense object is the real condition, along with other common-sense objects and circumstances, of the production of fruit; that is to say, is that object or combination of objects, without which there would be no fruit, or on the existence of which the existence of fruit depends. The existence of the fruit is conditioned *inter alia* upon the existence of the tree; it is not conditioned in any way upon the analysis of the tree into a group of presentations and representations. Nor again does the subjective analysis of the fruit in any way depend for its existence upon the subjective analysis of the tree. If you want fruit, you must not analyse a tree but plant one.

It is true, that the possibility of my analysing the fruit or the tree depends upon my perceiving them, and that they cannot be perceived at all without being perceived as percepts of such and such kinds; a content of some sort being bound up with every act of perception. But it does not follow, that the act of perception depends upon its content. It depends partly upon the percipient, partly upon the thing perceived, both being taken as common-sense objects; and the part which each of these two real conditions of perception contributes to the perceptions, which are the result, is among the more abstruse questions relating to real conditioning, in the department of Psychology. When we take account of the percipient as a real condition of perception, we find that the *thing perceived* means that set of real conditions which, in conjunction with those in the percipient, produce in the percipient the perception which we call a fruit, or a tree, or other perceived object. Such, I take it, are the original meaning and the original source of the notion of real conditions. The term is originally appropriate to those common-sense objects or events, without which other given common-sense objects or events would not, and with which they do, take place or come into existence.

Now these considerations introduce us to one of the most important distinctions in philosophy, and especially so in the delimitation of philosophy from science; I mean the distinction between *objective thought and objects thought of*. Take any common-sense object, a material object for instance, and place it by reflection in the two worlds spoken of, and you will find that the first stage on the road to its complete philosophical analysis consists of objective thoughts,—thoughts objective to consciousness,—while at the same time the object itself, the common-sense object, becomes an object thought of, namely, the object of those thoughts. It is doubly objective; it is one half of the whole object of reflection, and it is the whole object of the other half, the objective thoughts. *They* are the analysis, *it* is the unit analysed. The tree, for instance, is the unity of the objective thoughts which I bring successively into immediate objectivity to consciousness, as composing in combination the tree itself as known to me. The tree is the name for their combination into unity, as an individual unit. But then, at the same time, when I consider, that these thoughts are *my* thoughts, that they are combined in *my* consciousness, their unity seems to be not in them but in me. The tree has two apparent places of existence, one in its percipient, the other in space outside its percipient, as if it was a tree in a mirror. Now which of these is the real tree? Idealists answer,—the mirror-tree, the tree in the percipient. I think, however, we shall see reason to give the other answer, namely, the tree in space outside the percipient, as object thought of, and distinguished from objective thought, when we consider, that the power of real conditioning falls on that side, and belongs to the tree, not as composed of perceptions of ours, but as a common-sense object in presence of, and combination with, other common-sense objects which fill the world of space.

For put the same question to the percipient, taken as a common-sense object, which you put to the tree, and you will find that it also breaks up into objective thoughts and object thought of; and if you say that the objective thoughts are the real percipient, you have no answer to the question, what gives them unity, or where they exist; since the percipient is then their creature, and receives from them its unity, instead of *vice versa*. And yet, starting from the basis of common sense, percipients are among the real conditions of perception. I have no perception of a tree, for instance, unless I am in presence of it, and possess bodily organs of sense perception. In short, where do Idealists find a percipient at all, in any real sense? They cannot say: In self-consciousness, or reflective consciousness of perception; for that is a moment, or act, of perception, continually repeated, and indifferent to all kinds of content; there is no agent, no *substantia*, perceived or perceivable in it, taken as an immediate object of consciousness. Where does its numerical unity come from;

whence its grouping and combining power? In other words, there is nothing in the act of reflection,—and reflection, I would remind you, corresponds to Kant's *Apperception*,—which in any way answers the description of a real condition. This we see, as soon as we apply the principle of method to interrogate the phenomenon. And yet we know from common sense, that a real condition of some sort must be involved, and therefore are not easy till we can say what it is. Confusion of the reflective centre, or more strictly, constant feature in consciousness with the psychological centre or centres, localised in the conscious being, is the most fruitful source of fallacy in philosophy. Unless there was a psychological centre, there would be no constant-reflective act; it is its *real* or efficient condition. Unless there was a constant reflective act, there would be no knowledge of the psychological centre; it is its making known or *revealing* condition (*conditio cognoscendi*). This relation involves no logical difficulty; the universality of consciousness does not clash with its particular genesis in individuals. But to confuse the moment of reflection with the moment of origin is to raise a question of priority between consciousness and its objects, a question as hopeless as the old puzzle,—which were first, hens or eggs?

Percipients, then, are originally, that is to say, on the common-sense basis, as much objects of common-sense perception as the things around them, and also have in common with them the property of being links in the order of real conditioning. They contribute their part to the perceptions which compose our knowledge of the common-sense world; and also, like the rest, they contribute thereto in their character of objects thought of, and not in that of combinations of objective thought. The conditioning power of things, whether percipient or non-percipient, belongs to them as objects thought of, distinct from our knowledge of them. This result is the basis of our broad distinction between philosophy and science. For the work of science consists, as we have seen above, in the discovery of real conditions; and real conditions have now been shown to be involved in the objects of thought, as existing independently of our knowledge of them, or in other words, abstracting from the subjective or philosophical analysis of the objective thoughts, by means of which science lays hold of them.

Objective thoughts, which I spoke of above as the first stage towards a complete philosophical analysis of the objects of common sense, are thus seen as the link between that analysis and the objects thought of. They are the subjective aspect of the objects thought of, and at the same time the objects analysed by philosophical reflection into immediately present states of consciousness. But in what precisely does their difference from the results of purely philosophical analysis consist? The chief difference at any rate is this, that the representations which they contain are in the form of concepts or general terms, not yet reduced to perceptual form; reducing them to which is the work of philosophical analysis. A tree as object thought of is in perceptual form, as an individualised existent, real in the second sense of the term. But the objective thought of a tree is a combination of general notions. As I bring each of these in turn under immediate reflective perception, I bring it again, at the same time, into a perceptual and individualised form, though not as a real existent in the same sense as the tree. If I could have the whole of these percepts before me at once, and in perceptual form, then I should have the *intuition* of the tree, as a real existent or object thought of, just as I now have the intuition of each percept singly. But as it is, I have before me, at once, only the objective thought of the tree, the shorthand expression for it, the parts of which have necessarily the conceptual form, or are a combination of general notions. The function of philosophical analysis, therefore, is to realise the content of objective thought, but to realise it as a content of consciousness only, to realise it, so far as possible, as an intuition. It is thus that philosophy proceeds on the subjective path, which I described it above as taking from the world of common-sense objects, the starting point which it shares with science.

Turning in the next place to the scientific path from the common starting point, the path of assuming its objects as simply existent, and tracing the laws and order of real conditioning, which obtain between them, we find the opposite aspect of objective thoughts presented to us, namely, their relation to their objects, the objects thought of or represented by them. The question is, how does science fare, and what enables it to proceed, on this track? Here it is that we are met by the remarkable fact, that these objects, the objects of thought, which are the special objects of science, are capable of a second kind of analysis, quite distinct from the philosophical, that is, from the subjective analysis of the objective thoughts which represent or mirror them, but also quite compatible with it; and not merely compatible, but one the several steps and details of which must be translatable into philosophical analysis, or capable of having their value assigned in terms of immediate perception, if they are to be accounted realities. This second analysis, in the case of material or physical objects, consists in resolving them into material parts and processes, by which they mutually act and re-act on each other, every such part and process being conceived on the general pattern or analogy of the material common-sense objects and processes from which they come, and of which they are the analysis. In other words, the analysis is into masses and forces which enter into and compose that series of transformations of energy, which underlies the whole order of Nature as it appears to sense, being itself the object not of sense but of thought.

[As an instance of what I mean, and particularly of the distinction contained in the last few words, take the common-sense objects, or phenomena as they are called, of sunrise and sunset, the alternation of night and day, and the repeated succession of the seasons. No mere analysis of these phenomena will give their real conditioning, that is, explain how it comes, either that they are composed of the feelings,—light and darkness, heat and cold.—of which they consist, or that they happen in the order in which they do happen. No. The real conditions of these phenomena are partly the physical constitution of the heavenly bodies, as the source of motions which, acting upon our organisms, give rise to particular sensations, and partly the physical movements of the earth and other planets round the sun, which again depend upon circumstances in the physical constitution and relatively initial position of those bodies, in regard to each other.

Now the moment we bring these real conditions into our mental view, we enter upon a world of thought, as distinguished from sense. The sun is partly an object of sense, partly of thought; but the actual path of a planet round the sun is an object of thought only. So is the molecular constitution of the heavenly bodies, and of the medium, if any, of the light and heat which reach us from them. We can neither see nor touch that molecular constitution, or those molecular and other movements. We do not as yet accurately know their physical analysis, even in general terms. They are objects thought of, but not yet in detail objective thoughts. Yet they are indisputable realities. The particles, tensions, and motions of particles, are as much realities, as if we could equate them with their objective thought, that is, express their *minutiae* in terms of subjective feeling and perception. Real conditions, therefore, are objects, some of which are objects of sense as well as thought, and others objects of thought only, though always of thought based on sense. But their conditioning power, their action and re-action with each other, and their power of giving rise to sensation, are wholly indifferent to this distinction; that is to say, belong to them independently of the degree of knowledge which we have of them, independently of the objective thoughts into which we more or less perfectly translate them.

But here I must again observe,—and of this I cannot remind you too often,—that, when real conditions are said to belong to objects thought of, and to exist independently of our thoughts of them, this does not and cannot mean, that they are not objective to reflection. Both objective thoughts and the objects thought of are objective to reflection; were it not so, they would be *purum nihil* to us, and to speak of them at all would be a contradiction in terms. Since the distinction is drawn by reflection, it is clear that both its members must be objective to reflection. That knowledge of ours, of which we say that the objects thought of are independent, is the objective thought of them, which again is the object of their philosophical or subjective analysis, not the knowledge *that* they exist with powers of their own as yet unanalysed, which is their objectivity to reflective consciousness, their reality in the first sense of the term, as explained in my last Address.

The great blunder of what may be called either the empirical or the materialist school in philosophy is, to overlook the relativity of objects thought of to reflective perception, and thus to ascribe to them an absolute character. In this way it severs the connection between science and philosophy, and the severance springs from blindness to a simple matter of fact, a matter of the plainest experience. On the other hand, it is the great blunder of the idealist schools, to make this relation a relation of dependence, to make reflective perception causal. An idealist will urge, that after all, that is, after all our distinguishing objects thought of from objective thought, still we know nothing of the former but as the latter, that is, as states of thought, and therefore we are in a thought-world throughout. Now my answer to this is, that we know indeed nothing of what the former, the object thought of, *is*, but as a mode of thought distinguished from the latter as another mode of thought; but that we *do* know something more of *how it comes* and *how it behaves*; we know something of its real conditions, its relations to other objects thought of, and to objective thought itself; and this knowledge it is which forbids us to ascribe its production, its real conditioning, to objective thought, or to consciousness in any way whatever.]

It is just at this point that the double analysis of material things makes its importance felt. A piece of matter has one analysis into sensations and representations of sensation, which is its subjective or philosophical analysis; and another into molecules, or possibly atoms, or some other non-atomic primordial configurations of matter, together with the tensions, forces, motions, or tendencies to motion, between them or between their parts;—or even it may be into mathematical lines or points, provided that these are conceived as the seats of actual forces in interaction with each other;—which is its physical or scientific analysis. And whatever content of thought you put, by hypothesis or by inference, into the position of an object thought of, whether that content is of a physical, or of a spiritual and immaterial nature, you thereby fix it, so to speak, with the properties of an object thought of, that is, ascribe to it the possession of a real existence, independent of the degree of knowledge which we may have of its constitution and modes of action. It is thereby *posited* in thought as an individual and concrete existent. And it is this concrete individuality which is the characteristic mark of objects thought of, as opposed to objective thoughts. An object thought of may be defined as the actually existent and individualised combination of the properties expressed in general terms by the corresponding objective thought, *plus* properties which are as yet unknown to us, but which are also actually existent and individualised. Positive theoretical science is the endeavour to exhaust these properties, to bring to book, as it were, the Dryad or other

noumenal entity inside the tree, and express them in terms of objective thought, that is, in terms of consciousness. The real conditions discovered by scientific analysis derive their actual and individualised character from the common-sense objects, of which they are the analysis and, so to speak, the miniatures. Our belief in their conditioning power is derived from the same source. In short they are *real*, in the second of the two senses of this term assigned in my last Address, because the common-sense objects and events are so, which are their original source in experience. We cannot indeed say, whence their conditioning power is ultimately derived. That would be to pierce the veil of the Unseen World, by pointing out in it the real conditions of the Seen World. Philosophy may have something to say on our position with regard to this question in its Constructive Branch. But the question is one which cannot even be approached with profit, until a broad and secure foundation has been laid in philosophical analysis.

Positive science, as we have seen, never entirely quits its hold of individual objects of thought; its analysis of them, though performed by means of objective thought, is always into objects of thought again, into more and more recondite parts and operations, which it has no other means of expressing or thinking of, than by general terms, but which are always taken as objects thought of, as real conditions and conditionates. It is for the verification of the reality of the objective thoughts, for being sure that the steps in our theorising are genuine and not imaginary, that philosophical analysis is required in science, that is, the bringing each step in thought under immediate reflective inspection. We have no intuition of objects of thought as such, that is, in their completely determined individuality, with all their parts fully determinate and standing in perceptual order in relation to each other; that being their logical distinction from objective thoughts, which are always combinations of general terms. We therefore cannot verify our thoughts by their means. Indeed, if we had such intuitions, verification would be needless. Intuition would supersede it. Scientific omniscience would be universal. Again a great part of the reasoning in science is done by means of symbols, the meaning of which has been verified once for all, and does not require reflective analysis at every fresh use. In short, as I remarked above, the assumption of objects as ready made or absolute existents, originally made by common sense, is never retracted by science; and I may add is never entirely abstracted from, even in the fullest tide of theorising, and flush of occupation with objective thoughts. For science uses thought solely as a means ancillary to the discovery of the real nature and power of things, as existent objects, and not as existent thoughts.

### III.

It remains in completion of our task to show the bearing of the foregoing remarks on the special province of Psychology, a province which of all others is most closely allied, and therefore also most easily confused, with that of Philosophy. The positive sciences, from dynamics to biology, with the host of more concrete or special sciences which depend upon them, astronomy and geology for instance, are built entirely upon the physical analysis of Matter. They all aim at discovering, and then applying the results for discovering farther, the constitution and modes of operation of physical matter; which is saying, in other words, the laws governing the forces and energies of Nature, or the laws of Nature's order of real conditioning. Now in living organisms, which are the province of the highest member of this group of fontal sciences, namely, biology, there is developed a phenomenon which has become the object of special study, a phenomenon the varied ramifications of which have made that study the parent or fontal science of another group, the science of Psychology. The phenomenon on which it is based is that of sentience, in all its varied modes, which expressed in one word is *consciousness*. This is a great restriction of the vast domain which once belonged to psychology. Aristotle's psychology, for instance, included both the active principle or cause of Life and the separable agency of the Reason. In ordinary language, *animation* and *life* are nearly synonymous. But a largo slice was carved out of this heterogeneous domain, when biology was constituted, and vital phenomena were assigned to it as its province. Thenceforward the province of psychology began, not with life, but only with conscious life, and included the phenomena of consciousness in living beings. The functions of the organism taken alone belonged to biology, and only so far as they were attended with consciousness, from the dawnings of sentience upwards, to psychology. The proper subject-matter of psychology, therefore, is the relation of consciousness to the organism which is its seat and its condition; not of course without regard to conditions external to the organism, but still with regard first and foremost to the nature and laws of the organism which is its seat, as its proximate condition.

The group of sciences dependent on psychology consists of those which we may call *moral*, embracing every branch of investigation into the subject-matter of which consciousness in any shape enters, or has entered, as part and parcel of the phenomena to be studied. The science of language, for instance, depends upon a knowledge of the consensual, as well as the simply reflex and unconscious, action of the organs of voice and hearing; and the means by which sounds come to express wants, wishes, and ideas, is one of its chief objects. The division thus drawn between the two groups of physical and moral sciences seems moreover to be

exhaustive. The simple presence or absence of consciousness in the subject-matter is the basis of the division. And no science, the subject-matter of which includes consciousness as an element, or has at any time included it while in process of formation, can be satisfactorily treated, without reference to the fontal science of psychology, which makes the genesis and laws of consciousness itself, in living organisms, its special object.

[But in calling psychology the parent or fontal science of the moral group, it must not be imagined that its establishment on a definite and sound footing, or at least its recognition as so established, preceded theirs. In point of fact, it is only quite recently that psychology has severed itself clearly from the parent stem or matrix of all positive sciences, philosophy, and taken rank as a recognised science on an independent basis, even if it can be said to have already succeeded in doing so. But when it does, both philosophy the parent and psychology the child will equally profit by the change. Philosophy will be definitely constituted and demarcated by the same event which secures the definite constitution of psychology. The last and highest of the positive sciences will then have broken off from the common ancestral stock, which will then be seen in its essential nature. The mixing up questions of causation or real conditioning with subjective analysis is precisely the circumstance, of all others, which has been most prejudicial to philosophy; a damage which I for one think is most strikingly exemplified in its very latest period, the period from which we are now issuing; I mean in Kant's theory at the beginning of it, and then in the whole course of ontological speculation, to which that theory gave rise. We may see its consequences also in that section of Germany, which has "gone back to Kant," and is occupied with what they suppose was his true problem—How alone is knowledge or true experience possible? This enquiry they have named Cognitiontheory (*Erkenntnistheorie*), and have placed it, like Kant's "Criticism," in a position intermediate between psychology on one side and metaphysic on the other. Its main question (*Grundfrage*) I find stated, incidentally, by a high authority, to be this: "How can an Object be cognised by the Subject, *i.e.*, how can its own peculiar nature, apparently consisting for itself, pass over as it were into my cognition-organ? how can it exist in me as cognition, and in itself as thing, at the same time?"

Dr. Hermann Siebeck. *Geschichte der Psychologie. Erster Theil. Erste Abtheilung.* p. 220. Gotha, 1880.

The question is indeed insoluble in that form, and may be left to those whose minds are restricted to work by Kantian machinery. The only way of dealing with it is to transform it, by dropping the assumption which it involves; the assumption of subjective and objective factors of knowledge, both or either, and indeed of any factor of knowledge at all. The *analysis* of knowledge is the only possible "theory" of it. But this transformation of the question also transforms "cognitiontheory" into philosophy, by removing the last assumption which restricts the otherwise perfect universality of its range. Metaphysic, which is philosophy, will then include cognitiontheory, and march immediately with psychology. The questions *what* and *how comes* must be kept apart; and when once it is seen, that the great question of psychology is the real conditioning of consciousness in individual organisms, as objects thought of, or, otherwise expressed, the contribution which the percipients as real existents, and as distinguished from the things perceived as real existents, make to perception, it will then be no longer doubtful, that the great question of philosophy is the analysis of perception as such, but in its entire range, so as to obtain as its result a complete and ordered system of objective thought.]

If these remarks are well founded, the great distinction marking off the province of psychology from philosophy, and at the same time guiding psychology in its own work, is that between Consciousness and the Conditions of consciousness. It is not that between Mind and Matter, or Soul and Body. Most words importing mind or soul state as simple what is really compound. They represent consciousness and its proximate condition as clumped together, and forming one thing without distinction of parts. This supposed unit must henceforward be subjected to examination in the light of our distinction of method, in order to test the reality of its elements each for itself. Empiricists, it is true, often divorce the inseparable, as for instance when they separate perception from sensation, perception from memory, presentation from representation; but here it would seem that they atone for this (as some might consider) by indissolubly uniting the separable. Psychology docs not know, as a *datum* to begin from, that any such mental or psychical unit really exists; for it cannot lay claim to intuitions *a priori*. Consciously sentient organisms, or individualised consciousnesses, are its data. It thus takes up the enquiry from the common-sense point of view, beginning with percipients as individual beings, and with consciousness divided into individual lives. This is another broad distinction from philosophy; for philosophy takes consciousness, to begin with, quite generally, though, as we know from common sense, and as we also come to know as a result of philosophical analysis in harmony with common sense, it is always an individual's consciousness which it examines. Philosophy has no other course open to it, because, beginning without assumptions, it cannot possibly assume to begin with, that it already knows what an individual conscious being is. Philosophy, in fact, places itself artificially, by its method, at the point of view of an infant newly born, I mean in respect of having *all* its knowledge yet to acquire. Psychology on the other hand is in the position of a spectator watching the infant, and tracing the development of its consciousness and conscious action *ab extra*.

The real conditioning of the consciousness and conscious action of individual beings is therefore what psychology has to trace. This falls into two branches which are in interaction with each other, conditions

internal to the organism and external; and the former again into conditions internal to the brain and nervous system, and conditions external to them, but still within the organism. But the proximate conditions are always, so far as we know, internal to the brain and nervous system; that is to say, conscious action and consciousness depend always immediately, either upon some state or functioning of nerve substance itself, or upon something seated in or accompanying them, whatever external conditions may have contributed to bring that state or functioning about. It is these proximate conditions, be they what they may, which are the special object of psychology.

[Furthermore it must be noted, that psychology deals with these conditions as conditions, and not as objects of consciousness. I mean, that its dealing with them as objects is entirely ancillary to its dealing with them as conditions. It has been already noted, that we have no hold of conditions but as objects of thought, and no hold of objects of thought but as objective thoughts, and therefore the two characters of condition and object are perpetually liable to be confused with each other. When psychology, for instance, speaks of a red object being seen as red, it is speaking of the object denotatively, and means that object which, as condition, so acts upon the nerve of sight, also as condition, as to produce the perception of redness. When psychology says *an oak tree*, it means a bundle of real conditions, which in interaction with another bundle in the organism, produce, in the organism, the bundle of perceptions which common sense designates by that name. When philosophy says *an oak tree*, it is that bundle of perceptions which is meant. And thus philosophy stands one degree nearer than psychology to common sense; which is exactly in harmony with the relation of both to their common starting point, as explained in the former part of my Address. It is the *operation* of the objects conducive to results in consciousness, not the analysis of the objects as objects of consciousness, which psychology has in view.]

The relation, then, between states and processes of consciousness, on the one hand, and their two sets of conditions, external and internal to the nervous system, but chiefly the latter as the proximate conditions, is the province of psychology; and we can now see precisely what territory belongs to it in common with philosophy. It is that undivided half or aspect of states of consciousness, by which they stand connected with their proximate real conditions, within their own organisms, whatever these conditions may prove to be, abstraction being made from the rest of the panorama, of which, they are components. Psychology, therefore, occupies the whole field of consciousness, but under the restriction not only of taking it piecemeal, but also of taking each selected part in connection with its conditions of genesis, and with the states of consciousness, if any, which it conditions. Or more briefly, its special field consists of states of consciousness in their character of real conditionates or conditions.

If the vague expressions *introspection* and *inner phenomena* are capable of meaning, (for sometimes they seem meant only to mystify,) we mean or ought to mean philosophical reflection by the one, and consciousness as its immediate object by the other. If you could look within the brain and see consciousness at work inside, you would then get an *external* view of consciousness, and be regarding it *ab extra*; this would be no *introspection* of *inner* phenomena. Reflection alone is introspection. Connecting consciousness with its conditions is not the work of introspection; but introspection, in its true sense of philosophical reflection, is the philosophical basis upon which psychology, the connecting of consciousness with its conditions, stands; and this is a basis furnished by philosophy to all sciences alike. Philosophy analyses consciousness; psychology seeks the real conditions of its several moments, states, or events. As psychology on the side of conditions is connected with the physical sciences through biology, and has the domain of real conditioning in common with them, so on the other side it is connected with philosophy through having consciousness as common subject-matter, the individual form of which it traces in the genesis both of the whole and of the parts of an individual's experience.

The laws which govern the connection of consciousness with its proximate real conditions being thus marked out as the main object of psychology, it is plain, that the first and most essential task of that science must be, to frame a distinct idea of the general kind of agency or agencies exerted by those conditions. Without this nothing but confusion can ensue. Let us see, then, within what limits the agencies in question must lie. It seems to me, that three hypotheses are possible on this point, and three only, though admitting combination:

- A spiritual or immaterial entity inhabiting the body.
- Physiological action in the nerve organism.
- Energy in consciousness itself, or its states, as such.

A word or two on each of these in turn.

1. The hypothesis of a spiritual entity, called variously soul, mind, spirit, self, or ego, inhabiting the body, has the support of tradition and antiquity in its favour. From its immateriality it seems to be of kindred nature to its conditionate, consciousness, and also to offer a principle of union between conscious states, inasmuch as, being immaterial, it can be imagined as having no parts occupying space. On the other hand, its nature or mode of existence is difficult to realise in thought; and still more difficult to see how it can exert a real conditioning power.

2. The hypothesis that physiological action is the proximate real condition of consciousness has to contend with the apparent disparateness in kind between itself and its conditionate. Between matter and feeling there seems to be no bridge. On the other hand, a great part of the weight of this difficulty is removed, when we consider, that a bridge, that is to say, some correspondence or similarity of nature, is not by any means so indispensable to thought between condition and conditionate, as it is between cause and effect, on the old conception of causation. By the old conception of causation, I understand an agency which includes *origination* as well as influence. And be it noted in passing, that the idea of origination is read by carelessness into common-sense objects taken as conditions, just as that of absolute existence is read into common-sense objects taken simply. A cause is that which *proprio Marte* makes a thing to be so and so, whereas a condition is that without which another thing would not be so and so. A cause puts something of itself into its effect; a condition not necessarily so; and therefore total disparateness between antecedent and consequent is fatal in the one case, but need not be so in the other. It is thus quite conceivable, that physical processes may be the sole and sufficient proximate conditions of consciousness, though they could never figure as their sole and sufficient cause.

3. The hypothesis, that the real conditioning of consciousness resides in consciousness itself, has two forms. One of these appeals to the fact, that we literally know of nothing whatever except in the form of consciousness, either as states or grouping of states, activities or grouping of activities, of consciousness; and therefore, since beyond consciousness there is literally nothing, we are restricted to look for its real conditioning within itself, as some productive or organising energy of its own. On the other hand, it is difficult to see, how any particular feature, which might be selected as the agency in question, such for instance, as thought, or will, or conscious *nisus*, or imagination, or self-consciousness, which is known only as part and parcel of consciousness, and therefore would seem to depend as much on other parts of consciousness as other parts on it, can at the same time be the real condition of consciousness, a relation which requires that the condition should be conceived as capable of existing independently of its conditionate. We seem to be unable to form a distinct conception of any such feature as an independent existent, and still less of its mode of operating as a real condition. This form of the hypothesis, therefore, seems inapplicable in psychology, which seeks the conditions of consciousness in individual cases, whatever may be its value as the basis of that theory of the Universe, which makes universal consciousness, as such, to be *Causa Sui et Mundi*. If understood of a particular consciousness, it reverses the relation which a science of psychology presupposes; inasmuch as it represents consciousness to be the real condition of all its objects, instead of being itself conditioned upon some of them; the psychological question being,—upon *which*. To adopt this form of the hypothesis would be to transcend the limits of psychology as a positive science, and put a psychological philosophy, a psychological theory of the Universe, in its place.

The other form of the hypothesis points to feelings, particularly to those of pleasure and pain, and those which are involved in volition, as really operative links in the chain of conscious states and conscious action. It is not put forward to account for the genesis of consciousness, and therefore it must be regarded as subsidiary to the first hypothesis, namely, that of an immaterial entity, upon which it leans. The feelings to which it attributes a real efficacy in modifying the course of consciousness are supposed to be also, and at the same time, states or functions of the immaterial entity of the first hypothesis. The two hypotheses thus mutually support each other, and their position is a very strong one. *We feel*, it is said, the pain of a burn, and therefore draw back our hand. *We know*, it is said, the advantage of learning, and therefore set ourselves to acquire it. If the feeling and the knowledge, states of consciousness, had not efficacy, either as states of consciousness or as states of mind, the consequences mentioned would not follow. States of consciousness, therefore, it is argued, are real and effective links in the chain of causation.

On the other hand it may be replied, that no proof has ever been given, that the efficacy resides in the states of consciousness or mind themselves. A burn is occasioned by physical agencies, and if the action set up thereby in the nerve-system were to run its course, the concomitant feeling, *and that only*, being removed, the same action of withdrawing the hand would follow. We cannot try the experiment, because, were we to remove the pain of the burn, by anæsthetics or otherwise, we could not tell that the physical nerve-action was thereby unaltered. So in the other case of knowing the advantage of learning. To remove the knowledge, it may be said, would involve alteration of the brain-processes, which we have reason to suppose accompany it; and therefore we can never be sure, that the setting ourselves to acquire learning, which seems to be its consequence, is really due to the knowledge as a state of mind or consciousness, and not to the brain-process.

I am not the first to make these remarks, which seem to me very materially to weaken the case for the hypothesis in question. The phenomena appealed to are concrete phenomena, described as they appear to common sense: *We feel and draw back our hand; We know and set ourselves to acquire*. The question is, what is the psychological, the scientific, analysis of these phenomena. Are they resolvable into a mental entity, its states and operations, in conjunction with a body and its physical operations; or are they resolvable into a body

and its physical operations, in conjunction with states of consciousness conditioned by them? Supposing the former analysis adopted, two difficulties still remain, to one or other of which the hypothesis is subject. The first is that of forming a distinct notion of how states of consciousness, as such, can operate either upon one another, or upon matter, or upon mind; the second that of seeing how states of consciousness can be also states of an immaterial entity. The mere circumstance, that both states of consciousness and the entity of mind are conceived as immaterial, goes but a very little way towards showing how the former are united with the latter as its states or actions. It will be remembered that, under the head of the first hypothesis, we found a corresponding difficulty with regard to the mode of operation of the immaterial entity itself.

Now questions of this kind, questions relating to the choice of its fundamental hypothesis, seem to me to lie at the very threshold, or rather at the very root, of psychology. Unless we proceed on some distinct hypothesis concerning the real agencies which are at work, we are merely giving a preliminary description and provisional classification of the phenomena, and can make no claim to have placed psychology on the footing of a science. Besides, the very description and classification of the phenomena are greatly influenced by the point of view from which they are seen, and by the choice of central facts round which to group them. But what do we mean by central facts? Surely, in any science, those facts are central, which are the most generally present and constant facts in the play of the forces of which the conditioning consists. For instance, the distinction and classification of the main functions of consciousness, which are usually taken as three, feeling, knowing, and acting, will assume a different appearance according as the functions are regarded as functions of an immaterial entity or of a material organism. Again, the so-called Laws of Association will inevitably come out in a very different shape, if supposed to be governed by laws of mind, from what they will present if described in connection with the concomitant brain-processes.

The revolution which has recently taken place and is still going on in psychology, and to which its present proud position among the positive sciences is owing, consists in bringing the phenomena of consciousness, that is, its states and processes, into immediate connection with those physiological processes which are the object of our second hypothesis. The revolution is most conspicuous in that department of psychology which is known as Psychophysic, where experiment as well as observation is applied to the phenomena, by recording the minute variations in consciousness, particularly in the time required for their manifestation, produced by varying the external stimuli brought to bear on nerve and brain. The phenomena of consciousness are thus made amenable to *measure*, and it is clearly owing to their connection with the physical world through the physiological, which contains their proximate conditions, that they are so.

Yet there is in many quarters, and not least among scientific psychologists, a strange reluctance to place the science avowedly on the footing of an investigation into the real conditions of consciousness, and avowedly to follow it up so far only as its real conditions of known kinds, that is, its *veræ causæ*, will carry us. Its scientific character rests upon this kind of investigation alone, and comes to an end with it. Yet while all are eager to claim a scientific character for psychology, many are reluctant to admit the *limits* of the science, by avowing upon what it is, that its scientific character really rests.

A few words will suffice to give the rationale of this reluctance, or rather to explain the state of opinion which supplies a plausible pretext for indulging it. And this at the same time will bring us back to our main subject, the true relation between philosophy and science. The old conception of philosophy is, that it proposes to assign the ultimate essence of things as objects thought of, or what is equivalent, of real existents in the second sense of *reality*, and finally of that real existent which was supposed to underlie and cause the relation of Subject and Object everywhere, and in its whole extent. The *Being* of things was to be explained out of themselves; their essence and their existence were to be shown coincident, their essence causal, and their cause essential; as if the Universe was given *a priori* as a finite organism. Philosophy thus had marked out for it that task which Claude Bernard asserts to be futile, in the passage quoted above, namely, to show the *essence* and the *why* of things. It was a task which was exactly the same as that of science, proceeding on exactly the same line of analysing objects thought of, or existents in the second sense of *reality*, but with this sole difference, that it aimed beyond science on the same line, beyond the point where all means of analysing existents, in that sense, failed. Science stopped short at what were called *conditions*, philosophy went on to what were called *causes*, and beat its wings in a vacuum.

I have already explained to you, how different the new conception of philosophy is from this old conception of a search for the hidden causal essence of things. Instead of going on beyond science on the same line, it turns back to contemplate our knowledge of things, to contemplate science contemplating things, the world and science together being its object; leaving the real conditions of things wholly to science, and therefore ceasing to expect positive knowledge of them where science drops its pursuit. Metaphysic no longer means *physic in vacuo*, but *physic in conspectu*, or *sub judice*. Physical science transcends itself, that is, becomes Metaphysic, by reflecting on itself as a subjective process of knowing, and on the relation between that process and the object of it, which is physical nature, or Matter. It thus becomes self-conscious, conscious

of its own *nature*, as well as of its own purpose. The name *metaphysic*, originally due to a literary accident, could not have been more happily chosen, if Aristotle's express purpose had been to characterise the analytic part of philosophy, by bringing out the relation which it bears to science. Metaphysic, in short, transcends physic, not by mimicking its method of hypothesis and verification in cases where they are no longer applicable, but by an independent method of its own, which enables it to contemplate the physical method itself as a component part of the whole field of consciousness, and which is unlimited by the assumptions on which the physical method is founded.

Apply this to the case of psychology, and you will at once apprehend its present position. The traditional assumption of psychology is that of an immaterial entity, as the causal essence, or *substantia*, of which consciousness is the attribute, or phenomenal manifestation. Just as there was thought to be a material substrate beyond phenomenal matter, or material objects, so beyond phenomenal mind, or persons, there was thought to be an immaterial *substantia*; and the terms mind and matter alike have the same ambiguity about them; matter, at least in pre-Berkeleyan times, meaning now the substrate now the phenomenon, and mind, even at the present day, meaning now the entity and now its manifestation, phenomenal mind or individual consciousness. Noumenal mind, or mind as entity, is therefore precisely one of those pretended philosophical explanations, which according to the old conception of philosophy it was the business of philosophy to give, according to the new conception of it to analyse as a conception.

For in fact, the *giver* of the explanation is not philosophy, but crude and presumptuous common sense. The explanation is an assumption seeking its justification. Yet simply on the ground that the business of philosophy is to assign the causal essence of things, the assumption is treated as a truth, lest philosophy's occupation should be gone. And in fact the occupation of the old philosophy, philosophy as a search for causal essences, *is* gone,—gone for ever,—gone where causal essences go, wherever that may be. Those who still think after this fashion exactly reverse the relative positions of philosophy and psychology, as I conceive them, besides altering their functions. Psychology, taken apart from philosophy, becomes a preliminary description of states of consciousness together with the circumstances in which they occur; and philosophy comes in afterwards to connect them with their real condition, soul or mind as an entity, the enquiry into causal entities being its peculiar province.

Now you will find two sets of psychologists who still keep up the old illusion. One of these honestly believes in mind as a causal entity, and therefore represents psychology as consisting of a philosophical part, which investigates the nature of mind, or whatever else the *psyche* in psychology may stand for, as an entity, and of a phenomenal part, which treats of the laws and occasions of its manifestation. The two parts together constitute the whole science of psychology. And you will observe, that it possesses at least that characteristic of a true science, which consists in connecting phenomena with their real conditions. For "mind," supposing it to exist, is clearly a real condition, though it is also more besides, namely, cause, or originating essence of its phenomena. And it is quite possible, that there may be some real existent in the place indicated by the name, that is, an existent which, unknown to us, is a real condition of consciousness, though not the cause or *substantia* of its states.

I should be sorry if I were understood to assert, that no real conditions exist but physical ones. This is a negative which, to say the least, it would be difficult to prove. My meaning is, that science requires us not to go beyond those kinds of real conditions which are positively known to us, and that we have within those limits, and without recourse to conditions, the evidence for which consists solely in the assumptions of an antiquated philosophy, a positive and experimental science. I am quite prepared to admit, that there may be powers operating in the organism, in the real conditioning of consciousness, which are wholly unknown and unimagined by us. And moreover I think that a corresponding admission must be made in the case of inorganic matter also. The very substitution of condition for cause, in science, when the idea is applied to so complex an existent as matter is shown to be by its physical analysis, carries with it the necessity of supposing, that matter itself has its real conditions of existence beyond itself, and therefore beyond our positive knowledge, conditions which belong to a world as real and phenomenal as if we had a direct knowledge of it, but at the same time conditions which can form no part of any merely physical theory of matter. For while causes are things supposed to exist ready made in nature, like pre-Darwinian species, which in fact are one case or instance of them, conditions on the contrary we know to be divisions introduced by ourselves, as a means of discovering the one real undivided order of Nature's operations, an order which is as unbounded by our limitations, as it is undivided by our divisions. And in fact we find, that no physical theories of matter, however daring, ever travel beyond the assumption of matter in some form or other, though a form more recondite, or more primordial, than that for which it is called on to account. In short the physicist assumes Matter in general, just as the philosopher assumes Consciousness in general, not individualised, as his necessary basis of procedure. Just as philosophy discovers in the world of common-sense objects a single undivided stream of consciousness, which it is its business to analyse, so science discovers in it a single undivided order of natural operation, the laws of which it

is its business to discover. It is therefore no part of the present method to assert, that human faculties are adequate to exhaust the whole economy of organic and inorganic nature. But this is a very different thing from denying the possibility of an entity, the whole conception of which rests on fallacious assumption.

The other class of psychologists comprises those who, having no reliance on the theory of an immaterial entity, connect consciousness with its physical and physiological conditions in a strictly scientific manner, whether in psychophysic or in other branches, but at the same time profess, that they are merely treating the *phenomena* of the subject, and that the real nature of mind is a question for philosophy. As if the consideration of the real nature of anything which is admitted to be a real condition of consciousness could be omitted from psychology, and yet psychology could preserve its scientific character. These two things are incompatible. To restrict the enquiry to the phenomena of the subject is to profess a belief in the existence of "mind" as noumenon; and then, supposing it to exist, the enquiry into its nature and operation is the very nerve of a scientific psychology. Either psychology is a science, and then it must face the question of the real conditions of consciousness in its length and breadth, or it evades it and becomes a mere preliminary investigation of no particular importance.

Neither will it escape you, how injurious to philosophy is this attempt to put off upon its shoulders an inconvenient and indeed impossible task, as the psychologists in question well know it to be, the wild-goose chase of mind as an entity. Philosophy exposes the fallacy of the conception; it is hardly fair to saddle it with the capture of the thing. Psychologists of this class are lingering too long in the position of Hartley, the illustrious founder of scientific psychology in its differentiation from philosophy, in contrast with the undifferentiated state in which it is presented by Locke; Hartley, as you are aware, retaining nominally the soul or mind, as the real agent, but making use only of nerve and brain processes as actual means of explanation. It is surely time that Hartley's position in this matter should be revised.

And now I have only to say in conclusion, that what I have tried to lay before you in outline is a sketch of the position of philosophy in relation to the other branches of speculative knowledge, by pointing out, 1st its special problem, 2nd its special method. Philosophy in our days has to renew the fight for its bare existence. The natural man regards the unfortunate philosopher somewhat as the Northern Farmer regarded the Rector:

*"Larn'd a ma' beä. I reckons I 'annot sa mooch to larn."*

On the other hand, scientific men are a little impatient at attempts to construct the universe, which, if they did not invariably break down, would involve constructing the sciences of experiment and observation *a priori*. Such attempts seem to me somewhat as if the mites of a cheese should try to construct a theory of dairy-farming. We are encompassed by a world as phenomenally real, and yet as much beyond our powers of observation, as are the dairy and the farm to the mites in a cheese. Dairy-farming is not the *noumenon* of which the cheese and its mites are the *phenomena*. It is unspeakable the mischief that this crude notion of a hidden reality manifesting itself in phenomena has done to human wits. And it is plain that the cure does not lie in professing to know that fiction, the noumenon, and thereby read the riddle of the universe; still less, if possible, in treating the unknown as something with which we have no practical concern; for this is wilful blindness to a fact, and that fact one the pondering on which is a powerful, possibly an indispensable, agency in sustaining the moral and spiritual life. The real cure lies in knowing the limits of our knowledge, and in determining what attitude of mind we shall adopt in presence of that unseen but actual and real world.

England's Colonies her Strength.

*By the Author of "Liberal Misrule in Ireland" "Liberal Despotism," "The Situation," "Conservatism and the People," "Liberal Vacillation" "Unconscionable Agitation and Political Responsibility," "The Egyptian Imbroglia" "The Bubble of Obstruction," "A Policy of Shrinkage," &c.*

"Strength wanting judgment and policy to rule, overturneth itself."—

Horace

Bemrose & Sons Printers London, E.C.; and Derby 23, Old Bailey

## England's Colonies her Strength.

*"If called upon to declare the circumstance in the condition of England which, more than all other things, makes her the envy of surrounding nations, it would be to her Colonial Possessions that we must attribute that feeling. In the eyes of foreigners those possessions are at once the evidence of our power and the surest indicant of its increase."*

—J. R. PORTER.

Joint Secretary, Board of Trade, and Author of the "Progress of the Nation," from which the above extract is taken.

OF the many important questions which are at the present moment exercising the public mind, there is no

one more deserving of a foremost place in our thoughts, and worthy alike of the serious consideration of the statesman and the earnest attention of all thoughtful Englishmen, than the maintenance of our Colonial Empire.

The interests involved are of the first magnitude, nor is it possible for us to be too familiar with the stupendous issues they present.

The area of the Empire, which, outside of the restricted limits of these Islands, for the purposes of government, is parcelled into *forty* Colonial divisions, including our great Indian Dependency, amounts to no less than nine millions of square miles, or about one-sixth of the habitable face of the globe, being thus greater by eighty times than the surface of the United Kingdom, and possessing a coast line extending over 28,000 miles, containing innumerable harbours, a condition of things which, doubtless, has been most favourable to the extraordinary development of our shipping, which according to the latest returns, exceeds in tonnage and efficiency the total mercantile marine of the rest of the world. That is to say, if we, according to the usual estimate, calculate one steamer as being equal in efficiency to three sailing vessels of the same class and size, it would appear that there are twenty-four and a-half millions of tons of British shipping as compared with nineteen millions of tons of shipping belonging to all other nations. Or, if we reckon steamers only we possess six and a-half millions of tonnage of British steamers, as against three millions of tons owned by the rest of the world.

Again, the total wealth of the British Empire amounts to twelve thousand five hundred millions sterling, in which our Colonies figure for no less than four thousand millions sterling; while we can lay claim to no less than one-third of the entire commerce of the world, of which proportion about twenty-one per cent, belongs to the United Kingdom, and thirteen per cent, to the Colonies.

These figures, then, not only illustrate the vastness of our possessions, and our unparalleled wealth, but they also clearly demonstrate that this wealth is not England's alone: it is closely bound up with and largely due to and shared by her Colonies; and this view is further strengthened by the significant fact that, whereas since the year 1869, exports of the produce of the United Kingdom to foreign countries have only increased by ten per cent., the total increase of such exports to our British Colonies amounts to over seventy-three per cent.

Lastly, on this score, it cannot be too often laid down that, while the Australian Colonies and Canada are consumers of British produce to the extent respectively of over £8 and £2 per head, the United States does not take more than 14s.; France, 12s.; and Germany, 9s. worth.

Here is, perhaps, the most cogent testimony that could be well adduced in support of the dictum of John Stuart Mill, "that colonization, in the present state of the world, is the best affair of business in which the capital of an old and wealthy country can engage." And yet the Government look on supinely, moving neither hand nor foot to encourage or direct the mass of British emigrants which annually leave these shores for the United States, (in 1888 they amounted to 191,578 persons) to proceed to our own Colonies, where they would lose neither their allegiance nor their Hag, and being thus preserved to us, would, in the future, like those who have gone before them, be endowed with all happiness and prosperity, while adding to the lustre and greatness of our race.

Ponder these words of wisdom given to us by Edward Gibbon Wakefield, than whom no one is better entitled to be heard on the value of our Colonies:—"I think that whatever the possession of our Colonies may cost us in money, the possession is worth more in money than its money cost, and infinitely more in other respects. For by overawing Foreign Nations and impressing mankind with a prestige of our might, it enables us to keep the peace of the world, which we have no interest in disturbing." . . . "The advantage is that the possession of this immense empire by England causes the mere name of England to be a real and mighty power, the greatest power that now exists in the world." . . . "You tell us of the cost of dependencies: I admit it, but reply that the cost is the most beneficial of investments, since it converts the mere sound of a name into a force greater than that of the most costly fleets and armies."

*Vide* pp. 98, 99, "A View of the Art of Colonization."

Such considerations as these, in presence of the unmitigated scramble for territorial extension now engaged in by the other great Powers, and bearing in mind the rapidly decreasing number of the neutral or non-protected markets open to our trade, coupled with the considerable commercial depression during the past year, the gloomy trade prospects we are actually face to face with, and the notable dependence of our population upon other countries for more than one-half its food supplies—have, I venture to say, a very special significance, that cannot be too closely weighed and laid to heart. There is, also, the sentimental side of the question—a most important side, and one which cannot be lost sight of—but, wholly independently of this, we submit that the facts here briefly touched upon point to the material and paramount necessity of fostering by every means the relations between Mother Country and the Colonies. Unfortunately, Mr. Gladstone's Government does not hitherto appear to have been of this mind; for even if we put on one side all the other various and serious colonial complications which have sprung into existence since the right honourable gentleman's advent to power, it cannot be denied that recent events in New Guinea and Angra Pequena alone indicate a very different

train of thought on the part of Liberal Ministers, who certainly cannot be accused of being in slavish harmony with the proposition of Adam Smith, that— "Plenty of good land, and liberty to manage their own affairs their own way, seem to be the two great causes of the prosperity of the Colonies."

And here I may say in passing, anent the several schemes of Federation now in the air, that I am profoundly convinced it is on the sound basis enunciated in these statesmanlike words of Adam Smith, and on this basis alone, that the connection between Mother Country and her Colonies can endure.

The failure of the Premier to meet the repeatedly, collectively, and urgently expressed wishes of the Australian Governments in regard to the annexation of New Guinea, marks a departure in our colonial history, the gravity of which cannot be over-rated.

The sudden and eventful action, of Queensland in the early part of 1883, in desiring to forestall the planting of any foreign flag in a land in such close proximity to her shores as New Guinea, endorsed as it was by all the other Australian colonies, was in itself a testimony of deep colonial feeling, so conclusive that it should never have been disregarded. And the attitude of the Cabinet on this question is all the more to be deplored, not only because their estimate of the situation has been proved to be lamentably wrong, but also from the fact that they have left themselves open to the reproach of having deliberately raised hopes which they were apparently not prepared to satisfy.

The contention that New Guinea should not have been originally annexed by Queensland without the sanction of Mother Country may be dismissed by the observation that no general rule, however politic, can be held to govern exceptional cases.

There are to be found many instances in the past, in the history of our American Plantations, showing the advantage of independent Colonial action, and for modern precedents we have but to refer to the examples afforded by the annexation of the Middle Island of New Zealand, and the Island of Perim, which commands the Babel-Mandeb entrance of the Red Sea, and both of which important possessions would have been lost to England had their acquisition depended upon the primary sanction of the Home authorities. St. Lucia Bay may, more recently still, be cited as a strong case in point.

That the case under review was a very exceptional one, there can be but little doubt, and urgency for independent and immediate action has been only too abundantly proved by the regrettable circumstance that, that which Australian Statesmen dreaded and wished to provide against, has come to pass, namely, a foreign Power has established itself in New Guinea.

But the possibility even of such a step on the part of Germany, no less than any other Power, was altogether scouted both by the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the Prime Minister.

The former declared in the House of Lords on the 2nd July 1883, "That there was not the shadow of a proof forthcoming," that any Power wished to seize part of New Guinea; and he, moreover, on the same occasion unequivocally asserted that, "We would not view it as a friendly act if any other country attempted to make a settlement on that coast."

These words of seeming reassurance were but the echo of what Mr. Gladstone had to say on the same date in the House of Commons.

"The apprehension," said the right honourable gentleman, "which some have entertained with regard to the occupation of New Guinea by Foreign Powers" is, "an apprehension which we have no reason to entertain"; and again, on the 18th of the following month of August, Mr. Gladstone stated, in answer to a question in the House, "We have no reason whatever to apprehend any intention on the part of any Foreign Government to make new territorial claims or establishments with respect to that Island," and concluded his observations by saying, that the evidence upon which he spoke was "by no means confined to mere negative testimony."

We all now know the unfriendly act has been committed, the evidence upon which the Prime Minister relied has been scattered to the winds, the wisdom of Australian statesmen has been overwhelmingly justified, and now the country is entitled to demand, and anxiously awaits, some explanation.

The position of the Prime Minister is, indeed, a no enviable one, nor will his responsibility be lessened by the fact that it is due to himself alone that Germany is established on the north coast of New Guinea.

Had the right hon. gentleman treated Colonists less cavalierly, and prudently and considerately given credit to the Queensland Government for, at all events, some of the very ample reasons which influenced its action—in a word, had he awaited those explanations which, he freely admitted in the House of Commons on the 18th August, 1883, it was open to him to do, instead of peremptorily quashing an annexation which had already received the official countenance and enlightened sympathy of three millions of England's sons in Australia—there surely would have been no room for the German flag in New Guinea, and Mr. Gladstone would, moreover, be now spared the keen mortification—for mortification it must be—of seeing, in this regard, his every judgment falsified, his best hopes unfulfilled, and his policy widely discredited and condemned.

Meanwhile, who will say that our Australian fellow-countrymen have not grievous cause of complaint?

On the 2nd July, 1883, the Secretary of State for the Colonies informed the House of Lords that he had

addressed these words to the Agents-General for Australia:—

*"If the Australian people desire an extension beyond their present limits, the most practical step that they could take, the one which will most facilitate any operation of that kind, and diminish in the greatest degree the responsibilities of the Mother Country, would be the confederation of those Colonies in one united whole, which would be powerful enough to undertake and to carry through tasks for which no one Colony is at present sufficient."*

Perplexingly enough, the noble lord had previously declared that the Government were "not prepared to undertake the annexation of New Guinea" at all, but, on the other hand, here are words which appear to clearly and explicitly bear the honest interpretation that, if Australian Colonies would proceed to confederation, they would obtain the territorial guarantees they demanded. Trusting in this declaration, as we are aware, they did proceed to confederation, but, notwithstanding this, and the fact that Lord Derby's words just quoted were further confirmed by despatches from the Colonial Office, bearing date respectively the 11th July and the 22nd October, 1883, the Colonies have, nevertheless, without qualm, been thrown overboard and left in the lurch.

Shall we then wonder that Colonial indignation, loud and deep, has been generally expressed—aye, even murmurs of separation have made themselves heard; or that the Prime Minister of Victoria on the 20th December last addressed a Minute to the Governor declaring that "The reported hoisting of the German flag, not only in the Western Pacific, but also on the Northern side of New Guinea, has already created consternation in this community."

Anterior to this the Marquis of Normanby, on the occasion of the prorogation of the Victorian Parliament, in November last, speaking of New Guinea and other Islands of the Western Pacific, said if those lands became possessions of a Foreign Power it would be a "National misfortune," "a calamity," and a "standing menace" to Australia's peaceful shores.

Let me add, with Germany in New Guinea, has come to a disastrous end that isolation which hitherto has been Australia's bulwark and her strength; a permanent military tax, from which until now she has happily enjoyed a well nigh complete immunity, will, in the future, be her lot; while, on the other hand, we at home must be prepared to accept the full consequences of the diplomatic pressure which surely awaits us in our various relations with the Great Powers, and which will, inevitably, be brought to bear upon us, by and through those whom Mr. Gladstone has so tamely suffered to acquire harbours and possessions where, if needs be, hostile fleets or armed cruisers may refit and sally forth, and raid on our "New England of the Southern Pole"!

If we turn from Australia to South Africa, we find the outlook no less gloomy.

There it is not much to say "the incessant and universal blundering of the Foreign and Colonial Offices," to use the language of the *Pall Mall Gazette*,

*Pall Mall Gazette*, 24 Dec., 1884.

has provided for us one of the darkest pages in English History.

The no less radical *Echo*, speaking of the contents of the German White Book, says: "Documents more humiliating to this country were never published."

*Echo*, 15 Dec., 1884.

And, in all conscience, the story of Angra Pequena, as disclosed in our own Blue Books, is a sufficiently painful one.

The facts are clear and beyond cavil.

In July, 1883, the attention of the Colonial Office was first drawn to the settlement of a German Trading Company, at Angra Pequena, on the west coast of Africa, and contiguous to our possessions in Cape Colony south of the Orange River. Previous to this, in the month of February in the same year, the German Embassy had inquired of the Foreign Office whether British protection would be extended to a factory about to be established by a German merchant north of the Orange River.

Angra Pequena, c. 4265, 1884.

To this enquiry no immediate answer appears to have been given, but in the months of September and November, 1883, Baron Plessen and Count Münster, on the part of Germany, having requested to be informed whether Her Majesty's Government claimed the suzerainty or sovereignty over the Bay of Angra Pequena, or the adjacent territory, Lord Granville, on the 21st November, 1883,

c. 4190, No. 30, p. 24.

wrote that, although no proclamation of the Queen's sovereignty over the territory in question had been made, nevertheless, any claim on that part of the coast by a foreign Power would be an infringement of British rights.

Far, however, from it being correct to say that the sovereignty of England had not been proclaimed, the truth is that such sovereignty over the whole of that coast had been very authoritatively proclaimed so long ago as the year 1796, by Captain Alexander, in His Majesty King George's name, and a further specific proclamation of Her Majesty's sovereignty over the harbour of Angra Pequena was made by Captain Forsyth,

acting under official instructions, in the month of May, 1866. Thus we find this marvellous position was taken up by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs—that England had no rights, notwithstanding she had rights, and therefore that any territorial claim by a foreign Power would be an infringement of that which this country did not possess! This was the dog-in-the-manger policy propounded by Mr. Gladstone's Government in reply to the courteous enquiries of a friendly Power after a lapse of *nine* months.

Meanwhile, in consequence of further just remonstrances on the part of Germany, in the month of February, 1884—exactly one year after the receipt of the first friendly despatch from the German Government, asking that we would extend our protection to its subjects—it occurred to Lord Derby to telegraph to the Cape Government, asking if there was any prospect of its taking control of Angra Pequena. As a matter of fact, the views of the Cape Ministers on this point had already, in the previous month of January, 1884, been fully set forth by Mr. Merriman, in an official minute, in which the importance of issuing a commission for the administration of the coast extending from the Orange River to the Portuguese possessions in West Africa, was dwelt upon; but Lord Derby having apparently considered his conscience amply discharged by wire, *ad rem.*, took no further notice of the representations made by the German Ambassador in December, 1883, until on the 2nd June, 1884,

*Vide* p. 14, c. 4190. Ho. 55, Angra Pequena.

when we find him officially announcing by despatch that her Majesty's Government had at length decided to extend that friendly protection to German subjects demanded a year and a half before.

And now I have to invite particular attention to a most extraordinary chapter in these events.

A despatch was received at the Colonial Office in Downing Street, on the 22nd May, 1884,

*Vide* p. 42, c. 4190, No. 50, Angra Pequena.

from our High Commissioner at the Cape, stating the German Consul had notified him that the territorial acquisitions of a German subject (a certain Mr. Lüderitz), at Angra Pequena and elsewhere north of Orange River, had been placed under German protection.

Notwithstanding this, however, Mr. Gladstone's Government did not hesitate, as we have seen, *i.e.*, on the 2nd June, 1884, nearly a fortnight after the receipt of the important and definite intelligence of the official action of the German Government, to record in a formal despatch that Her Majesty's Government had finally decided to grant under the British flag that protection which, having hung lire so strangely and so long, had been already undertaken by Germany.

Curiously enough, a despatch, dated 30th May,

*Vide* p. 46 enclosure I, in No. 158, Angra Pequena.

had also been received from our Ambassador at Berlin, stating that certain *reports* in the *Standard* regarding the assumption of Germany *sovereignty* over the territories in question, were unfounded, but, on the other hand, it is noteworthy that it contains no denial in terms of the distinct official information touching German "protection," not "sovereignty," received by the British Cabinet from the High Commissioner at the Cape.

But, in order that all question touching the doubts diplomatically raised by this despatch from our Ambassador may be effectually dispelled and set at rest, we need only point out that on the 23rd June, 1883,

*Vide* pp. 52 and 53, c. 4190, enclosure 2, in No. 66.

just three weeks after Lord Derby's despatch of the 2nd June, intimating that Her Majesty's Ministers had at last deemed it expedient to arrive at a heroic conclusion to do something! Prince Bismarck took occasion to inform the Reichstag that it was quite true a telegram had been actually despatched by him on the 24th April—exactly two months before—to the German Consul at Cape Town, declaring Mr. Lüderitz's acquisitions north of the Orange River under the protection of the German Empire, a step, no doubt, forced upon the Imperial Chancellor, principally by the circumstance that he had failed to obtain that British protection, which for upwards of a year he had demanded of Mr. Gladstone in vain.

Prince Bismarck also expressly declared that this telegram was at once communicated to the English Government.

Independently of this, we likewise know that this same telegram was given full publicity to, at the time through the medium of the Press.

Thus it would appear that Mr. Gladstone only made up his mind to do that which he had been invited to do eighteen months previously, after he had been officially made aware that he was *too late!* In these circumstances we will perhaps do well not to enquire too closely into the motives which prompted the official despatch dated 2nd June, 1884, that our Government was prepared to give protection under the British flag, notwithstanding that such a proposal must have been the merest mockery, from the fact (which cannot be too often repeated) that, that very protection had already been undertaken by Germany, and that communication of this fact had been made to Mr. Gladstone's Government.

Neither will the intelligence, perhaps, afford much ground for surprise, that the Governor of the Cape was

instructed from Downing Street in the following month of July, that her Majesty's Government had determined they were not in a position to oppose the intention of the German Ministry to extend protection to German subjects on the West Coast of Africa!

Comment on these facts is superfluous; they speak for themselves.

But it may safely be said that never in modern times has British diplomacy and British prestige suffered severer reverses than we find revealed in these murky passages of the Blue Book, affecting us, as they do, not only in England, but reaching in their baneful consequences to the fairest Provinces of our Empire.

Nor can they be set down to other cause than a Policy of Makeshift tempered by feeble procrastination.

We cannot, however, quite concur in the view expressed by the *Pall Mall Gazette*, that the Secretaries of State for Foreign Affairs and for the Colonies are to be singled out and held liable for a responsibility that indubitably must be held to rest elsewhere, and which, in truth, Mr. Gladstone has himself claimed in no uncertain language to be fondly his own.

Under the title of "England's Mission" (*Nineteenth Century*, September Number, 1878), has not the right hon. gentleman twitted and spoken with scorn of all those who look with pride and satisfaction on the magnificent prospect of our splendid possessions, and treated with ridicule, and as savouring of imposture, the idea that our Colonies could afford us military aid in time of need?

Strange irony of fate!

The very same year, in which these views found light, witnessed a European war, largely averted by the presence of our Indian troops in the Mediterranean, strongly reinforced in that position by loyal Canada, who vigorously proclaimed her readiness and power, and at her own cost, to supplement this demonstration by ten thousand men.

No doubt this movement of our Sepoys was at the time vehemently denounced by Mr. Gladstone, but do we not now know that the receptive genius of the Prime Minister, having become well alive to the importance of these Oriental Auxiliaries, he has since been wisely content to take a leaf out of the book of his great rival, Lord Beaconsfield, and unconsciously render homage to that illustrious statesman by utilizing, with signal success, the services of Indian soldiers in the late campaign in Egypt, a step which has been only very naturally followed by the employment of Canadian voyageurs in the present military operations in the valley of the Nile.

Thus it is that the inexorable logic of events has proved abundantly the wisdom of our late leader—bearing good fruit even at the hands of his most determined political foe, and in the manner, perhaps, best calculated to refute Mr. Gladstone's small opinion of the invaluable services which may be rendered to Mother Country by her children beyond the seas.

But it may be urged that, if grave blunders have been committed, and extraordinary errors indulged in, there are yet others than Mr. Gladstone open to censure.

I shall be reminded that the right hon. gentleman has for colleague one who, in 1870, having exposed himself to a protest from Lord Carnarvon, in regard to the unsympathetic, narrow, and selfish Colonial Policy for which he was then responsible, replied:

*"With regard to the Dominion there are, no doubt, many thoughtful men—statesmen and speculative persons—who, after deeply meditating the subject, have come to the conclusion that, in course of time, a perfectly friendly separation should take place between England and Canada."*

And it might also be added that the noble lord who uttered these words was but following in the footsteps of Mr. John Bright, who, on another occasion, had said—"I do not object to separation in the least; I believe it would be better for us, and better for them."

Or, again, it would be possible to affirm that the Colonial Policy of the Cabinet cannot but have been influenced in some degree by another noble lord in the Cabinet, who, in 1871, wrote a despatch of such a character that it called forth a Memorandum from the Representatives of New South Wales, Tasmania, and South Australia, declaring that those Colonies emphatically repudiated "the views of those who, in the Imperial Parliament and elsewhere, have expressed a wish that the bonds which unite us should be severed."

To all such objections the uniform answer must be, that on these various occasions Mr. Gladstone was Prime Minister, and he, consequently, must be held primarily answerable for the policy of his Government—a policy the intolerable infirmity and half-heartedness of which, is in no sense lessened by these, Mr. Gladstone's, own words:—

*"The truth is, that turn where we will, we are met on every side with proofs that the cares and calls of the British Empire are already beyond the strength of those who govern and have governed it."*

*Vide p. 581, "England's Mission," September number, Nineteenth Century, 1878.*

Depend upon it, this is the key-note of that fatal policy of vacillation and delay which has caused the late Prime Minister of Queensland to bitterly declare that, if the language used to him by Liberal Ministers "was heard at the antipodes, the connection between Australia and Great Britain would not be worth a year's purchase," and, moreover, to express his conviction that Mr. Gladstone and other of his colleagues "would not

stretch forth a finger to save the Colonies to the Empire."

*Vide Pall Mall Gazette*, 15th August, 1884.

Depend upon it, it is this halting and irresolute mood that has led to the regrettable occurrence of our Minister for the Colonies having recently been burnt in effigy in Australia; which has led the Prime Minister of Cape Colony to publicly declare that as a stout Englishman he spoke with shame of the action of Mr. Gladstone's Government, which had "treated with contempt the wishes of the Colony"

*Vide Times*, 20th September, 1884.

—and which has culminated in a state of affairs so precarious, so critical, that at one moment the grave alarm which was created by the loudly-rumoured necessity of recalling Lord Wolseley from Egypt, has at another time only been intensified by the unexpected threatened movements of the Channel Squadron—an incident of such serious import that it not only heavily depressed the money markets, and even our British Consols, but found ominous echo on the 10th of this month in the speech of the Gorman Chancellor at Berlin.

This was not the spirit which animated our ancestors to win for us provinces upon which the sun never sets, and whose imperishable deeds, contrasted with the puny actions of Her Majesty's Ministers, accentuate a thousandfold these wise and patriotic words of the Poet Laureate:—

*"To all our statesmen so they be  
True leaders of the land's desire!  
To both our Houses, may they see  
Beyond the borough and the shire!  
We sailed wherever ship could sail,  
We founded many a mighty State,  
Pray God our greatness may not fail  
Through craven fears of being great."*

Fortunately for the integrity of our great inheritance, there has hitherto been no suspicion, however remote, of the Conservative Party being tainted by any such fears, and we may rest assured that it is to that party Englishmen must look if they would jealously safeguard and hand down to posterity, unsullied and unimpaired, an Empire which in the world's history is peerless, whose dominion extends to every zone.

J. H. De Ricci.

27th January, 1885.

## **An Address of the California Tax Reform League to the Citizens and Taxpayers of California.**

The California Tax Reform League is an association of citizens of California who are deeply impressed with the importance of a reform in taxation, which the members aim to bring about through a constitutional amendment. This League does not appeal to members of any political party, but to patriots of all parties, to ameliorate industrial depression, to arrest the increasing growth of widespread dissatisfaction, poverty and unpatriotic sentiments.

The present Constitution of this State in Article XIII, Section 1, says: "*All property in the State not exempt wider the laws of the United States, shall be taxed in proportion to its value, to be ascertained as provided by law.*" The corresponding article of the old Constitution reads:

*"Taxation shall be equal and uniform throughout the State. All property in this State shall be taxed in proportion to its value, to be ascertained as directed by law."*

Comparing both instruments, the new Constitution is improved (?) by leaving out "Taxation shall be equal and uniform throughout." The improvement, however, is a questionable one. If the leaving out this declaration, that has the ring of justice, has any object, it is this: to leave the legislative door open for the purpose that taxation shall not be equal and uniform throughout. It has been argued by the friends of this part of the new Constitution, that no matter what mode of taxation be adopted, some taxpayers will complain and prove

themselves unjustly taxed or doubly taxed, and it is asserted that no tax can be levied that is equal and uniform throughout; and it is further remarked that no matter where any tax is levied, it will be shifted, and finally the burden of taxation will be equally distributed; so it does not matter much who is taxed, it will be all the same.

That the framers of the new Constitution did not think so, is shown by a clause, inserted immediately following the above quoted law. The exemption of growing crops from taxation indicates who was intended to be favored. Not the farmer as such! These were the intentions that prevailed with the men of the new Constitution; we may now see what taxation in this State is, and what are its results. According to law, real estate and improvements thereon, are to be assessed and taxed separately, and we find from a report of the State Board of Equalization in 1880, the following:

The above figures show, that the proportion of land values to the value of the improvements thereon is about as 3 to 1, or one dollar's worth of improvements carries along over three dollars' worth of land value. But if we add personal or movable property, moneys and railroad property to improvements on land, then is the land value still greater than all other values of any and every description taken together. It is obvious that in taxing all things around alike, a concession is made to popular opinion that sees, or believes it sees, justice and fair play in "*taxing property in proportion to its value*," but by a more critical examination it will be clearly seen that land value is a different thing from other values. For land is there by nature, but the improvements are there by men. And land value is the result, of which the other values are the cause. For land values would be nothing, if improvements and the men that cause and maintain improvements were not there. Land values are like the fruit of a tree, of which the roots are human enterprise, labor and human virtue. And as cutting the roots withers the branches and stunts the fruits, so does the taxing of improvements diminish production and land values. In order to maintain seeming justice and apparent fair play, values are intended to be "*taxed in proportion*" by law, and owners have been, in almost all cases, their own assessors at pleasure, under oath, of course. But flagrant perjury, it must be confessed, has been the result. Successful perjury, never punished. Those whose consciences trouble them not, escape their legal share of burden, increasing thereby the burden that weighs heavier on those citizens, who are too proud to lie and too honest to steal. So does the present tax *work*, as a tax on conscience; but as a tax on values, it fails. The yearly and enormously diminishing amounts of taxable moneys prove, if other signs do not, that fraudulent swearing is on the increase—it is a consummate farce. And what else but a faulty system of taxation is the cause of educating, nay compelling, citizens to perjury? What a sight! A race of men, driven to perjury by law! These are the results *taxation in proportion to values*. A tax not in proportion to values, is a license tax on any business, or on any attempt to make a living outside of daily wages, exempting, however, farmers and gardeners (a parallel to *growing crops*) in which exemption orchards and vineyards are not included. What the polltax is, can best be judged by referring to San Francisco's municipal reports. They show from ninety to one hundred thousand persons, one-half white, the other Chinese, liable to \$2 each polltax. The sums collected from this source average \$56,645 for five years ending with 1883, or not one-third the due amount. The collector pockets fifteen per cent commission of this sum, and besides charges the cost of collection to the city. The business of hunting up personal property, of trivial value, and the other business of permitting the greater values to slip through undervalued (often for a private commission), requires about one hundred deputies. The annual average cost of gathering the taxes for San Francisco during five years ending with 1883 is, so far as municipal reports enable us to state, about \$220,000.

From the facts at hand, it is safe to venture the assertion that about one-twentieth, or five per cent only, of this cost of assessing and collecting, is required for taxes derived from land values. No losses occur in land taxation, while the other taxes are not only expensive to gather; they are also very uncertain.

Having briefly reviewed what the present tax is intended to be, and what it really is, let us contrast the requirements of an *ideal tax*.

*First.* It should not diminish production, because production is the source that ultimately supplies the payment of any and every tax.

*Second.* It should be cheaply collected.

*Third.* It should be certain, without tyranny or fraud.

*Fourth.* It should bear equally, and be just to all.

An ideal tax is no leveling or cinching contrivance by which fortunes, right or wrong, shall be cut down. A tax is a burden imposed upon all, for benefits enjoyed by all.

In conformity to these premises the Tax Reform League of California proposes the entire abolition of all taxes on farming, stock-raising, or any agricultural pursuit, mining, manufacturing, transportation by water or by land, on merchandise, on imaginary values, coins; in fact on all that represents individual enterprise, labor and frugality. The Tax Reform League of California further demands the abolition of all licenses and poll-taxes. It is safe to infer from assessed values, as reported and previously stated, that the deficiency so caused will be about forty per cent of the present collection, but will be brought down, by saving in the cost of collection, to

less than thirty-five per cent. This deficiency is to be made up by a proportionate increase in the tax on the rental or market value of the land. This simple and single tax completely fills the before mentioned requirements of an ideal tax. By removing the tax from farming, not from growing crops only, but from everything on the farm or other agricultural venture, except the tax on the market value of the naked land and natural attributes; farming, as distinguished from land-holding, will become more profitable. New fields will be opened for labor and capital at enhanced remuneration. If there is a tax on farming as now; on fences, ditches, buildings, stock, machinery, etc., such tax will be shifted by the farmer on those who consume farm products; but while so shifted it at the same time diminishes production and diminishes the net return to the farmer. Different is the result when all improvements and personal property is exempt, and the market value only of the land is taxed. It matters not who the owner and the user of the soil may be, whether united in the same person or otherwise, the effect to the community is alike. A tax on the rental value is not shifted and cannot be shifted. It must be paid by the owner. But while so paid this tax does not diminish production, unless the tax exceeds the entire rental value. If any one disputes the correctness of these statements, then must he overthrow the undisputed law of rent, which is: "*The rent of land is determined by the excess of its produce over that which the same application can secure from the least productive land in use.*" In other words, the land-holder does not, and cannot, take what he would like. He takes what he can get. He does not wait for higher taxes that he may demand higher rents. He takes all he can get now. To illustrate the above, let us assume a tract of land yielding forty bushels of wheat per acre, of which the land owner takes twenty bushels for rent; the other twenty bushels go to merely maintain the farmer and laborers. If, now, a tax of one bushel were imposed on the farmer, he would be compelled to give up farming, since he could not labor at a loss; hence diminished production or entire cessation of farming. But if a tax of twenty bushels per acre were imposed upon the land owner, he would have to pay all or renounce ownership; and while he was paying twenty bushels, it would not interfere with the production of wheat. If the land owner would attempt to reimburse himself from the farmer he would stop farming, besides disabling himself from paying any tax. Thus the law of rent will be comprehended. To tax farming will increase the cost of production, and it will either suppress farming or it will raise the price of the product. Taxing rent, taking all of it if so decided, does not interfere with the economy of the State. In a like manner, any and every other occupation must be affected. Shipping and transportation more than any other venture affect the general prosperity of a country. For this reason, a removal of taxes on shipping would not only infuse new life, such as has not been witnessed by the present generation, into this withering branch of our industries, but every department of production would indirectly be benefited. If railroads were exempted from taxation on thirty-one million dollars of franchise, road-bed, rolling stock, etc., and carrying charges were regulated accordingly, who doubts that this tax so lost, would be saved in the shape of freights and fares to the people? And if the reported estimate of the San Francisco Emigrant Aid Association of 25,000,000 acres of land owned by the railroads of the State is nearly correct, and also its estimated value of \$40,000,000, now untaxed, were levied upon, then the State treasury would not lose, the travelers and shippers would not lose, nor would the railroads lose. For if the continued holding of their taxed lands would become hopelessly unprofitable, they could dispose of them at market value to settlers, ready to cultivate and pay for them, as originally designed.

In the minds of many it is an axiom, that no good can come to any one class, without working a corresponding evil to another class. No greater fallacy exists. The burden taken from enterprise and labor will instantly stimulate production, and while land values are taxed higher, land value will rise in proportion to enhanced production, and will be proportionally better able to carry the increased burden. This statement is applicable to the lands of the State collectively. But it must be admitted that improved lands are more benefited than lands unimproved. For instance, the owner of an improved piece of agricultural or building land has his tax removed from improvements, whatever their value; it is certain his land will have to pay more; but there are many lands not improved, which will also pay more, according to value. Now, when the entire tax collection for the State is the same, and the owners of unimproved lands pay a greater share than at present, there remains no other possibility but that the owners of improved lands must pay less than at present. To the extent, then, that taxpayers are more interested in improvements or improved lands, than they are interested in unimproved lands, it is to their interest that all improvements or all personal property should be entirely exempted from taxation. To make this demonstration still more clear, imagine two adjoining pieces of land, be it building or farming land, it is immaterial. Say they are each assessed \$3,000. One piece is vacant, and the other bears \$2,000 worth of improvements. There is together \$8,000 valuation, of which, at 2 per cent, the owner of the unimproved land has been paying \$60 taxes per annum. The same amount has been paid by the owner of the improved land, and \$40 more for his improvement, or \$100 for one man and \$60 for the other, together \$1.60. Now we entirely remove the tax from the improvement, and put the deficiency on the land, which imposes on each piece (being of equal value), \$80. The owner of the improved land now pays less, and every owner of improved land in the State would pay less, were this tax reform inaugurated. A few figures will assist to show how this new taxation

would work. It is beyond dispute that lands and other values are equally profitable, since nobody is hindered from investing his funds where most profitable. Referring again to the Reports of 1880, we have \$350,000,000 land, values at 6 per cent, returning to their owners \$21,000,000, while \$316,000,000 of all other taxed values, not land, return \$18,960,000. Assuming all taxes to be about 2 per cent per annum, the proportion of taxes on land values is \$7,000,000, while taxation on all other values, not land, is \$6,320,000. Deducting the respective taxes from incomes, there remain, net income from land values, \$14,000,000, and from all other values, \$12,640,000. But the proposed mode of taxation would leave net to land investment \$7,680,000, and to other investments, \$18,960,000.

What 50 per cent more of net profits in business means, can be better imagined than described. Nor is this exemption from taxation a new theory; it has long been known and acted upon. Many a municipality has invited industries by promising them freedom from taxation, well pre-calculating the results from such tax exemption. By her Constitution, the State of Louisiana has from 1879 for a period of ten years exempted most of her industries from license and taxation. Mississippi followed the example in 1882. Georgia also exempts her industries from taxation.

The object of such legislation has been very definite, and the results are positive. The increase in the number of factories there has been phenomenal, and, while many of the New England mills are reported to be idle or running on short time, the mills in these States are reported busy. "But," says a friend of workingmen, "see the enormous quantities of stored-up farm and factory productions, and no purchasers! and you want the tax taken from labor to produce still more? Don't you start from the wrong end? Can't you see we suffer from over-production?" No, we don't see over-production, when looking on badly fed, insufficiently clothed and ill-housed persons, very willing and quite able to work, but enforced to idleness by hard times, all caused by oppressing enterprise and labor on one side, and on the other by encouraging land speculation, that withholds land from better use. We see no over-production, but we see under-consumption, induced by poverty and fear of poverty.

"I have paid for my nigger!" has often been exclaimed, and now it is said: "One man puts his money in one thing, and another puts it in land; what is the difference?" implying, that the fact of purchase with honestly acquired money settles further question. Well, there is no difference in the money, if it be good, and as to the other thing, it always represents labor, services rendered or to be rendered, whatever that be, and paid to the owner, the right man. But as to land, nobody puts his money in land, properly speaking; he puts it in future rents, in advantages that nature and the collective labor of men have conferred upon a certain piece of land, and the Tax Reform League holds that if a person wants to enjoy these things to the exclusion of any one, we have no objection, if such person pays anywhere near what they are worth; but what we insist on is, that any one should pay to the right man, to whom these advantages of nature and collective labor belong. One should pay for what he buys to the right man; that is the difference. It is constantly reiterated: "We must put down our monopolists, so they charge only cost for services rendered. No more extortion! We need more immigration, and in order not to be robbed by our manufacturing monopolists, we must above all have free trade; we must buy in the cheapest market as we require to sell in the dearest. Let us start with a good example!" Such are the opinions of millions of voters, backed by influential speakers and law-makers. Another equally large number of voters, headed, by eminent men, supposed to be no less honest and able, hold just the opposite opinion. They ask for a higher protective tariff. It alone, it is said, solves the problem, by not only excluding the products of pauper labor, but also such laborers as work for pauper wages. Then, they say, our working people will command decent wages, and be able to properly pay for home manufactures; all will be relieved from ruinous competition. Now, whatever truth there may be in these conflicting opinions, expressed with the utmost vehemence by the highest authorities, certain it is, they must cause distrust in either or both the intelligence or honesty of the disputing parties.

To arrive at the truth of the matter in question, it is best for the interested to judge for themselves, and leave the opposing disputants for awhile to themselves.

The Tax Reform League does not intend to decide here which of the two policies, if carried out to its extremes, or to a certain limited degree only, would be preferable. For, whatever the immediate and the after effects may be, that result from free trade or from protection, the Tax Reform League are irrefutably convinced that, whatever prosperous turn might result from the adoption of either policy, land holders would not be slow to profit by good times, and take in the future, as in the past, by law and custom, all they could get—the result of collective labor, for services not rendered. In this manner, any spell of prosperity would, by force of inexorable law, gradually relapse again to the customary level of business stagnation.

Before applying the test of an ideal tax to either system of taxation, a few words must be said with regard to the future requirement, touching upon the equality and justice of the proposed measure. The term market value having in this paper been repeatedly used, its meaning must be explained to avoid misunderstanding. The market value of a certain piece of land is its value in open market without improvements. It is, in a rising

country like ours, generally less than the speculative or prospective value, and is less than what such a piece of land may be worth to an exceptionally enterprising and intelligent occupant. Now it is clear that the market value of a given piece of land is not the result of what has been done upon such land by the owner or renter, but what has been done around such land by others. The market value of land is the result of collective or associate labor. Land is there by nature, but its increased value results from the kind and the number of men inhabiting such land.

Starting now from the accepted doctrine that slavery is wrong, and that a man belongs to himself, we must admit that the fruits of his labor belong also to himself, and to no one else without his consent. This reasoning leads us on to the democratic idea of the rights of men, the equal rights to opportunities. And since we are bound to equal duties—to sacrifice life even, if demanded—what is more reasonable than that we also should have equal rights? This idea of equal rights we must consider the specific American idea. The separation merely from England was never an important affair; it was the cutting loose from European principles and English oppression that raised and held high the hopes of the aspiring and the oppressed. Nowhere since historical times has this idea found a more emphatic expression than on this continent. Not only do we call ours the land of the brave and the home of the free, but the world still believes such to be the fact. Because so many lives have been sacrificed for the establishment of this principle, it is fairly ingrown into the life and blood of the people. To crush this idea would require more lives than it has cost to establish the same. To crush this principle means to crush civilization. Upon the basis of justice we lay our claim that a man is entitled not only to the fruits of his individual labor, but he is also entitled to the fruits of his collective labor. If, for instance, a man joins with four others a partnership, let it be for working a mining claim, and such five partners clear \$25 per day, while each one, were they working independently could only clear \$3 a day, is he not entitled to his equal share that results by and from his association? to his \$2 above what he could clear alone? What is he a partner for? To be responsible for the debts of the concern, only? Not entitled to his share of all the profits? Which of the other partners has a better right to his share? Have not all invested, risked and worked alike? To this plain and simple principle on a small scale, the greatest of all partnerships, the State, is no exception. The land being the inalienable trust of all the people, and its increased value being the result of all, who has a better claim to such land and such values than all the people of the land? Like Archimedes of 2,000 years ago, we are convinced, and say again, "Give us whereupon to stand, and we will move the world from its bearings." Not having whereupon to stand, what will anybody, what will a people move?

The infamous land distribution of England has often been commented upon. In 1873 the English Parliament investigated the facts about land which are now well known. A legislative committee of this State in 1874 ascertained from the Board of Equalization the distribution of lands in California, and reported to the Speaker the facts, and so a comparison showed that the average holding of the English lord was two and one-half square miles, while the California land owner possesses eleven and one-fifth square miles. According to the U. S. Census of 1880, the increase of over-1,000-acre farms is enormously preponderating over that of small farms. There is no reason to assume that California is an exception to this rule. We care not for the twenty million and more acres, equal in extent the State of Indiana, which have been alienated, belonging now to foreign lords. We care not for the nationality of the lords: it is of no importance to us; but we view with the utmost concern the irreconcilable conflict between alienated land and inalienable rights. What are the rights, without the land? Will American citizens continue to pride themselves upon their inalienable rights while they are struggling to pay for the permission to make a living upon their alienated land?

In consideration of all the above stated facts, the Tax Reform League of California requests the voters of this State to abandon in future all issues that lead not to the goal, and to elevate this tax question to the test question of the policy of the future, by making it incumbent on all candidates for legislative offices to remove from individual enterprise and labor the taxes that now oppress it and impoverish the country by diminishing production, lowering wages and interest on capital—in short, bring about hard times, and to bind such candidates to cause the funds that are required for collective needs to be gathered from the results of collective labor, to the end that peace and plenty may come, that justice be done, and American principle prevail forever.

Address: California Tax Reform League, P. O. Box 2469, San Francisco.

Co-Operation of Land, Labour, and Capital,

By W. L. Rees

Publishers: Upton & Co. Auckland Queen Street.

## Introduction.

It is impossible at the present time to conceal from ourselves the approach of a great conflict between Wealth and Poverty—between the classes who own the wealth of civilized communities and the poor. The

rapid growth of population in Europe, whose increasing millions must find food and homes in less densely populated countries, or starve; the unprecedented accumulation of wealth in the hands of the few; and the terrible uncertainty of food for the many; the seething and bubbling fears and aspirations of great majorities in the different nations—are all signs of the times which he who runs may read. Every mail which reaches us from England and America, almost every daily telegraphic summary of news, contains the record of occurrences which show plainly enough the tremendous forces operating beneath the surface of society, and that we are in truth, as Mr. Hyndman has said, "in the dawn of a revolutionary epoch." There are two causes which conduce to revolution—oppression and want. In Great Britain both causes operate largely; in the colonies as yet neither to any great extent. We, however, in New Zealand should remember that we are merely laying the foundations for future generations. Here unfettered by ancient prejudices or customs, and as yet possessing wide territories of public lands and sparsely populated private estates, we should endeavour so to shape our course as to avoid the dangers which threaten older countries, and find a means of banishing poverty from the land. Our political privileges are already great—they can and will become more comprehensive, and we should now unite in the attempt to build up a system of social economy, that will ensure general prosperity and cause want to be unknown. To enable the mind to plan for the future it is necessary to look back at the course we have travelled, and mark its principal social and historic features. Thus tracing the causes of our present position and the principles which have guided our short Colonial existence, we shall be able—as I trust—to see a way which may lead to safety and prosperity.

# Land, Labour, and Capital.

## Chapter I. the Past.

It would not be pertinent to the consideration of this subject to consider at any length or with extreme minuteness the history of the colonisation of New Zealand.

It would, on the other hand, be impossible with justice or safety to attempt to delineate our present position and our future tendencies without pausing to look back upon those portions of our national history which have led to our present social state. The times and modes of New Zealand settlements were varied and diverse. Our earliest progenitors, as a people, were drawn from very different classes in character and position. The runaway sailors from whaling ships, and escaped fugitives from justice in other lands, found homes and hospitality among those same Maoris whom the missionaries of every church had crossed the ocean to convert.

Various causes induced the government of Now South Wales and the English government to annex New Zealand to the Empire.

The treaty of Waitangi, agreed to as it was by a very large section of the native people, confirmed the destiny of these islands. Then followed the usual incidents of early colonisation—separation from the Mother Colony—the formation of an independent government—the birth of municipal institutions, jealousies, misunderstandings and wars between the original inhabitants of the country and the new-comers, and the accession of an ever-increasing European population. The first part of its history terminated in the charter of the constitution granting to New Zealand representative institutions and responsible government.

Since that time the four most prominent series of events, viewed in connection with the present subject have been the discovery and the working of rich gold fields in many parts of both islands; the Maori wars, commencing at Waitara; the land legislation in regard both to Crown lands and lands belonging to the natives; and the results of the Public Works and Immigration Policy initiated in 1870 by Sir Julius Vogel.

I do not allude to the repeal of that part of the constitution which provided for Provincial Government and administration, because it does not seem to me materially to affect the subject now being considered, viz., the production and distribution of wealth. With the establishment of English government in 1840, all the laws existing in Great Britain, applicable to this country, came into force here. Not only, however, did the statute and common law of our fatherland become thus transplanted, but those laws of social economy, by which, often unconsciously, we are so completely governed, also became a portion of our national existence.

Thus the laws of demand and supply, the laws of rent and labour, of taxation, of capital, of interest, and of wages; all these were brought into as full control in the infant colony of New Zealand as they were in the ancient cities and farm lands of Great Britain. Whatever liberties, civil and religious, our people held in England they held here. And the same direction which increasing wealth and growing opulence took in England they took also in New Zealand.

The different locations made in the colony, the incongruous and many-sided settlement of Auckland, the

commercial establishment of Wellington and Wanganui, the Episcopalian colony in Canterbury, and the gathering of the clans in Otago and Southland, all tended to create the general desire and claim for political privileges, and to promote a keen emulation in the attainment of wealth. While the provinces were in existence, and the Provincial Governments had power to dispose of the waste lands of the Crown within their jurisdiction, each province developed a species of almost national characteristics in disposing of these lands.

Canterbury, strong in its conservative element and old-fashioned hereditary instincts, made laws which practically gave over millions of acres of rich land to privileged classes. Auckland, strong in its cosmopolitan origin and character, passed enactments of all sorts and conditions for the purpose of managing the territory belonging to it.

After the four settlements had become solidified, and when the re-action which followed the excitement of their foundation had overtaken them, the discovery of gold in Otago brought a vast influx of people, wealth, and energy to the middle island. What Gabriel's Gully did for the South, the war and afterwards the Thames did for the North, while the metropolitan position and character of Wellington, and the great wheat-fields and sheep-runs of Canterbury, gave wealth and population to those places. The tide of prosperity again ebbed, until in 1870 Sir Julius Vogel introduced his Public Works and Immigration Policy. Since that time the material prosperity of New Zealand has, without doubt, depended mainly upon the expenditure of borrowed money. I do not desire to criticise the manner in which the five and twenty millions have been spent—nor do I wish here to condemn that policy, nor approve it. It is sufficient to aver that whatever its ultimate consequences may be, the immediate effect was to restore life and animation to business, to settlement, to employment, and to speculation. But even the most casual observer cannot fail to observe that the stimulus which once quickened us almost to frenzy, now fails to rouse us from lethargy and depression. Millions of borrowed money do not now by their expenditure provide employment for the surplus labour of the people. So much and deeply is this felt, that in addition to borrowed money Government last year gave over a million of acres of land for public works. And yet there is suffering, want, and enforced idleness in our midst.

During the period of our history since the establishment of Responsible Government, we have at least kept pace with the British Parliament in the widening and enlargement of political privileges. With Triennial Parliaments, manhood suffrage, no property qualification, and the ballot, it becomes difficult to rouse the enthusiasm of the people upon any question of pure politics, save upon the abolition of plural voting, the tenure of land, and one or two other questions which will yet perhaps arouse the determination of the people. The formation of a State Bank, the proper adjustment of taxation, and subjects of a like nature, belong to the questions of policy and not privilege. While the rights of the people as a whole have been widely recognised, the rights of the majority in questions of taxation and other matters of policy have not been so fairly dealt with.

It is, however, to the social and economical aspects of legislation that I invite enquiry. Social questions generally, those especially of the gravest character, have not attracted much attention. Some few reforms have, it is true, been effected. We can judge by analogy something of the importance of those questions which have remained utterly untouched. The principal foundation of freedom is undoubtedly the franchise. He alone is politically free who has a voice directly or indirectly in the making of the laws by which his life, his liberty, and his property are to be governed. So he alone is socially free who has the right to earn for himself the means of subsistence. To give me the franchise and yet afford me no opportunity to exercise it would be mockery; so to give me the right to earn my livelihood in any way I choose, and yet not afford me any opportunity to do so, is mockery also. Here is the bed-rock of the controversy. Here is the moot question which has agitated Europe for the last fifty years. How far can Government interfere to give employment? How far ought it to do so? How far can Government control the distribution of wealth? How far ought it to do so?

I do not propose to enter into this question at all. I have mentioned it to shew that it exists, although dormant. And to shew also that while political privileges and rights have been conceded to the labouring and industrial classes, analogous social privileges and rights have been utterly ignored and passed by in silence.

What then, so far, have been the results of the historic existence and legislation of the last twenty years to the people of New Zealand?

We have increased from about 200,000 to over half a million in number. We have built railways, erected telegraphs, and purchased fleets. Villages have grown to towns, and towns to cities. Commerce, manufactures, productions of all kinds, and wealth generally have marvellously increased. Art, science, and literature have been developed. Great ocean steamers give us direct communication with Europe, and the electric wire flashes to us beneath the seas the daily news of the whole earth.

On the other hand, we have sold our Crown Lands—parted like Esau with our birthright for a mess of pottage,—and we have spent the proceeds. We have allowed millions of acres of Maori lands to go into the hands of land-sharks and speculators. Our indebtedness has grown from seven and a-half millions of pounds to over thirty millions. We have increased our taxation by comparison beyond that of any other people.

There are, however, results still worse than these. Not only have we parted with the fertile lands of the

colony, but we have allowed individuals to obtain titles to estates more vast and valuable than those of the great landed aristocracy of Britain, while the great majority of the people are absolutely landless. The figures published in the recent Domesday Book are in their bald simplicity absolutely appalling. These great territories we have made immensely valuable by the expenditure of borrowed money. By the same expenditure also we have created a mighty commerce, which has enriched the merchants and traders of this and other lands.

We have raised manufactories, wherein local and foreign capitalists have invested monies which yield a great percentage. We have enabled banks and insurance societies, whose shareholders are mostly foreigners, to pay large dividends. In a word, we have created a vast aggregate amount of wealth. But at what a cost to the community *as a whole*. Our public lands, which might have enriched all the people, are gone, and we have borrowed and spent for Government and local purposes about thirty millions, for which the people have to pay a million and a-half each year! This terrible burden is placed, not upon those who have gained permanent benefit by the lavish expenditure of public money, but upon the very classes who have received from it no lasting advantage whatever.

It is a mistake to suppose that times of great prosperity benefit all alike. To the great land-owner, the opulent capitalist, they are in a material sense permanently beneficial. But to the industrial classes, as a rule, they are but gleams of transient sunshine. While they last employment is plentiful, wages are high, and things go merrily. Let them, however, pass and yield to those periods which we call "bad times," and we see at once how little under our present vicious social system the industrial classes benefit by so-called good times. Employment becomes scarce—wages fall—expensive habits (save the mark!) induced by prosperity must be abandoned and curtailed—and soon want, like an armed man, enters and takes possession. For however prosperous a period may be, the industrial classes receive but their wages—while the landowner and capitalist receive their rents and interest, and besides that receive all the permanent wealth that is created; so here as elsewhere poverty marches with progress. I venture to say there is a larger proportion of poor to-day in New Zealand than there was at any past period of her history. There are more rich people, and the rich are richer than they ever were before. Wealth has accumulated, but in the hands of a few. Debts and burdens have increased, incurred to make the wealthy still richer, and are borne by the many. It may be laid down as an axiom that under present social conditions national prosperity is temporary in advantages for the many, and permanent only for the few; the many forming the industrial class, the few being the owners of land and capital.

## Chapter II. the Present.

HAVING thus glanced at the various causes which have resulted in the state of affairs now existing, I would direct attention to the present condition of the colony in its social and political respects.

The position politically is, on the whole, highly favourable. There can scarcely be a doubt as to the power possessed by the great body of the people. The franchise being practically universal, and the industrial classes forming a considerable majority of the whole population, they can, by organisation for a common and definite purpose, direct and control both the making of the laws and their administration.

The social position, however, of the people is not by any means so satisfactory. Although not perfectly just and equal in political rights, there is at least in that direction an approach to justice and equality; while in social and economic matters we behold amongst ourselves those glaring inconsistencies and dangerous contrasts which have been the reproach and the terror of all civilisations.

Although less than half a century in age; although we have run through and dissipated a magnificent estate; although for different purposes, local and general, we have borrowed and expended nearly forty millions of money; although we have raised from ourselves and expended perhaps another forty millions—yet it is safe to affirm that three fourths of the total European population of New Zealand are to-day no richer, no better off than they were when they landed in the colony. Of the remaining fourth the majority have perchance amassed a small competency,—while the minority of that fourth are possessed of great wealth, in some instances of gigantic fortunes.

It would be invidious to mention names, but there is no resident in any of the large centres of population in New Zealand who cannot at a moment's notice point out many instances to illustrate this assertion in his own district. And these great fortunes have in no single instance been amassed by the unaided efforts of the individual himself, or received by him as the reward of his own labour. How are the majority of fortunes acquired?

Is it by the personal labour, mental or bodily, of the merchants, the land speculators, the manufacturers, the contractors, the shipowners, or the investors of money that these fortunes are acquired? Not at all. It is by the incessant toil of others, by the growth of communities and of commerce, by the increase of wealth in the community.

It is strange that this subject is not more clearly understood by political economists or social writers. For the

cause which results in the accumulation of wealth in the hands of the few is, as we shall hereafter see, not far to find. Here, however, I propose to deal with this portion of the subject merely as an existing fact.

The next proposition which attracts the attention in our observance of the facts of everyday life is that, in addition to the wide and widening separation between wealth and poverty, we are compelled to admit that labour and capital are antagonistic. They live in different camps; they display different sympathies. And the contentions between them in these colonies are as fierce, and bitter, and prolonged as in great Britain. Take for example the bootmakers' strike in Melbourne, which threatened to involve the whole of the employers of labour throughout Victoria and New South Wales in a gigantic struggle. This strike cost the Unions alone £8900. Look next at the strike now being carried on between the Seamen's Union of Australasia and the Pacific Mail Company, the end of which is not yet seen. Then regard the strike of the colliers at Westport against reduced wages, and the bootmakers' strike in Christchurch not yet ended. And, to shew the extreme improbability of any final settlement between labour and capital under existing social conditions, let any unprejudiced mind, look at the action of the Auckland Mercantile Marine Association in its dictatorial letter to the Lumpers' Union, and the firm and resolute reply of that Union to the demands made upon them.

No adjustment of differences, no courts of conciliation, no references to arbitration, will or can, under the social economy which has hitherto obtained, reconcile the conflicting interests of capital and labour.

Again, if we regard the present position in point of locality of the waste lands of the Crown, we shall at once see that the possibilities of individual settlement upon those lands is for ever gone. There was a time when round every infant settlement, round every harbour, and in places where fertile land was easily accessible, individual settlement was possible and advantageous.

That day has passed, and passed forever, in New Zealand. Laws, so framed as to enable their makers to obtain these lands for themselves and the great families which they desired to found, disgrace the statute books both of the provinces and of the colony. For not only were the Crown lands filched from the public by these means, but many of the best lands of the natives also were, by arbitrary and unjust legislation, obtained by the legislators for themselves and their friends. Where now shall a person desiring to find a home direct his way? The Native Minister is indeed attempting to set apart spots suitable for the location of small groups of families. Even this can only be done with great difficulty. Wherever land is fit for settlement, within easy distance of a market or of a point from which a market can be reached, that land is the property of private individuals. Intending settlers therefore must now be prepared to endure the evils and privations of an isolated and almost savage life, or submit to the exactions of a private land-owner.

Returning for a moment to the political world we see that there are no principles dividing parties, and no defined objects of policy upon which any actual or supposed coalition is prepared to stand or fall. For many years, while principles indeed been sternly and bitterly fought for by that section or party which has followed Sir George Grey, the end and aim of politicians generally has been to advance the material interests of the country by spending great treasures upon railroads and other public works, by introducing multitudes of labourers into the colony, and by disposing of the best public lands of the colony for the purpose of so-called settlement. Material prosperity, brought about in this fashion, under those social laws which, as we have before seen, now govern us, has but sent us whirling more and more rapidly upon the road which older nations have so slowly travelled. For he must be blind who cannot see in every part of the colony increasing likeness to those European civilisations which are admittedly upon the verge of revolution.

The equipages, the mansions, the liveries, the airs of superiority, with which our wealthy classes now surround themselves, are in striking and mournful contrast with the appearance and everyday life of the workers of the community.

And ever and anon the tones of suffering, the tales of want and wretchedness which are uttered through the columns of the daily press show that we are but slightly removed from the pitiable condition of the United Kingdom.

It is an error to think that this so-called material prosperity will permanently benefit a whole people. Each succeeding wave does, indeed, land the favoured few higher and higher upon the shore of prosperity—but the same wave receding drags down the multitudes to a lower level than they before occupied.

Mr Gladstone, forty years age, gave utterance to the following words:—"It is one of the sad sides of the present social order in our land that the steady increase of wealth of the upper classes and the accumulation of capital should be attended with a diminution in the people's power of consumption, and with a larger amount of privation and suffering among the poor."

When twenty years had passed, the same great statesman, speaking in the same House (the House of Commons) said:—"From the year 1842 to 1853, the receipts from the Income Tax increased 6 per cent, in England; and from 1853 to 1861, 20 per cent. It is an astonishing fact, but it is nevertheless true, that this prodigious increase of wealth benefited solely the well-to-do classes."

Nearly ten years afterwards, in 1872, the late Henry Fawcett and his wife, Millicent Garrett Fawcett, in

their "Essays and Lectures on Social and Political Subjects," speak thus: "Production has increased beyond the most sanguine hopes, and yet the day when the workman shall obtain a large share of this increase seems as far distant as ever, and in his miserable abode the struggle against want and misery is as hard as it ever was. The result of this is to create a feeling of profound hostility to the fundamental principles on which society is based."

It would be useless to multiply quotations of this sort. Looking generally at the social state of New Zealand we see nearly everywhere business languishing, trade dull, employment scarce, money still scarcer, and an increasing fear of financial disaster.

The wheat growing of Canterbury has been ruined by the cheap labour of India; farmers throughout the colony, unaccustomed to travel outside the routine of other and less-favoured lands, murmuring and discontented. Skilled labour clamouring for protection to native industry. Owners of property, gloomily contemplating the possibility of further depression, labor and capital bracing up their loins for further conflicts. Mortgagors failing to meet the payment of interest to foreign creditors. Every section of the community harrassed with anxiety for its own particular interest. All in dread of increased taxation. And amid all the fears, and hopes, and anxieties, the industrial classes, forming the bulk in numbers of the people, are quietly allowing the whole created wealth of the country to pass into the possession of a small section—the owners of land and capital. All over the country public meetings are held, and thousands of the people meet. Sir Julius Vogel, Mr Stout, Mr Ballance, and Mr Larnach stump the country and utter speeches by the hour, and save administration—containing what? Major Atkinson and other opponents follow Ministers with tiresome minuteness. Supporters of the party in power rise in their constituencies, and opponents in theirs. All speak—all are cheered—all receive votes of confidence. The long accounts day after day become nauseous. Who remembers or cares to remember the dreary utterances, or vicious criticisms, "all sound and fury—signifying nothing." Once now and then, as in the addresses of Sir George Grey, occurs a great idea, the shadowing out of some noble thought, some effort of the past, some hope for the future, some utterances of philosophic statesmanship and patriotism; but we may say, as the disciples said of old to Christ, when pointing to the few loaves and fewer fishes, "What are they among so many?" Nothing short of a miracle can make them sufficient to afford mental food for the multitude. Meanwhile the daily press, which prides itself not only upon its power, which is undeniable, but upon its wisdom, which is at least doubtful—goes spinning on its course either ignorant or unmindful of the gravity of its self-imposed duties to the people it teaches. The motto of the *Auckland Evening Star* expresses more completely than any other the claims and pretensions of an independent newspaper press:—

*"For the cause that lacks assistance,  
For the wrong that needs resistance,  
For the future in the distance,  
And the good that we can do."*

No more noble motto was ever written. To perform these duties, to maintain these principles men have fought and died in every land and in every age. For this martyrs have suffered on the rack and endured the flames. For this patriots have bared their breasts to the sword of tyranny. For this women have visited the hospital and prison, and followed the steps of armies to distant lands. For this missionaries have gone forth into the wilderness and dwelt among savage tribes. For this Christians faced the lions in the Colliseum, and Havelock and Gordon, in India and in Egypt, fought and fell. For this Peter the Hermit roused the nations of Western Europe to the crusades, Arnold of Winkelried drew a sheaf of spears into his heart, and Howard "gauged the dimensions of human misery." For this, in the plentitude of mercy, Jesus of Nazareth endured the cross, despising the shame.

The one subject for consideration now is how to distribute that wealth fairly amongst all which is created by all. Hitherto, thanks to the ease with which land could be obtained, and to our small population, employment has been plentiful and labour scarce. The day has now come when the scenes enacted in Britain are about to be enacted here. How shall we prevent this? How shall we direct our course while yet we sail upon the open sea, so that we may not fall upon the rocks and end our short voyage in disaster and in wreck? How shall we turn the current of social life so that in New Zealand we shall found a community so truly thriving and prosperous that every class and every family in the land shall participate in the general wealth? This is the question. The solution of this problem is all important; upon that solution depend the happiness and comfort of many generations. We possess many and great privileges. Civil and religious liberty are ours. Political and religious equality we have. One great principle has, however, yet to be obtained, and that is social freedom and equality. He is not socially free who is compelled to sell his labour to another. He is not socially equal who does not

receive as his right that portion of the social wealth which his labour creates. So long, therefore, as the industrial classes go on producing wealth in this country, and yet receive nothing beyond their wages, while all the surplus goes into the hands of the owners of land and money, so long will they suffer a cruel and degrading tyranny. Of what importance, in comparison with this, are the petty questions which engage the attention of the public and the press, or the base struggles for place and power which often disgrace and demoralise our parliament?

To this subject what paper has devoted its columns?

*"Here's a cause that lacks assistance,  
Here a wrong that needs resistance,  
Bless our future in the distance,  
By the good you now can do."*

It may indeed be said that the press of this colony is no worse in this respect than that of other places, for this subject, indisputably the most momentous to all civilised communities, attracts but little attention, and that not always of the highest order of intelligence.

There is, however, another and a more immediate danger, which menaces all of us.

In our history, as in the history of all new countries, the tide of progress ebbs and flows continually. Any person who knows the past of this colony, will easily recall those periods of severe depression which have on several occasions swept like a wave over the country. When the tide has fallen very low and our skies become dark, and some even thoughtful men have grown despondent—suddenly the dawn broke, the tide turned, and New Zealand once more hoisted all sail and swept along, soon forgetting her past fears. The discoveries of gold effected on two occasions deliverance—the rise in wool—the military expenditure, each for a time relieved us, while the borrowed millions produced the last and greatest, as well as the most enduring, of our fortunate re-actions. The tide is again ebbing; what fortunate chance, what well-planned scheme, what effort of statesmanship, or lucky throw of the dice, is this time to retrieve our fortunes? The country is crying out for people and money to develop its wonderful resources, and to increase its production and wealth. From whence are they to come? Upon the east coast of the North Island, and in the so-called King country, as well as in many parts of the South Island, millions of people could not only find subsistence, but create a great national prosperity. In those vast districts great sums of English money could be advantageously invested—money which would not only repay itself, but bring to the Government and to all who were able to benefit by its use a prosperity such as this colony has never yet seen. And this could be easily accomplished. If once done, and done under the conditions I shall explain before I close, then New Zealand would fear no relapse for many years—for the same wave which would fill the North with prosperity, would flow South also, to fertilise and bless all portions of these fair islands.

### **Chapter III. the Future Under Existing Conditions.**

THE records of experience and history will, properly applied, teach us all that we can hope to conjecture of the future. I see no foundation for the theory propounded by Herbert Spencer that the nature and character of man improves through the course of the ages. Some softening of manners, no doubt exists owing to our more complete civilisation. The religion of Christ also has, without doubt, pervaded, and does increasingly pervade, our national life with a gentle influence wanting in olden days. But, naturally, man is the same to-day as when Nero fiddled by the light of burning Rome, when the Babylonish King exclaimed:—"This is great Babylon which I have builded," or when the people mocked at Noah as he framed the Ark.

Were it otherwise there could be, indeed, no study of sociology as a science. Because man, the prime factor, continually changing, the events of the past would be no guide to those of the future. We may safely believe that, given the same circumstances now as existed at any period of by-gone time, in the same races or cognate races of men, and substantially the same results will follow.

We may then reasonably suppose that the same results which have happened in England will, under existing circumstances, happen here. The social condition of the bulk of the population of Great Britain at the present day is one of degradation and want. That condition has been gradually evolved by changing circumstances, by the increase of artificial power in machinery, by the gradual subjugation of natural forces to human use, and by the unprecedented increase of wealth in the hands of the propertied classes. Perhaps the keenest observer of change in the social world is the author of "Progress and Poverty" and "Social Problems," Mr. Henry George, whose writings and speeches are daily strengthening his hold upon the masses of the English-speaking races. This is what he says upon the matter:—"There is in all the past nothing to compare

with the rapid changes now going on in the civilised world. It seems as though in the European race and in the 19th century man was just beginning to live, just grasping his tools and becoming conscious of his powers. A snail's pace of crawling ages has suddenly become the head-long rush of the locomotive, speeding faster and faster. This rapid progress is primarily in industrial methods and material powers. But industrial changes imply social changes and necessitate political changes. Progressive societies outgrow institutions as children outgrow clothes. Social progress always requires greater intelligence in the management of public affairs; but this the more as progress is rapid and change quicker.

"And that the rapid changes now going on are bringing up problems that demand most earnest attention may be seen on every hand. Symptoms of danger, premonitions of violence, are appearing all over the civilised world. Creeds are dying, beliefs are changing; the old forces of conservatism are melting away. Political institutions are failing, as clearly in democratic America as in monarchical Europe. There is growing unrest and bitterness among the masses, whatever be the form of government, a blind groping for escape from conditions becoming intolerable. To attribute all this to the teachings of demagogues is like attributing the fever to the quickened pulse. It is the new wine beginning to ferment in old bottles. To put into a sailing-ship the powerful engines of a first-class ocean steamer would be to tear her to pieces with their play. So the new powers rapidly changing all the relations of society must shatter social and political organisations not adapted to meet their strain.

*"To adjust our institutions to growing needs and changing conditions is the task which devolves upon us. Prudence, patriotism, human sympathy, and religious sentiment, alike call upon us to undertake it. There is danger in reckless change; but greater in blind conservatism. The problems beginning to confront us are grave—so grave that there is fear they may not be solved in time to prevent great catastrophes. But their gravity comes from indisposition to frankly recognize and boldly grapple with them."*

So, too, the efforts and teachings of the socialists—especially since the better sides of those efforts and teachings have been adopted by men like Frederick Denison Maurice, Thomas Hughes, and Charles Kingsley—added to the dreadful history of the nation's sufferings and want laid bare by Parliamentary reports, and the observations of the humane and philanthropic, all teach us not merely that grievous public wrongs are being continually perpetrated by the operation of present social laws, but that great dangers to the State are steadily growing as their result.

Do not let us believe that these things happen as part of a determined plan, for the heart of the English people revolts at the poverty which accompanies their prosperity, and at the ghastly spectacle of multitudes of their fellow-countrymen toiling to produce boundless stores of wealth for the enjoyment of others.

What reason, then, have we to suppose that the future condition of our people will, under existing economic laws, present features in any degree different from the state of Englishmen, Irishmen, and Scotchmen in the United Kingdom? Clearly none at all.

In the meantime, neither in England nor the colonies is any adequate plan suggested which shall change either the operation of the economic laws or those laws themselves, in order to prevent that oppressive distribution of wealth which at present makes the rich more wealthy and the poor still poorer. So deeply indeed has the injustice of the present order of things been felt by the coldest and most dispassionate of men, that they have been willing to pass into the deepest shades of Communism rather than endure the dreadful evils of the present, if no other means of ameliorating the condition of the labouring classes could be found out."

John Stuart Mill, one of the clearest, most comprehensive, and impartial writers of modern times, speaks thus:—"If, therefore, the choice were to be between Communism, with all its chances, and the present state of society, with all its sufferings and injustices—if the institution of private property necessarily carried with it, as a consequence, that the produce of labour should be apportioned, as we now see it, almost in an inverse ratio to the labour, the largest portion to those who have never worked at all, the next largest to those whose work is almost nominal, and so in a descending scale, the remuneration dwindling as the work grows harder and more disagreeable, until the most fatiguing and exhausting bodily labour cannot count with certainty on being able to earn even the necessaries of life—if this or Communism were the alternative, all the difficulties, great or small, of Communism would be as dust in the balance."

With equal energy speaks another great writer and thinker of the present day, one truly of greater warmth and enthusiasm than our own great countryman, the celebrated Belgian economist, M. Emile de Lavaleye:—"When we look with an unprejudiced eye at the present division of this world's goods, and see, on the one hand, the labourer earning for his daily bread barely what is needful,—less, indeed, than the wherewithal to live if there be the slightest possible crisis,—and then turn our eyes to the other side of the picture, and see the owners of property yearly adding to their estates, and living in ever-increasing ease and comfort, it is quite impossible to bring this into conformity with notions of justice, and one can but exclaim with Bossuet: "The complaints of the poor are just. Wherefore this inequality?"

Hear also the verdict of another great Englishman, John Buskin: "For most of the rich men of England it

were indeed to be desired that the Bible should not be true, since against them these words are written in it: "The rust of your gold and silver shall be a witness against you, and shall eat your flesh as it were fire."

Yet, amid all this sorrow, no plan is propounded for its alleviation, save that proposal made by Mr Henry George for the nationalisation of the land. This would be ineffectual for the purpose proposed, because it would but shift taxation from men to land, which, though in itself proper and desirable, could not make nor distribute wealth among the people. If all the land in the United Kingdom were nationalised to-morrow, and the social and economic laws left untouched, poverty would still accompany progress; labour would get but the bare wages of subsistence, and all created wealth, over and above the mere payment of labour, would go to the capitalist class. In all the colonies the land is or has been practically nationalised. In all great part of it still is. No state treatment of that land will make wealth which can be distributed amongst the people. Besides, each man can only claim what he earns and deserves. How much the writers on political economy and social science are to blame in not having as yet laid down any foundation whatever for the amendment of those laws which produce results so terrible it is not for me to say. But this is certain, that while all acknowledge that those laws are faulty, that they have led to suffering and revolution, and are still leading to suffering and revolution, not one points distinctly to the errors themselves, much less proposes any reasonable amendment.

They reason through numberless pages upon the meaning of terms, the law of supply and demand, what constitutes "capital," in what "profit" consists and in what "value," the fund from which wages are drawn, what constitutes wealth, the law of wages, and the laws of rent and exchange, until the mind becomes wearied with endless distinctions and technical jargon. For all practical purposes a hungry man, before participating in a good meal, might as well reason upon the meaning of the term "food," or the jaded merchant or lawyer or workman, before sitting down at his own comfortable fireside after a hard day's work, be called upon to define the meaning of the term "comfort." I do not overlook the ever-increasing public opinion in England in favour of emigration as a panacea for the sufferings of the poor. But emigration, unless social conditions be altered, is simply changing the scene—to a more favourable one, indeed, for a time—until under the same conditions the same results must ultimately accrue in new countries as in old. In the condition of men as at present existing we see vast wealth being accumulated by the ceaseless toil of busy multitudes, wealth which is accumulated, not for those who create it, but for strangers. We see this social robbery producing poverty, drunkenness, shame, disease, ignorance, and immorality. We know that it is sowing the seeds of discontent and revolution.

How is it then that our philosophers, patriots, economists, and legislators do not enquire for the cause of such baneful consequences and remove it? For it is not very difficult to trace these evils to their source, nor will it be impossible to men who desire the welfare of their fellow-men to destroy them. Parliamentary commissions sit now-a-days upon the most trivial subjects. Societies of the great and learned meet in every part of the Empire and in the States to enquire into the cause and effect, the nature and operations, of everything in the heavens above, in the earth beneath, and the waters under the earth. Yet here is a subject, fraught with the destiny of nations and of civilisation—a matter touching the happiness and temporal salvation of countless millions—which is scarcely alluded to but in contemptuous pity. War, famine, and the pestilence are the events which, by poets and historians, are spoken of to with horror and clothed in the ghastly ceremonies of the grave. But what wars, or famines, or plagues ever inflicted such continuous anguish upon the human race as the unjust taking by the owners of property of all the wealth of every civilised land—save, indeed, that small part which gives the bare means of subsistence to the sorrowful multitudes who build the fortunes of their tyrants. We paid twenty millions to abolish slavery. Our brethren in America, when at length they were compelled to face the deadly thing which raised its hellish front against the State, gave a thousand millions of pounds and hundreds of thousands of its best and bravest sons. But even that slavery was more merciful than the long agony of the generations of our people, hungry, almost naked, and hopeless, an agony that weeps tears of blood and thrills the heart with its pitiful wailings. In the olden countries, the day speeds on when a radical change must come—or revolution. In these colonies those who aspire to lead the people and to guide the destinies of young nations should make every effort to avert the existence of such a state of things as is now seen in Great Britain. The laws which govern the production and distribution of wealth can be simply stated and easily understood. There are, in the language of political economy, three factors of production—Land, Labour, and Capital. Land includes all the powers and processes of nature. Labour includes all human effort, whether of mind or hand. It would be perhaps more simple to include land which is one form of capital under that term—but it is not material. To create wealth, all these factors are used. Sometimes they all belong to the same individual or family, as when a man of means cultivates his freehold farm with his own hands, aided perhaps by his children. Sometimes they belong to different individuals, but are used upon terms by another—as when, by hired labour, with borrowed money, a man cultivates a farm which he rents. The different positions which a man can occupy can easily be seen, whether in agricultural or manufacturing or trading pursuits.

Each of these factors has a periodic or yearly value—I say yearly because a year is a complete period of time. The yearly value of, or recompense for the use of, land we may call rent, because, if the owner leases it,

he receives rent; if he use it himself, he expects to obtain a return in his opinion equal in value to its rent. So the yearly value of or payment for capital is interest, and the yearly value of or payment for labour, whether mental or bodily, is wages. These, of course, all vary in different lands and places, and also under different circumstances and at different times. But the same names always represent the same things. The landowner then receives his rent, the capitalist his interest, and the labourer his wages. The result of the co-operation of these three factors—after the payment of the yearly charges, rent, interest, and wages—is the accumulated wealth of the community. Land has increased in value, commerce and manufactures have extended, buildings have been erected, works public and private have been undertaken, fields have been cultivated, harvests have been reaped, flocks and herds have become more numerous, population has increased, the wilderness has become a location of scattered farms, the scattered farms a hamlet, the hamlet a town, the town a city. All this permanent result of the co-operation of Land, Labor, and Capital is wealth. That is production—all have aided in producing. The landowner has given his land, for which he received the annual payment; the capitalist his money, for which his return has been received; the labourer his toil—most important of all—for which wages have been paid. All cities and communities have grown in this manner—Melbourne, Chicago, San Francisco, Sydney, Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch, and Dunedin. In Melbourne allotments sold less than fifty years ago for a few pounds, have recently sold for over two hundred thousand sovereigns. What was the value fifty years ago of land in Queen-street, Auckland, or Princes-street, Dunedin? All the value, whether the unearned increment or the improved value, have been given by the co-operation of Land, Labor, and Capital. And of all the wealth thus created, Labor gets nothing. All accumulated wealth—that is, wealth after the payment of rent, interest, and wages—is appropriated by the owners of land and the owners of money. By no chance, by no possibility, does one solitary farthing of this created wealth go to the labouring class, which has borne incomparably the most important part in its production. This is the injustice under which the labourer suffers—this is the certain cause of misery to multitudes. The labourer may, and in new countries, where wages are high, often does, save part of his wages, and becoming so far a capitalist or landowner—some portion of the growing wealth will belong to him; but as a labourer—nothing. The landowner may spend his rent, the capitalist his interest, and still the propertied classes grow wealthier, without toil and without trouble; but let the labourer expend his wages and some crisis throw him out of employment, he must starve or accept a pauperising charity. This is the wrong. There is one remedy, and one only. Let the labourer share in this accumulated wealth. That is the solution of the social question. Directly the labourer, besides his wages, shares equally in just proportion with the landowner and the capitalist in that wealth which remains after rent, and interest, and wages have been paid, the problem will be solved. When that time arrives, and it need not be far distant, the dawn of hope will rise upon the toilers of the world, and the answer will be to some extent vouchsafed to that glorious portion of our Lord's prayer, "Thy kingdom come."

But if we continue the progress of our colonisation and social and industrial life upon that basis which ever since the dawn of civilization has, through the payment of labour by wages only, given to the owners of property and denied to the owners of labour the growing wealth of every community, then our increasing population and increasing prosperity will simply ensure some violent catastrophe. The swifter our progress the speedier will be this end. The people, having all political power and beholding at last clearly the reason and source of their impoverished condition, will organise themselves for the purpose of obtaining those rights of which an iniquitous social system has deprived them.

Not by a revolution of fire and sword will they thus claim and obtain justice, but by the passing of such laws as, in their opinion, will secure to them, both for the past and the future, such portion of the national wealth and property as they consider to be the reward of toil.

## Chapter IV..

### Requisites for Perfect National Prosperity

In all ages, from the days when prophets foresaw in the distant periods of the earth's history the millennial reign of peace, and Plato taught in the garden of the Academy, to our own times, men have indulged in dreams and anticipations of a state of perfect justice and perfect righteousness upon earth.

Sir Thomas More, Lord Bacon, Campanella, Harrington, Fénelon, and other great and enthusiastic minds have given to the world their ideas and their hopes of such a perfect community. Utopian as were their dreams, Utopian as were their hopes, rudely disturbed as they all were by the din of war and the selfishness of civilised life, they show that in every age there has existed a belief that a better state of society could be found than now exists, and a hope that such a happy result might be accomplished.

In our own times not only have we the theories of the Socialists and the Communists, but thousands now living can remember the practical efforts made by Robert Owen, St. Simon, and Fourier; while recently Mr

Hepworth Dixon has written for us his clever, if not very deep, observations upon the peculiar communities which have arisen and flourished with more or less success in the United States. Thinking men seem now to appraise the great insurrections of thought and action which disturbed Europe for so many years as the frantic efforts of men to throw off the burden of tyranny and to obtain justice.

Thus Mr Heath (in the *Contemporary Review*, April, 1883,) says:—"The outbursts which have most alarmed Europe—Lollardism, the Jacquerie, peasant revolts, Anabaptism, the Camissarde Insurrection, the French Revolution, the Commune—have been nothing so much as terrible screams from a humanity crushed and hunted into a corner. If the movements which ended in these outbreaks be studied, they will be found, one and all, to have been efforts on the part of the people to realise exactly the same thoughts as those expressed in the Sermon on the Mount."

The history of England supplies many such. The rising which won the Great Charter; that mighty revolution led by Hampden, and Pym, and Cromwell, which sent Charles I. to the block, won the imperishable liberties of Englishmen, and left the greatest imprint ever placed upon the political history of man; the war of independence in America; the passing of the Reform Bill;—all these were but movements of the same spirit, and efforts for a better state of things.

It may no doubt be said of most of these events that in theory they were dreams, impracticable and delusive; that in practice they were failures, or were followed by great re-actions. But they all give help and light to us, warning and encouraging all those who search for the promised land, wherein liberty and justice shall be found. The time is at length ripe for a great social movement. Never until now could such a movement have been attempted with a reasonable hope of complete success. In no place save in a new country, such as this, could such a movement be successfully carried on. Never before has the necessity for such a movement been so deeply felt, nor have circumstances ever yet existed so favourable to its triumph.

The errors in the plans of Utopian or Socialistic reformers have arisen from incomplete knowledge of that sociology, which, during this generation, has been the subject of wide discussion. Nor could there have been a complete and workable system of social economy without that knowledge and those great advantages which enquiry, experience, and scientific discovery have bestowed upon us during the last five-and-twenty years.

To achieve a perfect prosperity in this community, so far as regards the production and distribution of wealth—a prosperity which shall not fill the houses of the wealthy with gorgeous furniture, and give to them the means of astonishing foreign states by ostentatious luxury, while leaving the industrial classes in want and poverty—but a prosperity which shall fill every home in the land with comforts, in which every citizen shall participate in fair proportion; a prosperity which shall not rob the wealthy to enrich the poor, but which shall arise from a great production of national wealth and a just distribution of that wealth, among all who, whether by capital or labour, help to produce it,—is a task worthy of the great race which has found a home in these islands of New Zealand.

There are three classes whose aid and assistance must necessarily be given for the production and realisation of wealth—the producer, the capitalist, and the consumer. For without labour no wealth can be produced; without capital no land, nor instruments, nor means of production can be procured, nor labour supported; without a market, no produce save that which could be used by the producer himself would be of any value.

The producer, the consumer, and the capitalist, therefore, to ensure complete success, must be joined by unity of interest and advantage.

To achieve this we must place these three classes in partnership, and this can be done by the application of the joint-stock principle and by that only.

Another condition requisite to success is that the three factors of production—Land, Labour, and Capital—shall be united as the joint property of one proprietor, and that that proprietor should be at once producer, capitalist, and consumer. This also can be accomplished by the joint-stock principle, and by that principle only. Then there should exist the wisest organisation for the employment of labour and capital so as to produce the greatest amount of wealth, whether in annual production or in permanent improvements, at the least cost of time and money. Nor should we forget that production should be directed so as first to satisfy the requirements of all who are interested or assisting in the production itself, and then to provide for the general purposes of an advantageous commerce.

It is necessary also that all produce and merchandise should be brought to and distributed amongst consumers without unnecessary delay, at the lowest cost and price consistent with a moderate profit for production. And it is absolutely necessary that no monopoly should ever be permitted of the benefits to be enjoyed from such conditions of social life. While on the one hand there should be no compulsion, on the other there should be no restriction to the participation of these advantages. All who desire to contribute labour or capital, or to purchase, and thus, by consumption, co-operate in production and distribution, should be able to do so.

Finally, wealth having been thus produced, and its advantages realised by the partnership as a whole, it should be justly and fairly distributed among producers, capitalists, and consumers, in proportion to what each class and each individual has contributed to the general result. And this, as well as all the preceding conditions, can only be accomplished and fulfilled by the application of the joint-stock principle.

It will at once be seen that the plan here sketched is a combination of the co-operative and joint stock principles, to be applied to the powers, the wants, and the social existence, not merely of individuals, of special classes, or of special callings, but of a whole community. The necessity of organisation is daily becoming more apparent. The age in which we live, as we are so often told, is an age of progress. All pursuits other than those which are peculiarly personal have developed new circumstances and new conditions of success. All manufactures, nearly all farming, all undertakings by which money is earned, and therefore the necessities and comforts of life possessed, are carried on upon a scale of magnitude unthought of by our fathers, although no doubt it will be surpassed by our children in an increasing ratio. So vast, indeed, are most of the great undertakings of this age that single men seldom attempt them, and they are men of colossal wealth and daring courage—for all men know that in such cases one slight mistake may turn a millionaire into a bankrupt. A very large and growing part of the business of life is now carried on by societies organised in various ways, generally in the manner of joint-stock companies. Look around you. The ships of companies bring immigrants to our shores. Along our coasts the Union and other company's steamers carry them from place to place. They land, and a company's cars carry them to see the outskirts of your towns. They return and go to any bank—for all are companies—to cash their letters of credit. They buy land of a land company, order materials for a house of a timber company, buy coal of a coal company, clothes of a clothing company, meat of a meat company, horses of a stud company, insure both house, and life, and safety in insurance companies; get their ironmongery, their soap, and oil, and candles, their fruit, their lime, from companies; borrow money from a company; sell their goods through a company; do their washing, both personal and relative, by a company; leave a company as trustees of their wills; then die, and a newspaper company publishes the obituary notice. It is now a common and perhaps a prudent course to take when any business becomes too large for individual responsibility—it is formed into a company on the joint stock principle. When any exceptionally costly or vast undertaking is to be accomplished, it is done by means of a joint stock company. Thus commerce grows, and wealth increases. Productions are multiplied at half the olden cost, and in a tenth part of the olden time. The work once done laboriously by multitudes of men, is now performed by costly machinery with marvellous accuracy and perfect ease. By a company the Suez Canal was cut; the continents are traversed by railways built by companies; upon the surface of every ocean the fleets of companies carry the commerce of the world; while far below along the still and silent wires the ends of the earth are, by permission of a company, whispering to each other the stories of joy and sorrow, of loss and gain, of victory and defeat, of famine and plenty, now tolling of an earthquake destroying cities; then that nations are thrilled at a hero's death. It is impossible for individual working men to compete in the game of life. The end would be certain ruin. There are also other signs of the times which compel the mind to the conclusion that organisation and co-operation are necessary in every department of life. Benefit societies, clubs of all sorts and for all purposes, associations of all descriptions, religious associations, churches, Bible and tract societies, missionary, political, athletic, literary, artistic, scientific, philanthropic. In short, all civilised life is organised. Government and society themselves are but the widest and most comprehensive forms of organisation and co-operation amongst men.

It will now be easy to see what organisation I advise. Having the franchise, the source of all legislative power, the people are able, by political organisation, to control the making and direction of legislation. So having Labor and employing Capital and Land in commercial and business organisation, they can control the production and distribution of wealth.

If any illustration is required of the benefits of organisation the daily history of the industrial classes affords an abundant field from whence those illustrations may be drawn. Not only in the numerous classes which have been already adverted to, but in those special organisations, such as trades-unions, in which the labourers of all branches of industrial life join themselves together for the purpose of mutual defence against the oppression of capitalist employers. These, however, are merely for purposes of defence, while the organisation of labour, which must and soon will prevail, will be the organisation which I here counsel—an organisation joining and uniting labour and capital for purposes, not of defence, but of aggression and conquest.

The common enemies of the industrial classes are anxiety, and want, and unfairly required toil. These have to be conquered and destroyed. It is monstrous, it is a scandal upon our civilisation and Christianity, while millions of acres of fertile land and available soil, enriched with a genial climate and opened by noble harbours, lie untouched and waiting to give forth their treasures of food and raiment to the hand of industry, that there should be want of employment and idleness in the land.

And it is a bitter satire upon our boasted intelligence and capacity for business that half the labour in the country should be wasted; that farming, as a rule, should rather impoverish than enrich the farmer; that in some

branches of industry there should be so much production as to leave no available market, while in others there should be so little as to compel us to send large sums, amounting to hundreds of thousands of pounds, annually to other countries for articles which we ourselves, blessed with a peerless soil and climate, could produce in greater abundance and at less cost than they can do from whom we buy.

## Henry George's Objection to Co-Operation.

An almost universal belief exists among political and social economists that co-operation is destined to produce a marvellous change in the social and material condition of the labouring classes. Since the year 1843 the principle of co-operation has been attracting ever-increasing attention. After the revolution in Paris in 1848 many callings and businesses were conducted on the co-operative principle, and continue to be so until now.

In England the first important commencement took place towards the latter part of the first half of this century. The Rochdale Pioneer Co-operative Society, which then commenced with a capital of £28 subscribed by 28 working men, has now swollen to one of the most gigantic undertakings in the empire. Some idea may be formed of the magnitude of the business transacted by the cooperative societies in England when it is remembered that beside the business done by the Civil Service, the transactions of the year 1881 amounted to over £25,000,000, from which the shareholders, besides getting better and cheaper goods than they could obtain from other stores, received £2,000,000 profit in the shape of dividends.

John Stuart Mill, in the people's edition of his Political Economy, published in 1865, devotes a very considerable space to the consideration of co-operation, and states his conviction that co-operation is destined at no distant time to effect a revolution in the social and material welfare of the labouring classes.

In no country has theoretical co-operation developed with such rapidity or to such extent as in Germany, where, under the influence of the speeches and writings of Rodbertus, Ferdinand Lassalle, Karl Marx, Mario, Schäffle, and the other great leaders of this movement, social life is destined to undergo great transformations.

The Socialist movement developing in a vast scheme of co-operative industry, had drawn into its ranks as teachers and leaders a great number of the leading minds in Germany and Switzerland, including, amongst others, most of the young and rising professors of the Universities, nicknamed the "Socialists of the chair," the Archbishop of Mayence, and many other philosophic thinkers, when at length Bismarck, taking alarm at the vast dimensions assumed by this growing power, prevailed upon the German Government to pass repressive measures against Socialism and Socialists. The great German minister has himself, however, embraced the principles of co-operation, and is attempting, with some success, to strengthen himself and his government in the affections and judgment of the people by aiding the various cooperative associations in many ways.

The sole exception, so far as I know, to the rule that political and social thinkers believe in co-operation as a potent means of public and social improvement is Mr. Henry George. But it will be seen on examination that he rejects it solely through misconception of its scope and powers.

Mr. George's argument is that all wealth comes from land and the use of land; that the co-operation of labour and capital, however likely to assist in elevating the moral position of workmen, and to produce wealth more plentifully and at less expense, would in the end only act in the same way as improved machinery and means of transmission, and so make greater wealth for the owners of land. It is surprising that so shrewd a thinker did not see that one step more would land the co-operative scheme in safety. If, as he says, co-operation only ends in giving wealth to the land-owner, then let the Co-operative Associations become owners of the land necessary for the purposes of production, and the benefits and increased value will remain to them.

In no scheme of co-operation yet published has the full power and capacity of that principle been at all realised. In its simple but complete capabilities it can, like the Nasmyth hammer, mould the head of a pin or beat into form an iron beam. The engines of the Thunderer or Devastation might be used to work a simple wheel for unloading cargo, while powerful enough to drive through the ocean the great frame of the giant ship.

Like all natural laws and natural forces, co-operation can be used for purposes of utility in most minute particulars, while possessing power beyond calculation. Why should co-operation be restricted to one branch of trade, to one group of callings, to one sort of industry? Why should it be confined to labour only, or to exchange only, or to production, or to capital, or even to exchange and production, or labour and capital joined? Why not at once, as hero proposed, extend the operations of this principle to the production and exchange of all things necessary for human use and enjoyment, and to the utilisation of land, labour, and capital combined? There is now, and always has been, co-operation in the production of wealth, though neither properly organised nor wisely directed. Every member of every community joins in creating wealth; the tiniest child provides a market for some producer in the food and clothing necessary to sustain life; the pauper, the invalid, the wealthy idler and the spendthrift, all make a market which sustains commerce, encourages industry in many lands, gives value to the places where it exists, and they all unconsciously and without knowledge aid in creating national wealth. But beyond doubt the busy throngs of working men, guided by the mental power of the scientific and the thoughtful, create the wealth of nations. They are at once producers and consumers. Miners bringing forth

treasures from the bowels of the earth, sailors manning those fleets which bear over the seas the commerce of nations; the armies of operatives who supply the wants of human kind; the ploughman, the teamster—all, however humble and obscure their station or employment, co-operate to produce that vast wealth, the evidences of which astonish us on every hand.

Let co-operation be carried one step further and all then will be well; let those who co-operate to produce this great wealth, cooperate also in its ownership and its enjoyment, and the problem of social life is solved.

## **Chapter V. Possibilities of the Future of New Zealand Under New Conditions.**

HAVING considered the past social history of New Zealand, the probable events of its future, and the capacity for usefulness, especially in this colony, of the joint stock and co-operative principles, I propose now to forecast the possible lines upon which an altered social and economic system will carry us, and the results—social and moral—which may be attained. Here again, no doubt, arises the possibility of dreams and of hopes to remain unfulfilled. Yet beholding the wonderful success which has attended co-operation when only partially applied; seeing, as the unprejudiced mind must see, the vast capabilities of that principle on an extended scale; remembering that no previous age has possessed one tittle of our knowledge or power, of applied art and mechanical contrivance; taking into consideration the advantages we possess in great areas of unoccupied fertile land, of climate, and of easy access to the sea, the great highway of the nations; adding to all these the intelligence and enterprise of our community, the marvellous ease, certainty, swiftness, and economy of communication with other countries which we now enjoy, and which open to us the practically illimitable markets of the world; and last, but not least, recognising the fact that should the plans here proposed be approved by public opinion in England, we should be enabled to obtain not only a market for our goods, but colonists and money, almost without limit; it is not improbable that, under such circumstances, an alteration in our social economy which would make producers, capitalists, and consumers partners in the surplus wealth which they created might produce in this colony a state of prosperity hitherto unexampled.

The immediate result of the adoption of this system would be the cheapening of all those commodities which are necessary and convenient for human life and enjoyment.

Consider for a moment the price of food in New Zealand—taking articles such as meat, bread, cheese, milk, and vegetables. The price of meat sold retail to the consumer is nearly three times the amount that the producer receives. Milk is sold throughout the country districts to the cheese factories at 4d. per gallon, sometimes less; it is retailed in the town at 4d. or 5d. a quart. The retail price of bread and vegetables, of butter and cheese, is far higher than the same things could be supplied for on the co-operative principle, although a profit remained on their sale.

So in the case of commodities imported from other countries, and sold in the stores which would be established under this system. A substantial saving could be effected, and yet a considerable margin left for profit. The cost of living would be reduced, and wages and salaries, in the ease of every individual who chose to take advantage of this system, be made more available for the comforts of life.

That this would be a great boon to the community few would care to deny, for if 20 or 25 per cent, can be taken off the cost of subsistence, it means that wages and salaries would be increased by at least that amount.

Under such conditions employment would be plentiful and constant. Fresh markets being opened in other countries for our produce, and production being constantly directed towards the supply of wants constantly arising as long, at any rate, as any land of ordinary fertility could be occupied, or manufactures or commerce carried on, labour would be always required. Products which we in New Zealand are able to raise, for the raising of which we possess almost unrivalled advantages, must ever find a ready sale in the older countries, especially when those products consist of the necessaries of life. Perhaps no country in the world is better adapted than New Zealand for dairy purposes. For dairy produce, in many parts of the world, there exists a demand practically without limit.

Science now affords us means of transmission, such as ten years ago was impossible and unthought of. Fruit of all sorts can be cultivated amongst us in abundant quantities and at comparatively little cost. This will, upon an organised system and upon a large scale, give employment, both in the garden and in the factory, to a vast amount of labour and produce returns of gold. The soil and climate of this colony will produce root-crops in immense quantities. These, indeed, we could not export, but we could turn them into cheese and butter, bacon and ham, and beef and mutton. Thus labour would be employed and capital invested.

Under this system also, while producing crops and materials for local use and sale, and for exportation; while employing labour upon reproductive work, great areas of waste lands, obtained at a email price or on easy terms of partnership as to profits, would be, by labour and by the investment of capital, made more and more valuable from year to year. Lands obtained thus, at a few shillings per acre, would not only be made to produce

the various articles of commerce, but would become a large and integral part of the wealth of the association.

Population would necessarily increase, towns and villages would arise upon the lands of the society, and its wealth, under management of ordinary care and ability, would increase beyond calculation.

As occasion arose manufactures, especially for local wants, would be established, in which the material arising from the lands of the association, or from its flocks and herds, would be converted to the purposes of ordinary social life. Nor can it be doubted that, under proper representations and with evidence of the beneficial effects arising from this plan, but that we should obtain the assistance and co-operation of the greatest and the wisest, and the best minds and hearts in the United Kingdom. In the working of a plan likely to produce such happy results all might join.

Unless the accounts which we receive from Great Britain are untrue, there exists at Home, amongst politicians of all sides and shades of politics, amongst business men, and that great philanthropic part of the English people, which has, as a sort of corporate name, the title of "Exeter Hall," among the different churches, and writers of all classes of opinion, an earnest and intense desire to to develop some plan by which, in the present and the future the millions of working people now living in a condition of want and anxiety, dreadful to contemplate, may be not merely relieved, but by the exercise of their own honest toil, made independent and self-supporting.

What a boundless prospect does this open to New Zealand. Workers by thousands, accompanied by money, amply sufficient to place them upon the waste lands and enable them there to earn an abundant living. Workers not coming here to enter into competition in the labour market, but to become producers of national wealth, to provide cheap food, and to open a thousand avenues to industry. Nor must we forget that there are in England extensive organisations, trades unions, friendly societies, co-operative associations, all whose sympathies and assistance we should probably obtain, and with whom without doubt we should open valuable business relations. For behind and beneath all other advantages there would remain the foundation fact that each labourer would receive not only his wages, but his proportionate share of the profits of the association's commerce, and of the increasing value of the lands and other properties of the association; that each purchaser would receive his goods, and in addition a proportionate share of the profits and the increased value; while the capitalist would receive the interest on his money and his share of the profits and increased value.

Under such conditions want and poverty would become almost unknown; men would grow in self-respect and independence; the struggles between labour and capital would cease, for such a vast power would speedily grow up under tills system as would, in the interest of the community and of labour and capital combined, repress all antagonism between these two potent factors of a nation's prosperity.

Under this system the dreams of Utopian philosophers would be practically realised, for it is unquestionable that when once the struggle with want and poverty ceases; when there exists among all classes, from the highest to the lowest, a consciousness that equal rights, socially as well as politically, are enjoyed by all; when the industrial classes know that they are creating wealth for themselves and not for strangers and oppressors, and that they, by virtue of their labour, have an interest and a property in that earth which God has given to the children of men; when they know that they and millions of their fellow workers have a right to sit under their own vine and their own fig-tree, none daring to make them afraid—then there will arise within them a moral life that never before had any shadow of existence.

It may perhaps be objected that thus to produce a partnership between producer and consumer would detrimentally affect a large portion of the community, such as storekeepers, agents, and others, who now form that class which is usually designated "middle men." To that objection many answers may be given. The first answer which naturally suggests itself is, that if the middle men as a class are not necessary to the carrying on of the affairs of the community, then, as a costly and unnecessary burden, they must be dispensed with. Is it necessary, is it advisable, is it just that the artisan and underpaid clerk or struggling widow should pay 5d. per lb. for meat, while the producer received less than 2d.? Is it necessary, or wise, or just that the producer should be ruined by low prices, that middle men may grow wealthy by selling articles to the consumer at such a price as leaves to him, the middle man between the two, the real value of the thing itself?

I am a lawyer, and I have been accustomed for a quarter of a century to hear the stale old joke about the lawyers eating the oysters and giving the shells to their clients. But after years of observation, after years of reading and of thought, I declare it to be my conviction that all the monies taken by the whole body of lawyers in New Zealand from their clients in any one year, beyond fees, fairly earned as compensation for work done, would not mount up to one-half the sum which half a dozen big mercantile houses take from the public in the same period of time.

Whose mansions are the largest? Whose equipages the best appointed? Whose bank accounts the biggest? Whose wealth the most swiftly increasing? Why I venture to say that any dozen of the largo mercantile houses in any of the principal cities in the colony, would, as far as money is concerned, out-weigh all the lawyers in New Zealand.

If, therefore, it be not necessary for the producers and consumers, the toilers and wealth creators of the community that the middle man should still exist, why should such a burden be continued upon the shoulders of the people?

But there is another answer. Under the system which I propose there would be work for all, and work not only of one description, but of all descriptions. So great would be the impetus given to production and commerce, so manifold would be the duties claiming performance in a community rapidly increasing in numbers and prosperity, that for each person whose business would be so injured as to compel him to desist, employment would be afforded to hundreds.

In many cases it would be beneficial to the small traders and persons who dabble in commissions to give up a life of uncertainty and of ceaseless worry and anxieties for employment at a certain income and an equal certainty of receiving a portion of the wealth continually growing around him.

One of the most beneficial results from this system would arise from the total change which would be effected in the relations between human labour and the labour of machines. Hitherto all improvement in machinery, especially labour-saving machinery, whether in the field or the factory, whether on sea or land, has had one invariable effect—while it increased production it oppressed the labouring class. Under this system that would be totally altered. As the labourer would share in the sum total of the wealth produced, it would be to his advantage, as well as to the advantage of the capitalist, that the most complete machinery that the human mind could invent or human wealth could purchase, should be procured and used.

All experience teaches us that combined labour is, beyond comparison, more valuable than that of individuals. Tasks impossible to the unaided efforts of the solitary settler, become easy and trivial to the united strength and skill of numbers. Nor is it from this alone that organised toil is superior. When men work, each in his own little groove, they waste time, and effort, and money in every way. Fifty men working together can accomplish five times as much as the same number working separately. The many advantages of organised labour are so well known in these days that perhaps it is unnecessary to dwell upon the point. It may be sufficient to indicate the fact that under the system here proposed, a greater and more complete system of industry in all its branches could be attained than has as yet been seen. One of the greatest hindrances to emigration from the United Kingdom, or the Continent of Europe, is found in the fear which fills men's minds at the prospect of leaving their present homes and friends to go out to they know not what. The unknown almost always inspires anxiety, and very often fear. To land upon a foreign shore—a stranger in a strange land—has in it something depressing, and indeed terrible, to the mind. The fear and uncertainty which surrounds the future in the new land deters tens of thousands from leaving the old. And these feelings must be of course intensified when a man has others, perhaps helpless children, dependent upon him.

Then there are great numbers who would cast their lot amongst their fellow countrymen in the colonies, but they are unable from want of means. It will be obvious that under the co-operative scheme proposed, these and many other difficulties of like nature would be removed. It is difficult to place a limit to the benefits this colony and its people will receive when the system here advocated shall have risen into complete action. Labour and capital, flowing like a great river, will come to us, bringing with them a prosperity beyond calculation. Lands now waste and desolate, and lands now unprofitably held, will, under systematic cultivation, with ample labour and ample means, become a garden. Manufactures of all sorts will be established. Commerce with Europe, with the Islands, with the great and populous Eastern nations, would fill our harbours with shipping and our marts with trade. Wealth would accumulate, while men would not decay, but live to enjoy the prosperity which they were helping to create. Monopolies would be silently superseded. The dreadful competition and struggle for life which now saps our commercial morality and sets class against class, capital against labour, and each man against his neighbour, would be modified to a healthy emulation in which all would join. Prosperity would be built upon a sound and healthy foundation. Inducements to dishonesty would in a great measure cease. Capital would no longer desire to wring the last hours of toil from labour, nor labour strive to extort the extreme possibility of reward from capital. A sense of justice would pervade the whole community; want would become rare, poverty diminish, and crime decrease.

These may be called Utopian dreams. We shall see.

Having traced the theory of my proposals, I do not intend them to rest in abstract existence. So satisfied am I that they contain the germ of a new and better social condition for mankind, that having obtained the assent and assistance of many of my fellow citizens and neighbours, I have reduced the matter to a concrete form. "The New Zealand Co-operative Land and Labour Company," based entirely upon the principles laid down in the preceding pages, has been registered under the Joint Stock Companies Act, and is about to start into the business of life without further delay. The registered capital is £20,000, but it is provided in its articles of association that the capital shall be increased from time to time without limit. All who desire can at any time purchase shares from the Company; all who purchase its productions, and all who labour for it for payment, will, by virtue of such purchasing and such labour, be entitled to share in its profits and the increased value of

its property. As the first members will be laying foundations of wealth, that others as time goes on may come in and share, they will be entitled to preferential dividends over later shareholders; while the labourer and consumer receive wages and goods respectively, and then their shares of profit and value, the investor of capital will receive interest upon his shares and a share also in profit and value—each participating in proportion to the amount in value contributed by him. Yearly cash profits will be distributable as in ordinary joint stock companies, while the increasing value of the company's properties of all kinds, will every third year be valued and distributed in shares—such shares to be inalienable for a period of ten years. Local directors will be appointed in all large centres of population.

In this effort for the good of men I call upon all to assist. To the ministers of the Gospel of Christ I appeal in the name of their Master, and of His suffering creatures. To the churches, now to so great an extent idle and unfruitful, I commend a practical plan for the alleviation of misery, the elevation of the multitudes in social and moral happiness and in temporal prosperity, and the performance of that duty which Christ laid down as the second great commandment, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." To the philanthropist, the statesman, and the patriot I appeal in the name of humanity and of patriotism. To all in the names of justice and of mercy.

The International Society, founded and formulated by Karl Marx—before which the monarchs of Europe trembled—shattered by the Paris Commune and rent asunder at the Hague, was the first attempt to join all men together by one common bond of self-interest for the purpose of asserting the rights of men as against the domination of capital and oppression. That failed because it admitted violence and destruction. The redemption of men from the present oppressive social conditions, must be founded upon the diametrically opposite principles—peaceful and increased production of wealth and the means of subsistence, and a just distribution of that wealth among all who help to create it.

## Conclusion

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## Tetoro, a Chief of Ngapuhi

## From Major Cruise's Journal of ten months residence in New Zealand 1824.

Suggestions for a History of the Origin and Migrations of the Maori People.

By Francis Dart Fenton.

LATE CHIEF JUDGE OF THE NATIVE LANDS COURT OF NEW ZEALAND.

*"Whatever makes the past, the distant, or the future, predominate over the present, advances us in the dignity of thinking beings."*

DR. JOHNSON.

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## Errata.

Page 24, for Agane read Agade.

Page 26, for Rodamin read Rodanim.

Page 43, for Suba read Saba.

Page 44, for Kahtah read Kahtan.

Page 46, Greek script transpose the ° and the #.

Page 59, Note, for bono read bona.

Page 61, and elsewhere, for Fernander read Fornander.

Page 83, for Hinyarite read Himyarite.

## Preface.

LAST year I was invited by the New Zealand Art Students' Association, a Society then about to be established for the study of Art and Nature as developed and displayed in Maori-land, to deliver an inaugural address. In complying with this request, it seemed to me that it would be beneficial to direct the thoughts of my audience to the history of the people whose art and country were to be the peculiar object of study of the new association, rather than to confine myself to the elaboration of generalities, as is the usual style of such addresses. I therefore prepared a lecture, purporting to be suggestions for a history of the origin and migrations of the Maori people.

Being requested by many friends—whether judicious or injudicious I shall learn from the fate of this little book—to print it with the necessary amplifications, I complied with the request, and the result is the appearance of the following pages.

Mr. I. D'Israeli, the father of the late Earl of Beaconsfield, says, in his "Curiosities of Literature," that a good preface is as essential to put the reader into good humour, as a good prologue is to a play, or a fine symphony is to an opera, containing something analogous to the work itself, so that we may feel its want as a desire not elsewhere to be satisfied. The Italians, he says, call the preface *La salsa del libro*, the sauce of the book, and if well-seasoned it creates an appetite in the reader to devour the book itself. The preface of a book appears to be, then, of the nature of a dangerous snare; if well written, it will excite an appetite which may not be gratified, and if ill composed, may disgust the reader and prevent him from trying the repast which is provided.

To avoid the dilemma is easy by writing no preface at all. I am the more encouraged to this abstention by another remark of the same writer: "I have observed that ordinary readers skip over these little elaborate compositions. The ladies consider them as so many pages lost, which might be better employed in the addition of a picturesque scene, or a tender letter."

I am bound, however, to state that nearly all the facts and information in the annexed tractate are drawn from the writings of others. My own particular task has been that of collation, comparing evidences, drawing inferences, and founding a theory. Mr. Fornander, the learned judge of a district in the Hawaiian Islands, stands foremost in the ranks of my authorities; and though I cannot agree with him in assigning an Aryan origin to, or any considerable Hindu-European consanguinity in the Polynesian race, and cannot concur in his theory of an Indian route of the people into the islands of the Indian Archipelago, yet I feel that it is very probable that if his book had not been written my lectures would not have been delivered.

I need not speak of the learned scholars of Europe whose works I have used. The mention of their great names is no more necessary than it is to refer to Sir Isaac Newton when treating of the law of gravitation.

AUCKLAND,

May 2, 1885.

# Origin of the Polynesian Race.

## Chapter I..

### Chaldæa

THE islands of the Pacific Ocean are peopled by a dark race or races called Polynesians and Melanesians. The former vary in colour, from a shade in some of the groups little differing from that of Europeans, to a dark brown, sometimes approaching black, in others. The Melanesians are, as their name signifies, black, or nearly so. Some ethnologists are inclined to think that they are of the same race as the Polynesians, and Mr. Coddington finds strong similarities in the two languages. Others again are of opinion that the Melanesians are offshoots of the true Nigritian stock, whose presence in these seas it is difficult to explain. I do not propose to extend my inquiries to the Melanesians, or to any of the peoples inhabiting the islands from Papua to New Caledonia My remarks will be confined entirely to the race known as Polynesian, who are admitted by all to speak dialects of one common language, and for whom the theory has been set up and largely accepted that the several groups of islands have been successively peopled by migrations from other groups. The principal of these groups are: The Sandwich Islands, called in the vernacular Hawaii; the Marquesas, or Nukuhiva; the

Society Islands, or Tahiti; the Harvey, or Cook Islands, or Rarotonga; the Bowditch Islands, or Fakaafo; the Gambier Group, or Mangarewa; the Friendly Islands, or Tonga; the Navigators, or Samoa; the Low, or Dangerous Archipelago, or Paumotu; the Austral Islands, or Tapuai; the New Zealand Islands, or Aotearoa; the Chatham Islands, or Wharekauri; Disappointment Islands, or Otua; the Anaans, or Western Paumotu; Kingsmill Group, or Tarawa; Union Islands, or Otafu; Ellice Group, or Vaitupa; Wallis' Islands, or Uea; Caroline Islands, or Oualau; the Earaka Islands.

I cannot discover that the inhabitants of any of these groups have any true ethnic designation, with the exception of the Sandwich Islanders, who are called Hawaiians; the New Zealanders, who are called Maori; and the Chatham Islanders, who are known by a similar name, Morion. According to Dr. Shortland the Hawaiians are also called Maori. The other islanders are known simply from the names of their islands, as, for example, Tongans or Samoans.

We have, then, for our contemplation a very homogeneous people, scattered over a vast number of islands in the greatest ocean of the world, all speaking a language which, considering the long periods of time during which the several groups have been segregated, has proved itself singularly conservative, and has undergone but slight phonetic corruption, much less than the Latin dialects of Europe, and whose religion and customs all point to a settlement in one common home at some very remote period of time. Where that home was, and how and when it was abandoned, is the subject of our inquiry.

I do not propose to enter with Mr. Stuart Poole ("Genesis of the Earth and Man") into any speculations as to the Pre-Adamite races, not because there is anything in his book which is not based on very strong facts and arguments, or which is not in entire accordance with the sacred records of the creation, descent, and dispersion of mankind, but because our historical sources of information, combined with popular traditions, are sufficient to trace the subjects of our inquiry to the great races who take their names from the sons of Noah. To account for the origin of the Chinese and some of the black tribes of Africa may require the acceptance of a belief in the existence of peoples whose origin cannot be connected with the Noachian genealogies, but there is no such necessity in the case before us.

It is agreed amongst all the great writers on the early formation and movements of the nations, that at the very dawn of history a great Cushite or Ethiopian empire prevailed from the Caucasus to the Indian Ocean, from the shores of the Mediterranean to the mouth of the Ganges—possibly the empire spoken of in the Greek myths as the empire of Dionusos. It is said by some that the founders of this empire migrated into Mesopotamia through Arabia from that part of Africa afterwards called by the Greeks Greek Script and that to a similar movement down the Nile valley is to be attributed the foundation of the Egyptian empire. It certainly does appear that there was at one time a gathering of the Cushite people in the Mesopotamian valley from the South-west, embracing probably the related people of Africa, but the manifestations of this movement are rather those of a return of outposts to the parent hive than of an original swarm. The two views are reconciled by supposing that the Eastward movement took place at a later date than the original dispersion of the Cushites from the primeval home of mankind. Indeed, it must be so, if the biblical account of the separation of people is accepted. Lepsius combated with great success the view of the African origin of the Egyptians, and a conscientious examination of the authorities results in the entire belief in their Asiatic home, in accordance with the scheme of Gen. x.

As the origin of the Egyptians is cognate, and greatly affects the question of locality of settlement of the descendants of Cush (Cush and Mizraim were brothers in the genealogical scheme of Gen. x.), I will quote what Dr. Brugsch-Bey ("History of Egypt") says on the constituents of the Egyptian empire, the more valuable because apparently it is an amended opinion:—

*"Though I have expressed the opinion that the Egyptians migrated into Egypt from a primeval home in Asia, yet this idea is opposed by another view, according to which, by a method founded on historical data, the origin of the Egyptian people would have to be sought in the Nigritian (negro) Barabra. These are supposed to have ascended into the Nile valley from the South, to have cultivated it, and created one of the few centres of civilisation in the ancient world, without thereby renouncing the peculiarities of African customs, and to have framed a kind of fetish worship, the foundations of which were laid in the observation of the periodical phenomena of the Nile. Their mingling with Syro-Arabian nomad races, who penetrated into Egypt from the East, and probably also with Lybian immigrants from the West, is supposed to have given origin to the mixed race of the ancient Egyptians, in which African blood largely predominated. Lepsius has lately shown the reasons against this view with remarkable clearness and great acuteness, and has proved in the most convincing manner the Asiatic home of the Egyptians in agreement with the biblical accounts of the list of nations in Gen. x."*

How long the descendants of Cush remained in the hive of the world before they migrated into Arabia, and subsequently into the opposite coasts of Africa, it is impossible to say, nor is it likely that any increased knowledge of the Babylonian libraries will ever satisfactorily establish the chronology of these early periods.

That this great and powerful Cushite empire was the dominant one in Chaldæa for many centuries is well established, though neither its date nor its limits can be strictly defined. Humboldt ("Kosmos") stretches the boundaries very far. He is sure that some connection existed between ancient Ethiopia and the elevated plains of Central Asia. There were invasions which reached from the shores of Arabia into China. "An Arabian sovereign, Schamar-Jarasch, is described by Hamza, Nuwayri, and others as a powerful ruler and conqueror, who carried his arms successfully far into Central Asia; he occupied Samarcand and invaded China. He erected an edifice at Samarcand, bearing an inscription in Himyarite or Cushite characters, 'In the name of God, Schamar-Jarasch has erected this edifice to the Sun, his Lord.'" (Baldwin: "Prehistoric Nations.") It appears probable that this military expedition was at a later period in the history of the Cushites than the time of the first Cushite empire, whose principal seat of government was in the Mesopotamia valley; probably it must be referred to the epoch of the Arabian dynasty in Babylonia—a supposition that is confirmed, if, as is generally supposed, the Himyaritic characters were imported from Phoenicia.

On all these grounds we are led to the conclusion that the Tyrian alphabet must have been communicated to the tribes of Southern Arabia several centuries at least before the third century B.C. There is, indeed, no reason why the alphabet should not have been conveyed to Saba and Sheba as early as the reign of Solomon, when the direct trade route by the Red Sea was opened by the enterprise of Hiram, King of Tyre.—"The Alphabet," by Isaac Taylor.

The Arabian traditions, according to Lenormant and Chevallier ("Ancient History of the East"), bring their eponymic hero Ad from the North-east. In the time of Shedad, one of his sons, the people of Ad were a thousand tribes, each composed of several thousands of men. Great conquests are attributed to Shedad: he subdued, it is said, all Arabia and Irak. The migration of the Canaanites and their establishment in Syria are by many Arabian writers attributed to an expedition of Shedad. Great magnificence in buildings and a high state of civilisation characterised the times of this ruler. "In other words, an ancient, sun-worshipping, powerful, and conquering race overran Arabia at the very dawn of history." "In the legends," says Lenormant, "we find traces of a wealthy nation constructing great buildings, with an advanced civilisation analogous to that of Chaldæa, professing a similar religion to the Babylonian; a nation, in short, with whom material progress was allied to great depravity and obscene rites. These facts must be true and strictly historical, for they are every-where met with among the Cushites, as among the Canaanites, their brothers by origin."

The Holy Scriptures entirely agree with the monumental record, in representing the region between the Persian Gulf, the Erythraean or Red Sea of the classical writers, and the Armenian mountains as the hive of the world, throwing off successive swarms of various great races: "the cradle of Semitic civilisation," as Dr. Birch writes, "highly civilised and densely populated at a time when Egypt was still in its youthful prime."

The descendants of Ham or Shem were not, however, the first civilisers of Babylonia. Those far-spreading tribes called by ethnologists Turanian had been beforehand. A thick stratum of Turanian civilisation underlay Semitism in Western Asia. In fact, all the great towns of Assyria and Babylonia bear Turanian names. (Professor Sayce: "Origin of Semitic Civilisation.")

George Smith ("Assyrian Discoveries, 1875,") expresses a similar view:—

*"Intimately connected with these historical studies is the question of the origin and history of the great Turanian race which first established civilisation in the Euphrates Valley. It is the opinion of the majority of Assyrian scholars that the civilization, literature, mythology, and science of Babylonia and Assyria were not the work of a Semitic race, but of a totally different people, speaking a language quite distinct from that of all the Semitic tribes. There is, however, a more remarkable point than this. It is supposed that at a very early period the Akkad or Turanian population, with its high cultivation and remarkable civilisation, was conquered by the Semitic race, and that the conquerors imposed only their language on the conquered, adopting from the subjugated people its mythology, laws, literature, and almost every art of civilisation. Such a curious revolution would be without parallel in the history of the world, and the most singular point in connection with the subject is the entire silence of the inscriptions as to any such conquest. There does not appear any break in their traditions or change in the character of the country to mark this great revolution, and the question of how the change was effected, or when it took place, is at present quite obscure. The new syllabaries and bilingual tablets will assist in the discussion of these obscure and intricate questions, but we cannot hope that they will be settled until the study of the inscriptions is much further advanced."*

Japhet was the eldest son of Noah, and it is probable that his descendants were the first to branch off from the family. "All appearances," says Lenormant, "would lead us to regard the Turanian race as the first branch of the family of Japhet which went forth into the world," and thus would lay the foundations of civilisation and subordination to authority as it advanced in its progress. Doubtless, for a time, all the races of the Noachian family which afterward peopled the world sojourned together

Gen. x. 11.: "Out of that land (Shinar) went forth Asshur' (a Shemite) and builded Nineveh."

in the Mesopotamian basin, speaking one language, and worshipping one god either directly or mediately

as represented by the heavenly bodies or natural objects, but gradually degenerating from a pristine excellence of religion, as shadowed forth in that most remarkable book, Job. How the pure adoration of one god subsisted alongside of the representative worship of the heavenly bodies is admirably described by that patriarch. I take Mr. Poole's translation:—

*"If I beheld a sun when it shined  
Or a splendid moon progressing,  
And my heart were secretly enticed,  
And my hand touched my mouth,  
Surely this (were) a depravity of judgment,  
For I should have denied God above."*

—JOB xxxi. 26, 28.

The first organised empire in Mesopotamia, composed of races of all the great families of the earth—Turanian, Arian, Semitic, and Hamite, commingled at the then centre of civilization—may be stated to have existed at least 2600 B.C., at which period (conjectural) we have records of a great monarch called Khamarourgas. It appears to have been subverted by an Elamite invasion from the North about 2450 B.C., when Babylonia was entirely overrun. Up to this time the chronology is very uncertain, and probably will always remain so. Even in Egyptian history, where we have such wonderful records in the tomb writings and temple inscriptions, scholars have very diverse views of dates. Take, for instance, the epoch of Menes, the first Pharaoh, the German Egyptologists have attempted to fix it as follows:—

The difference between the two extreme points of the series amounting to no less than 2079.

But in 2280 we find firm ground in Chaldæan chronology. In that year a powerful king of Elam, named Kudur-Nankhunte, conquered the country, ravaged Erech the capital, and carried off the image of Nana or Ishtar (the goddess Astarte), "the archer of the goddesses," which remained at Shushan for 1635 years till recaptured and restored to Erech by Assurbanipal. That monarch mentions the fact and the period in an inscription, and thus we get a certain date of 2280 B.C. for the epoch of Kudur-Nankhunte. The Elamites were a Shemite people, and appear to have maintained their sovereignty until 2250, when Izdubar or Dhubar, as his name is (provisionally) written, slew Humbaba, a monarch or leader of the Elamites, and restored the Chaldæan power. Professor Sayce shows good reason for identifying this leader with the biblical Nimrod, and the identity is generally accepted as a historical fact.

"Nimrod began to be a mighty hunter on the earth, and the beginning (*i.e.*, head) of his kingdom was Babel and Erech, and Akkad and Oalneh, in the land of Shinar." The cycle of legends discovered by Mr. George Smith makes this hero-king, Izdubar or Nimrod, rule over a great empire, extending from the Persian Gulf to the land of Bitani or Bachtan, and his capital city was Erech, called in the earliest times, as Mr. Smith has discovered from an inscription, Unuk or Anak. Nimrod was a descendant of Cush. He is not mentioned in Gen. x. amongst the sons of Cush, but is the subject of a supplementary paragraph. How many generations intervened cannot be certainly affirmed, but if Professor Sayce and other scholars are correct in identifying him with the Izdubar of the inscriptions, his era would be about 300 years before Abram.

One of the tablets recently discovered is remarkable for the number of cities mentioned as already existing in the plains of Shinar in the time of Izdubar. Combining this information with other parts of the legends, the statements of Berosus, and the notice of the cities of Nimrod in Genesis, we get the following list of the oldest known cities in the Euphrates valley:—

So far as the various statements go, says Mr. G. Smith ("Chaldæan Account of Genesis"), all these cities, and probably many others, were in existence at the time of Nimrod, and some of them even before the Flood.

The exploits of Izdubar or Nimrod form the subject of many legends, which are recounted in the cuneiform inscriptions, but it appears probable that after his death the empire which he had founded fell to pieces, and was only partially restored when Uruk, King of Ur, extended his power over the country and founded the second Chaldæan or Southern Sumerian dynasty. It is generally considered that the earliest inscriptions of any importance which we now possess belong to the time of Uruk, whose age may be placed with great probability about 2000 years before the Christian era. The population of this empire must still have been composed of mixed races, for in Ur of the Chaldees was still residing the family of Abraham, and doubtless other Shemites; and in an inscription of great antiquity, probably of the time of Uruk, we read:

*The King of the Kassi  
and Akkadi . . . am I.*

Kassi meaning the Cushites and Akkadi the Akkadians, ethnically the same people. The seal of Dungi, the son of Uruk, is now in the British Museum.

But troubles seem to have again come from the North, for it is stated in the Book of Genesis that in the time of Abraham Babylonia was under the dominion of a king of Elam, and the monarch of that country bore the name of Chedor-Laomar or Kudur-lagamar, so surnamed after a local goddess. This was a Semitic conquest, and it appears to have finally subverted the Cushite empire as the dominant power, which thus yielded to the successive attacks of the adjoining Semitic races. It appears to have been extinguished as a distinct political authority by the year 1700, when, Professor Sayce says, the Akkadian language had ceased to be spoken. It is in reference, I presume, to this epoch that Mr. G. Smith states, in the quotation on a previous page, that the Semitic conquerors "imposed only their language, and adopted from the subjugated people its mythology, laws, literature, and almost every art of civilisation."

But the final extinction of Cushite dominion in Shinar cannot be said to have been absolutely accomplished at the epoch of Kudur-Lagomar, for Tidal and the other allied kings who accompanied Kudur-Lagomar, on the occasion of their defeat by Abraham on the expedition to chastise the revolted provinces of Syria, do not appear to have been reduced to complete subjection. It was not until the time of Sargon or Sargina, about 1600 or 1700 B.C., that the Akkadian power was finally terminated. The date of this conqueror is given by MM. Lenormant and Menant as about 2000 B.C., but other scholars have preferred the date I have given, and the later discoveries seem to confirm this view.

Sargina presents a striking figure in these remote ages. He bore the title of "King of Justice," and like most people who peculiarly pride themselves on such a distinction, he appears slightly to have regarded mercy, or, in truth, anything but his own personal distinction. He became a renowned conqueror, says Mr. Tomkins ("Times of Abraham"), carrying his arms successfully into Elam on the East and through Syria on the West, even to the Mediterranean Sea. "His image at the setting sun he set up," he records. He subdued the whole of Babylonia and established his capital at Agané (north of Babylon). He was, however, a devoted friend to literature and science, and founded a library at Erech, whence his invaluable records were long afterwards removed by Assurbanipal, copied, translated, and edited for his library. They are now in the British Museum. This was also a Semitic conquest, and it is worthy of remark that Sargina writes, "the people of the dark races I ruled," as if by way of contrast with his own race. These dark races were undoubtedly the Kassi or Cushites, mixed and unmixed.

It is not necessary to trace any further the history of Babylonia. During the whole of the period that I have endeavoured briefly to traverse there is evidence of an intimate connection between the Akkadian inhabitants of Shinar and their kindred people in Eastern and Southern Arabia and Eastern Africa. Indeed, Dr. Brugsch seems to be of opinion that Nimrod came from Arabia; and Sir Henry Rawlinson, in a lecture delivered in 1856 before the British Association for the Advancement of Science on recent discoveries in Assyria and Babylonia, and on the results of cuneiform research, said "that there were many traces in the inscriptions of a tradition that the first colonists had come from Ethiopia under the leading of a hero, who answered to the Nimrod of Scripture, and who was deified in the country as Nergal—an explanation being thus afforded of the biblical ethnic scheme which described Nimrod as the son of Cush. . . . The language in which all the early legends were written was of the Hamite family, having been brought apparently from Ethiopia through Arabia by the primitive colonists. Many of the terms belonging to it were to be recognised in the Galla, the most ancient, perhaps, of the African dialects now available for comparison." Whether the entire people comprised in the name Cushite or Ethiopian (for the words are identical) were at any one time all included in the great Hamite empire which preceded the Semitic domination in Chaldea, it is impossible now to determine. It is clear, however, that at a later period the Ethiopians of Africa established there a powerful and independent kingdom, whose capital was Mirikh, the Chaldaean name of a deity recognised as the god of war, corrupted by the Greeks into Meroe. The intercourse between the Arabian Cushites and the African Cushites appears to have been constant down to the classical times, and it is occasionally difficult to determine whether the inscriptions on the Egyptian tombs and temples, in speaking of the "Holy Land," "the Land of the Gods," Pun, or Punt, refer to the African Ethiopia or the Cushite tribes of Arabia.

A difficulty of a similar nature occurs respecting Homer's "Æthiopia."

Dr. Brugsch thus accounts for the separation and settlement of that branch of the great Cushite race which is the subject of this inquiry:—

*"Of the sons of Ham, Cush migrated from the East into the Southern parts of Arabia and the opposite coasts of Africa (the Somali countries), where their abodes are marked by the Egypto-Semitic name of Pun, which in my opinion signifies the East country, since in Hebrew the name of Paneh (in proper names, pena, peni) indicates the eastern side. From hence one body (schwarm), led by Nimrod, went to the region of the Euphrates, and ruled first in the land of Shinar, in the towns of Babel, Erech, Accad, and Kalneh. The Babylonian tradition also fully recognised the arrival of these Cushite emigrants from the coasts of the Erythraean Sea, and had treated thereof in its own myths. A second branch passed over the Red Sea, and, conquering and driving out the native negro races, took possession of the country situated on the South of*

*Egypt, upon the coasts of the Red Sea, and the eastern bank of the Upper Nile. The city of Meroe formed the centre of the kingdom founded there."*

The power and prosperity of the Arabian or Southern branch of the Cushites appears to have increased in the same proportion and synchronously with the diminution of the dominion of the Northern or Shinar, or Akkadian branch, and doubtless the pressure of the Semitic invasions must have had great effect in causing a constant southwards movement of the people. Nevertheless, in the time of Abraham (2000 to 1900), the cities of Shinar were large and important commercial emporiums, and the religion of the people was carried on in great splendour. Ur was the capital city. It was situated on the westward side of the Euphrates, near to where it falls into the Persian Gulf—or rather near to where it formerly fell into the Persian Gulf, for the deposits of the river during 4000 years have converted into marshes the northern part of the sea for the distance of 130 miles. On this spot mounds of ruins still rise from the level plain, the sole remains of the once populous commercial city of Ur. This city gave the name of Uruma to a large district of country. Lenormant says that the name should be properly read "Urunu- ma." In this great city Abraham was born, and passed his early years in the house of his father, Terakh, whom the latter part of his name proclaims to have been a person of high rank.

The word "khak" or "hyk," though a Cushite root, does not appear to have been confined to the Hamite peoples. It is present in Tirhak, and is common to the royal lists of Susiana and Egypt, and appears in Hyksos or Hykshausa (kings of the nomads), as used by a mixed race. In the Maori language we have it as "ariki," the chief by descent as distinguished originally from "rangatira," the military chief. In the modern Semitic and the mixed dialects of Arabia and Eastern Africa, it takes the form of "scheik," and it has been adopted into the English language with the game of chess, introduced from Arabia—"checkmate" being in truth "schcik-mate," "the chief is dead:" "mate," "morte," "mors," Maori "mate" (two syllables), being the word for death in many existing dialects. How true it is that words are condensed history. The Talmud says that Terakh's wife was Amulai, daughter of Carnebo-Karanebo, a priest of Nebo, judging from the name, a Cushite.

The Rev. H. G. Tomkins ("Times of Abraham") gives us the following picture of Urunu-ma:—

*"From the part where the Euphrates discharged its ample waters into the beautiful and sheltered sea, the ships of Ur set sail, like the ships of Egypt, with their precious lading of corn and dates and other fruits: for the warm land, irrigated like a garden (the natural home of the wheat plant, where it was twice mown in the year and then fed down), was (as the classic writers tell us) the richest in all Asia. The wheat would commonly produce two hundred-fold or even three hundred-fold. The chief boast of Chaldea is the stately date-palm, whose endless uses for man and beast have been celebrated for all ages. The shady palm-groves embowered the whole country, laden with their delicious golden clusters, and mingled with tamarisks, acacias, and pomegranates."*

"This region," writes Professor Rawlinson, "was amongst the most productive on the face of the earth, spontaneously producing some of the best gifts of God to man, and capable, under proper management, of being made one continuous garden."

Un of the Chaldees of the Scriptures is undoubtedly the Urunu above mentioned. The late G. Smith, learned amongst learned men, says, "I have no doubt that by Ur of the Chaldees the Babylonian city of Ur is meant. There is not the slightest evidence of a northern Ur and a northern land of the Chaldees at this period."

In the list of cities obtained from the inscriptions and from Berosus, stated on a previous page, were mentioned the four cities called in the Bible the cities of Nimrod—Babel and Erech, Akkad and Calneh.

Babel is translated in the margin of our Bibles as "confusion." According to Rawlinson ("Herodotus") Babel, or Bab-II, as the cuneiform name is written, signifies the gate of II (God), and is the Semitic translation of a Hamite term, Kara (Ra being the sun-god), which must have been the original title of the place, The name was probably given in allusion to the first establishment of a seat of justice, as it was in the "gate of the palace" or the "gate of the temple" that in early times justice was administered. A similar term is frequently used in the Egyptian inscriptions, and is preserved to this day as descriptive of the Turkish court, "the Sublime Porte." The word Kara, thus formed, appears to have been adopted into the Akkadian language as a word always associated with the idea of dignity or sacredness. Thus Akkadian kings bore names comprehending this word, as Kara-Kit, Kara-Indas, and a priest of Nebo was called Kara-nebo. It also takes a prominent part in the formation of the names of the Egyptian kings—Noferkara, Menkara, and other names thus compounded being frequent. In the Maori language the term also appears, and always in connection with a similar idea. Thus "e kara" is the most respectful form of address known to the language, and is used to old men and persons of superior rank, and may be considered equivalent to "Oh, sir!" or "My lord." Kara-Ida is the word signifying an incantation, and has been adopted by the missionaries (wrongly, I think) as the translation of "worship." I say wrongly, because a Maori karakia was an incantation or charm, a form of words which was effective simply by its own innate virtue, without reference to the state of mind of the person using it and without the interventive assistance of any superior power giving it its effect. A good karakia for fishing or for war was a property of value, and was handed down from father to son wife great secrecy. Instances are preserved in tradition of karakias having been

secretly overheard and stolen, but it generally happened that the thief made a mistake in the recitation, which caused the *karakia* to lose its effect. The *karakia* seems to comprise the idea of the *opus operatum* of a certain class of religionists. The term *kara* appears again in *karamata*, the head of a tree which was sacred. *Kara-mu* is the name of the shrub (*coprosma*) which was used by the priests (*tohunga*) for asperging with waters persons who had been concerned in burying or preparing for burial dead bodies, and who were thus freed from the "tapu" and purified, and also in baptismal and other ceremonies. And it is probable that *mikara* was the name originally of the sacrificial knife, *maripi* or *oka* being the terms in ordinary use.

Erech, called Greek script in the Septuagint, Urikut in the Talmud, and, as before mentioned, Unuk or Anak in the vernacular, was the great necropolis of Babylonia. Whole mountains of coffins are still to be found there.

The biblical Calneh is said by Professor Sayce to be plainly the Akkadian Kal-unu.

Akkad is a Semitic term, of which the native name, according to Canon Rawlinson, is Agadé.

Attention has been directed to these names because they will reappear further on, and some of them have important significance in tracing the history of the people who conferred them.

The religion of the Akkadians may be comprised in one term of description: Astral worship. The process of degeneration from the adoration of one invisible God to the worshipping of visible natural objects whose beneficial or injurious operations were matters of daily observation, was doubtless very gradual. Nevertheless, very few generations sufficed to destroy the representative character which at first was the idea of astral worship, and to elevate the significant object into the divinity signified. Thus the moon, and the sun, and the planets, in process of time, came to be regarded as separate divine powers, each having its own name, its own priests and ceremonial, its own attributes, and its own town of special devotion. Hur-Ki or Hur- Aku, the moon god, according to Lenormant, afterwards called by the Assyrians Sin, was particularly worshipped at Urunu. This god was regarded as masculine, and seems to have borne also the name of Rono. Tu, the god of death and bloodshed, representing the setting sun, and Ra, the sun-god, were generally recognised over all Akkadia. Ishtar and Bilat were the tutelaries of Erech. Marduk, or, in Akkadian, Amar-Utuki—probably represented now by the Polynesian Tiki—was another of their deities. Hea, now or lately called Hei in Polynesia, was the god of wisdom. The little greenstone ornament, so highly valued, which is still frequently seen hung to a Maori's neck, and which is called a "Heitiki," is probably the existing remains of a Theism, the meaning of which has long since been forgotten, or become grossly corrupted. It appears that at a later date the Babylonians had different names for the gods of the sun and the moon, at their different stages—in this resembling the Egyptians, who called the god of the morning sun Ra, the sun at the meridian, when apparently at rest, Hor-Makhu, and the setting sun, Ra-tum, who thus came to be regarded as the god of death.

"In the inscriptions of the kings of the ancient Chaldæan empire," Mr. Tomkins says, "Hurki, the moon-god, appears as holding one of the most exalted places among the gods, and the higher we advance in antiquity the greater appears the importance of his cultus. He was the god of the most ancient capital of Akkad, the town holy above all to the Chaldæans, the great city of Ur, whence Abram departed at the summons of Jehovah. With the deepest interest we read the liturgical hymns given by this distinguished man (M. Lenormant). One of these, the best preserved of all and almost uninjured, is the hymn to the moon-god actually used in the city of Ur in the earliest times, of which the Akkadian original is given, with its Assyrian translation, in a tablet in the British Museum."

With reference to these bilingual inscriptions, it may be well to quote here an explanation by G. Smith ("Assyrian Discoveries"):—"Its (an inscription which he was dealing with) great value consists in the fact that it is a bilingual inscription at least 800 years earlier than any previously discovered text of the same class. On the right hand half of every column of writing is the copy in what is called Akkad or Turanian or Proto-Babylonian, for scholars are not agreed as to a name for this early tongue. On the left hand stands the copy in Semitic Babylonian, which is the translation and equivalent of the other."

The hymn to the moon-god is translated by Mr. Tomkins from the French of M. Lenormant:—

- Lord! Prince of gods of heaven and earth, whose mandate is exalted;
- Father! god! enlightening earth. Lord! good god, of gods the prince!
- Father! god! enlightening earth. Lord! great god, of gods the prince;
- Father! god! enlightening earth. Lord god of the month, of gods the prince!
- Father! god! enlightening earth. Lord of Ur, of gods the prince!
- Father! god! enlightening earth. Lord of crowns, duly returning, of gods the prince!
- Father! god! enlightening earth. Awarder of kingdoms, of gods the prince!
- Father! god! enlightening earth. By lowering the proud, himself enlarging, of gods the prince!
- Timely crescent mightily horned! doom dealer—splendid with orb fulfilled.
- Self-produced from his home forth-issuing, pouring evermore plenteous streams.
- High, exalted, all-producing, life unfolding from above!
- Father! he who life reneweth in its circuit through all lands.

- Lord! in thy godhead far and wide as sky and sea, thou spreadst thine awe.
- Warder of shrines in Akhad's land, and prophet of their high estate.
- Gods' sire and men's, of childhood guide, even Ishtar's self thou didst create.
- Primeval seer! rewarder sole fixing the doom of days remote.
- Unshaken chief whose heart benign is ever mindful of thy wrongs,
- Whose blessings cease not, ever flowing, leading on his fellow gods,
- Who from depth to height bright piercing openeth the gate of heaven.
- Father mine, of life the giver, cherishing, beholding all.
- Lord, who power benign extendeth over all the heaven and earth
- Seasons, rains from heaven forth-drawing, watching life and yielding showers,
- Who in heaven is high exalted? Thou, sublime in thy behest;
- Who in earth is high exalted? Thou, sublime in thy behest;
- Thou thy will in heaven revealest, thee celestial spirits praise!
- Thou thy will on earth revealest; thou subduest the spirits of earth;
- Thou thy will in heaven as the luminous ether shines;
- Thou thy will upon earth to me by deeds thou dost declare;
- Thou thy will extendeth life in greatness, hope, and wonder wide;
- Thou thy will itself gives being to the righteous dooms of men;
- Thou through heaven and earth extendeth goodness, not remembering wrong;
- Thou thy will who knoweth? who with aught can it compare?
- Lord! in heaven and earth thy lordship of the gods none equals thee.

Mr. Tomkins adds, "There are yet some mutilated lines to complete this magnificent ode of pristine idolatry, calling on this king of kings to favour his dwelling, the city of Ur, invoking him as the 'Lord of Rest' (that is, the weekly Sabbath rest)." The prominence given in this hymn to the divine attribute of "not remembering wrong" is very remarkable in an ante-Christian creed, and goes far to show that the remembrance of a higher doctrine, in which God was regarded as a beneficent being and a protecting Father, had not entirely faded away from the popular mind. I doubt whether the theology of the Greeks or Romans can furnish a similar expression.

It will not be out of place here to place alongside of this ancient hymn a poem of the Maori, produced probably three or four thousand years later. The translation is by my lamented friend the late Judge Maning, who presented me with the MS. from which the poem is printed. The address to Tu, the god of war, is as striking as the invocation of the moon-god, though the reader will search in vain for the mild and benevolent strain of idea which permeates the latter.

### **THE MAORI SPIRIT LAND: A NEW ZEALAND POEM.**

The Maori formerly believed that the souls of the dead entered the other world through a cave, which is situated by the seaside at the northern extremity of the North Island, and it was supposed that some of the priests or seers could see their spirits passing away on their journey by the shore to the cavern in the North. Many very strange and poetical ideas are associated with the procession of the spirits to the northern cavern, where they take a final departure from "day," and enter the "night," such, for instance, as the waterfalls ceasing to roar as they pass by, etc. I have often seen the long leaves of a plant which grows on the shore in the North tied in knots; these knots were made by the spirits as a memorial to their friends, and to show the path they had taken. Infidels think these knots are made by the wind whirling about the long narrow leaves, which are more like ribbons in shape than leaves.

The seer stands on the sacred hill above the ocean strand,  
 His eyes fixed on the spirit path that leads to the spirit land;  
 To the far North, with many a bend, along the rugged shore  
 That sad road leads, o'er rocks and weeds, whence none returneth more.  
 The weak, the strong, all pass along—the coward and the brave—  
 From that dread track none turneth back, none can escape the grave.

Tangaroa! Tangaroa!

Tangaroa is the Maori impersonation of the ocean—the Maori Neptune,

whither have fled your waves?  
Who 'gainst the land eternal war wage from their ocean caves.  
Why abashed, with lowly head,  
Sleep they on their heaving bed—  
Your sons! your braves!  
And, Tangaroa, tell me why flows this fountain silently?  
Why has the cataract ceased to moan,  
Bounding his last bound,  
From mountain top to salt sea stone  
Headlong, but with no sound?  
And the west wind passes by,  
Silently, without a sigh!

Passing now are the ghosts of the dead,  
The winds are hushed, the rude waves hide their head;  
And the fount flows silently,  
And the breeze forgets to sigh,  
And the torrent to moan  
O'er rock and stone.  
For the dead pass by!  
Now on the barren spirit track  
Lingering sadly, gazing back,  
Slowly moves a ghastly train,  
Shades of warriors, brave in vain:  
For what can mortal valour do  
Against thee, furious war-god Tu?  
You, by sacrifice and pray'r,  
To hostile ranks allured were;  
None but you, O Tu! could slay them,  
None but the war-god's self dismay them  
You who spoke first at thy birth,  
"Let us destroy heaven and earth;"

You who, charging like a flood,  
Wrap whole armies in their blood;  
You who scale the hill fort steep  
When the weary warriors sleep,  
And awake them but to die  
With the Wakaara cry;  
You who, when the fight is done,  
Roast the flesh on heated stone.  
Brother of the thunder, scarlet-belted Tu,

Tu, who is so frequently mentioned in these verses, is the Maori war god. He was supposed to assimilate more nearly in his nature to man than any of the other Maori gods. All the epithets applied to this deity, who appears greatly to resemble the Odin of our Northern forefathers, are in strict accordance with native tradition and custom. Indeed, the whole imagery employed is due to the peculiar poetry of the Maori mind.

"Scarlet-belted Tu."—The maro or belt of the Maori warriors before they came to this country was covered with very beautiful scarlet feathers; and from all time the war god Tu has been supposed to wear the scarlet belt and girdle.

For ever and for ever shall the warriors worship you;  
Wealth and power and high command

Are all in thy forceful hand.  
Earth-shaker,  
Spoil-taker,  
Climber of mountains, climber of waves,  
Weapon-bearer, binder of slaves,  
Battle-fighter, wrathful Tu,  
Builder of the war canoe.  
Though your followers may lie  
In their blood on battle plain,  
They alone can never die,  
For in song they live again;  
And their names remembered long,  
Twine in many a warlike tale;  
And the tangi, plaintive song,  
Makes for them the parting wail.  
The seer has left the hill. Hark! hark! that wailing cry;  
The shades he saw were the braves of his tribe to the Reinga passing by.

How long the dynasty of Sargina remained supreme in Babylonia it is not necessary to inquire. Shortly after his epoch a great change seems to have taken place in the politics of Chaldæa, and an Arab dynasty reigned there. Whether the intruding power were Arabs of the same Cushite race, *i.e.*, from Arabia Felix and Hadramaut, or Joktanite Arabs from the northern parts of Arabia, there is no need to inquire. In the former case there would occur an enlargement of the political influence of Southern Arabia and a temporary retrograde movement of the population; and in the latter the Cushite inhabitants would most certainly flee to Southern Arabia for refuge and safety among the people who were akin to them in blood and in language; so that the result would be the same, so far as the subject population was concerned. Respecting this remarkable historical event, Dr. Brugsch ("Egypt under the Pharaohs") states, while recounting the difficulties that beset Thutmes, the great Egyptian Pharaoh: "A great revolution took place at the same time (about 1600) in the mighty empire of the Chaldæans on the banks of the Euphrates. The Chaldæan dynasty was attacked by the Arabs from the South, and the ruling princes of the land were overthrown and expelled, or carried away into captivity. A new era began, the era of the Arab kings in Babylon, who from this time bore rule for many years in the river-land of Mesopotamia."

## Chapter II. Arabia.

Since the preceding chapter was in type, I read in the *London Times* of Dec. 31, 1884, a notice of a recent publication by Sir Henry Rawlinson, "A Selection of Assyrian and Babylonian Inscriptions" (1884), in which appears the following passage:—"Evidence as to the very early period at which a literature was developed in Babylonia is afforded by the fine cylinder of Nabonidus, found in the record chest of the great temple at Sippara. This splendid cylinder, containing about 170 lines in most perfect preservation, may be considered the most important inscription in this volume. In this text the king states that while restoring the temple of the Sun-god, he came upon the foundation record placed there by Naram-Sin, the son of Sargon, 3200 years before his time, that is, in the year B.C. 3750." The era of Sargon would thus be fixed at about two centuries after the date of the creation, according to Archbishop Usher's scheme. It will be evident how premature is the attempt to formulate any system of chronology for these remote times. We must await the further development of the study of the inscriptions.

WE will now leave the Mesopotamian basin, and inquire more particularly into that branch of the great Cushite race which had originally settled, and had subsequently been reinforced, in Arabia, that mysterious region, as Dr. Brugsch writes, which, in the ages before all history, sent forth the migratory Cushite races like swarms of locusts across the sea to set foot on the highly favoured shores of Punt and the Holy Land, so called on the Egyptian monuments. The evidence is abundant that this country was settled at nearly as early a period in the world's history as the valleys of the Mesopotamian rivers; and the resident populations would be constantly increased by the immigrations of their relations in the North, who would flee from the incessant invasions of the Elamites and other Semite races, whose attacks on Akkadia seem to have been perpetually renewed, until the Chaldæan power was finally subverted.

No doubt war was in those days conducted with great barbarity. The Egyptian inscriptions seem to teach us

that the magnitude of a victory was estimated by the number of hands (if the deceased were circumcised), and of members (if the deceased were uncircumcised), which were presented to Pharaoh after the battle was over. Each wave of hostile invasion would not only entail the destruction of multitudes of people, but would cause the emigration of more, who would seek safety in abandoning their country and adopting fresh homes. Thus vast numbers of the population of Shinar would flee from their cities on the approach of Kudur-Nankhaunte; and as he came from the northerly parts, the refugees would naturally endeavour to escape southwards. Each successive attack would cause renewed emigration, and the numbers of the Cushite inhabitants of Shinar must have been greatly reduced when the expedition of Sargina finally extinguished the Cushite power, and probably drove a large proportion of the remaining population to seek refuge among their kinsmen in the south of Arabia. The exodus which had already commenced from Ur and the cities of Shinar would be greatly accelerated by the "justice" of this Semitic conqueror. The Cushites, now mixed by their long sojourn with Turanian and Semitic peoples, fled down by both shores of the Persian Gulf, the great bulk of the refugees doubtless going by water; for Ur was a great and wealthy city, and the ships of Ur had long traversed the seas in pursuit of gain. Passing by places which were adjacent to the territories now possessed by Sargon, they occupied lands in Arabia, on one side of the gulf, and in Karman, or Carmania, on the other. Large contingents continued their course along the south-east coast of Arabia, becoming absorbed in the existing settlements as they progressed; and considerable bodies then and at later periods passed over the straits into Africa, where they settled in cities there already important, and which, a thousand years later on, furnished Egypt with Pharaohs. This great movement was in full vigour about the time of Abram, though detachments had no doubt started at an earlier period, under the pressure of the first Kudur-Nankhaunte wars, and it had been completed before the year 1700; for at that time, Professor Sayce assures us, the Akkadian language had ceased to be spoken in Chaldæa. It is not to be supposed, however, that all the people moved away. No doubt, as is usual in such cases, the poorer sort remained, and became absorbed in the intruding race, who imposed only their language, and in return adopted, "from the subjugated people, its mythology, laws, literature, and almost every art of civilisation."

This emigration has not been unnoticed by the classical writers. Strabo, quoting Eratosthenes, says that there lies in a deep gulf of the Erythræan, or Red Sea, as was then its name, a city of the name of Gerra, belonging to "Chaldæan exiles from Babylon." This city may have been named after the town of Erech in Shinar, the initial guttural being added. It is indeed probable that the emigrants called the new cities which they founded after the names of their former homes in Shinar. Thus the Akkadian Kalunu (Semitic Calneh) reappears as Karana, the chief city of the Minæi, a portion of the nation which bore the general name of Sabæa. This city is mentioned by Eratosthenes. Uru or Urunu may be the protonom of Hulu or Zula, a maritime city of Ethiopia, in a bay of the Red Sea, called by classical writers Adule. Akane, the biblical Akkad, may have given its name to Agane, on the extreme easterly point of Africa, a town mentioned by Ptolemy, whence probably the Indian fleets started. Sippara may be reproduced in the town called by Ptolemy Sapphara Greek script though it is mentioned in the Periplus under the name of Aphar Greek script. Its present name is Saphar. It is very difficult to trace names, for our only sources of information of the geography of Arabia Felix at this period are the classical writers; and under their manipulation vernacular names became so mutilated, that identification must be tedious and uncertain. How great was the change may be gathered from the example of Cush, or Etaush, having been softened, as Rawlinson says, into Ethiopia. Having no sound in their language like sh, the Greeks used the #, and softened the t into #; thus Etausch became Aithiops, and the country Aithiopia.

It appears, then, that Arabia was peopled by a race of men of Cushite descent, with a considerable commingling of Semite blood, with slighter traces of Turanian and even Arian consanguinity, resulting from prolonged contiguous sojourning in the plains of Shinar. They dwelt in tribes, in some of which the Semite descent was more decidedly marked than in others—doubtless the complexion varying with the predominance of the respective types. With this position the genealogical statement contained in the tenth chapter of Genesis entirely agrees. It will be well at this place to notice this remarkable record.

"The time is gone by," says Canon Rawlinson, "when nothing more was seen in the list of names to be found in this chapter than a set of personal appellations, the proper names of individuals. No one can read with any attention the following passage, even in its English dress, without perceiving that the writer is bent rather on considering the connection of races than the descent of persons:—'And Canaan begat Sidon his firstborn, and Heth, and the Jebusite, and the Amorite, and the Girgasite, and the Hivite, and the Archite, and the Sinite, and the Arvadite, and the Zemarite, and the Hamathite; and afterwards were the families of the Canaanites spread abroad.' The forms of the names are in many instances plural: Madai, Kithim, Dodanim or Rodanim, Sudim, Ananim, etc.; while in one remarkable instance there is a dual form, which is at once recognised as that of a country or people. 'Mizraim' is the word elsewhere translated throughout Scripture Egypt. It signifies the two Egypts, Upper and Lower, whence the monumental Egyptian kings wear upon their heads two crowns. And it is worthy of notice that the majority of the names in the chapter, if they occur elsewhere in the Bible, occur in an ethnic or else in a geographic sense. Gomer, Magog, Javan, Tubal, Meshech, Togarmah, Kittim, Cush,

Sheba, Elam, etc., are all of them in every other place either countries or nations. We read of Gomer and his bands (Ezek.), 'the land of Magog' (Ezek.), the 'isles of Elishah' (Ezek.), the 'men of Dedan' (Ezek.), the 'ships of Tarshish' (Kings), the 'queen of Sheba' (Kings), and the like. Shem, Ham, and Japhet are no doubt persons, the actual sons of the patriarch Noah; but it may be doubted whether there is another name in the series which is other than ethnic."

I very humbly venture to think that the learned writer has carried his views too far. If I understand aright the last sentence, I gather that his meaning is that the names in Gen. x., with the exception of those stated, are ethnic solely, and not personal. It appears to me that, saving those where peoples are clearly named, such as the Hivite, Rodamin, etc., the names have both an ethnic and a personal application. It is the custom of early peoples to take their national designation from their ancestors, and even to deify them, and it would appear to me more reasonable to suppose that the names in the chapter were actually the names of men bearing the relationship set forth, and that these men were the eponyms of the people who descended from them, or who gathered around them. This is the almost invariable rule with the Maori tribes, whose names can all be traced to that of some ancestor, who was the founder of the clan, as it branched off from some older stock. The result of the learned canon's dictum, in the assertion of an historical fact, will not be very different from that produced by the view now advocated; but the absolute disbelief in the existence of the eponymic hero, the founder of the tribe, would occasion confusion, and injure the credit of, and diminish the assistance to be derived from, genealogies.

*Vide Hearn's "Aryan Household."*

It may be assumed, then, that the object of the author of this record was to furnish, not only a personal genealogy, but a sketch of the interconnection of races, and a general geographical description of the countries settled by them.

The remarks which now follow, on the tenth chapter of Genesis, are drawn principally from Canon Rawlinson's "Origin of Nations;" but it will be well, before proceeding to investigate the scheme of territorial settlement of the descendants of Cush and Shem, as therein set forth, to notice that at the period in the world's history when the sacred historian wrote his genealogy the dispersal of mankind had been more or less accomplished. Many of the Japhetic races were still, no doubt, lingering around the Caspian Sea, but many had already moved away, as, for instance, the Celts and the Pelasgians, the most illustrious of them all. No one supposes that the record was written before the time of Moses—the fifteenth century; and by that time the tribes with whom we are now dealing were already in their places, and were founding or maintaining flourishing states. The author must therefore be presumed to be describing the order of settlement of peoples in the districts spoken of, as they were known to the Hebrews at his epoch, cataloguing each tribe by its then known name, as taken from their eponymic ancestors; and where there was a mixed descent, naming both ancestors.

Firstly; as to the Cushites, with only a small portion of whom we have to do. Ver. 7: "And the sons of Cush; Seba, and Havilah, and Sabtah, and Raamah, and Sabtechah: and the sons of Raamah; Sheba and Dedan."

Seba. This name, which must not be confounded with Sheba, seems to have been applied in ancient times to a particular portion of the East African country which bore the general name of Cush or Ethiopia. Josephus says that Saba Greek script was the ancient name of the famous Ethiopian city of Meroë, and of the district about it. In Scripture we find Seba and the Sabæans usually connected with Ethiopia proper and with Egypt, as in Isaiah xliii. 3, xlv. 14: "I gave Egypt for thy ransom, Ethiopia and Seba for thee. Thus saith the Lord, The labour of Egypt and the merchandise of Ethiopia, and of the Sabæans, men of stature, shall come over unto thee." There was another Saba in Arabia Felix, of which more hereafter; and again another, called by Strabo and the Greek geographers Sabai Greek script on the African coast, near the Straits of Babelmandeb. This town is still in existence under the name of Assab.

The Bible speaks of the Sabseans as "men of stature," and Herodotus remarks that the Ethiopians of his day had the character of being the tallest and handsomest nation in the world. And in another place, after speaking of the commercial value of their exports, he adds that the men were of large stature, very handsome, and long-lived.

The next name in the genealogy is Havilah. This name occurs in other places in Scripture, but a careful examination of the context has led to the conclusion amongst the learned that in none of them is the Havilah referred to which is here mentioned. But the people in question have been identified with the inhabitants of the Arabian tract known as Khawlán, in the north-western portion of the Yemen.

Then comes Sabtah. No other passage of Scripture throws any light on this name; but we may safely connect it with the Sabbathath or Sabota of Pliny and Ptolemy, which was on the south coast of Arabia, and was the capital of the Atramitæ, a people now (and probably then, vernacularly) called Hadramaut. Strabo also mentions the place, though he slightly changes the name of the people. Instead of Atramitæ he has Chatramotitæ, and he says that of four people composing a great nation these are the furthest towards the East. Their city he calls Sabata.

Sheba must undoubtedly be connected with the great race of the Sabæans, which as early as Solomon was the chief in Arabia, and which is greatly celebrated by the classical writers, as we shall see hereafter.

Dedan is to be sought eastward of Sheba, on the shores of the Persian Gulf, where the name seems still to linger in the island of Dadan on the border of the Gulf. The Dedanians are mentioned by Isaiah as sending out "travelling companies"—caravans, in fact—which lodged in the wilds of Arabia (xxi. 13), and Ezekiel enumerates them among the merchants who supplied Tyre with precious things (xxvii. 20). In this last quoted passage the people of Dedan are conjoined with Sheba and Raamah (v. 22), and also with those of Assyria and Chilmad in Babylonia (v. 23), so that the location of the Cushite Dedan in the immediate neighbourhood of Chaldæa and the Gulf would seem to be certain.

Genesis xxv. 1 enumerates amongst the children of Abraham by Keturah, Zimran, Jokshan, Midian, etc. "And Jokshan begat Sheba and Dedan. And the sons of Dedan were Asshurim, and Letushim, and Leummim." The revival of the three names of Jokshan, Sheba, and Dedan by Abraham is remarkable.

Sabtechah has not been safely identified.

The general conclusion to be drawn from Genesis x. mentioned is that the genealogist means to assign to the family of Cush that part of Arabia which borders on the Persian Gulf, or Erythræan Sea as it was called, and the whole of the south-east part of the peninsula now called Yemen or Arabia Felix, and a section of Africa on the other side of the Straits.

It was until recently commonly understood that the people of Arabia are of Semitic descent. Recent researches have upset this belief, so that modern ethnological science confirms the statement of the sacred genealogist. M. Antoine D'Abbadie, Dr. Beke, M. Fresnel, and others prove that there are to this day races in South Arabia, especially the *Mahra*, whose language is decidedly non-Semitic:

Professor Müller, however, seems to think that the Mahra language should be classed among the Semitic group of speech. And it is noteworthy that our own learned scholar, the Venerable Dr. Maunsell, when translating the Old Testament into Maori, found his undertaking facilitated by translating direct from the Hebrew; not only, I am authorised to say, because he thus more accurately gathered the meaning, but because the structure and idiom of the two languages more nearly approached each other than the Aryan English. (*Vide* Preface to Dr. Maunsell's Maori Grammar.) There does not appear, on consideration, to be any real conflict between the two opinions. The people were of mixed Semite and Cushite blood, the two races were living together in the plains of Shinar, and it is quite reasonable to expect that there would be strong affinities of language. This view is well stated by Canon Rawlinson in his "Herodotus:" "In regard to the language of the primitive Babylonians, although in its grammatical structure it resembles dialects of the Turanian family, the vocabulary is undoubtedly Cushite or Ethiopian, belonging to that stock of tongues which in the sequel were everywhere more or less mixed up with the Semitic languages, but of which we have probably the purest modern specimens in the Mahra of South Arabia and the Galla of Abyssinia."

that between this language and that of the Abyssinian tribes of the Galla, Agau, and their congeners, there is very considerable affinity.

The Rev. John Mackenzie, in an article in the "Contemporary Review," 1884, says that the language of the Basutus, who reach as far as the Zambesi, is closely allied to that spoken by the South Sea Islanders.

The Mahra, moreover, is proved by analysis to be the modern representative of an ancient form of speech found in inscriptions along the South Arabian coast, and known to philologists as Himyaric. These inscriptions are thought to be evidently of a high antiquity, and the Himyaric empire to which they are supposed to belong is carried back by some scholars to as high a date as 1750.

Thus it would seem to be distinctly made out, continues Canon Rawlinson, that Arabia contains, and has from a very remote time contained, at least two races—one in the northern and central regions, Semitic, speaking the tongue usually known as Arabic, and another in the more southern region, which is non-Semitic, and which, from the resemblance of its language to the dialects of the aboriginals of Abyssinia, the descendants of the ancient Ethiopians, deserves to be called Ethiopian or Cushite.

Baron Bunsen's theory of 1854 on this subject need not be noticed, as it is now exploded as completely as are the speculations of his countrymen respecting the Homeric poems, which they tried to show were not written by Homer, but another man of the same name. A laborious study of the primitive language of Chaldæa led Sir Henry Rawlinson to the conviction that the dominant race in old Babylonia at the earliest times to which monuments reached back was Cushite. He found the vocabulary of the primitive race to be decidedly Cushite or Ethiopian, *and he interpreted the inscriptions chiefly by the aid which was furnished to him from published works on the Galla (Abyssinian) and the Mahra (South Arabian) dialects.*

"Thus modern science agrees with the author of Genesis in uniting together as members of the same ethnic family the Ethiopians, the Southern Arabians, and the primitive inhabitants of Chaldæa. Ethiopic, as represented by the Galla, Agau, etc., Southern Arabian, Himyaric or Mahra (Himyaric is the classical form of Mahra), and ancient Babylonian are discovered to be cognate tongues, varieties of one original form of speech."

It has been previously stated that the nations of Southern Arabia were a mixed race, having a strong tinge of Semitic blood. The sacred genealogist confirms this view also. In stating the progeny of Shem the record says: "And Arphaxad (son of Shem) begat Salah; and Salah begat Eber. And unto Eber were born two sons: the name of one was Peleg; for in his day was the earth divided; and his brother's name was Joktan. And Joktan begat Almodad, and Sheleph, and Hazarmaveth, and Jerah, and Hadoram, and Uzal, and Diklah, and Obal, and Havilah, and Jobab: all these were the sons of Joktan."

Arab tradition makes Joktan, who in Arabic is called Kahtan, the great progenitor of all the purest tribes of Central Arabia; but the repetition of some of his progeny under names already assigned to the descendants of Cush clearly shows that, in the ethnical sense in which the genealogist is here writing, the people so designated were a mixed race.

Hazarmaveth is identical with the Arabic Hadramaut, which is still the name of a tract and people on the south-eastern coast of Arabia, between the Yemen and the Mahra country. The people were known to the Greeks and Romans as the Chattramotitæ, Chattramitæ, or Atramitæ. It will be remembered that they appeared among the Cushite families as represented by Sabtah, the name of the capital city (Sabata).

Sheba will be identified with the great and important people of the Sabæans, the most celebrated of all Arabia in ancient times. This is another instance of the occurrence of a name both here among the Joktanites and also among the descendants of Cush, designating that the Sabæans were a mixed race, composed partly of Cushite and partly of Joktanite, *i.e.*, Semitic Arabs.

Havilah has also appeared among the descendants of Cush. Here, as in the case of Sheba, the Hamites and Shemites were intermingled, tribes descended from the two patriarchs having intermarried and blended together.

The other Joktanite clans peopled the central and northern parts of Arabia, and being pure Shemites do not concern our present inquiry. Rawlinson, in his "Herodotus," has a passage bearing on the peopling of Arabia: "Ethnologists are now agreed that in Arabia there have been three distinct phases of colonisation. First, the Cushite occupation recorded in Genesis x.; secondly, the settlement of the Joktanites, described in the same chapter; and thirdly, the entrance of the Ishmaelites, which must have been nearly synchronous with the establishment of the Jews in Palestine."

Before leaving our consideration of the tenth chapter of Genesis it may be well to repeat that the author, supposed to be Moses, described the settlement of the world known to him as it existed in his time, say B.C. 1500. During the centuries that followed there can be no doubt that the tribes of Arabia still further intermingled, though it may be taken for certain that the predominance of the two stocks varied considerably in different tribes; and although at a future period the several clans are found recognising the authority of one monarch, yet it does not appear that they ever entirely fused into one nation or lost their distinctive names or their tribal formation. On the contrary, there are evidences of wars amongst themselves, and the most northern portion of the people seem to have presented the character of marauding nomads at a period when the southern portion formed an important commercial and maritime state.

I am very doubtful as to the strict accuracy of the latter part of this statement, depending as it does necessarily on the date of epoch of the patriarch Job. A careful examination of the text, and astronomical calculations founded on references to stars and constellations in the book, furnish evidence which justifies scholars in believing Job to be identical with Jobab, the son of Joktan, contemporary with Reu, the son of Peleg. His date would then be about 2338 B.C., three centuries and a half before the epoch of Abraham. The Sabæans at that time had undergone no mixture with the Joktanite or Semitic race; for Sheba, Hazarmaveth, and Havilah were brothers of Jobab. The marauding hordes of Sabæans, who desolated Job's home, were therefore pure Cushites, excepting the taint of alien blood which had been acquired before the dispersal from the plains of Shinar—probably in Peleg's time. The book of Job is the oldest as well as the grandest epic poem in the world.

(See Job i. 15, and other authorities.) Nor can it be affirmed that the expedition into Palestine in the reign of King Asa proves that the northern tribes had even then adopted the habits of civilisation and recognised any superior regulating authority, for the complete overthrow of such a vast host of men (stated in the Bible at one million) by such an insignificant military state as Judæa would indicate an entire absence of discipline and utter want of all the arts of war which civilisation supplies.

In speaking henceforth of the Cushites or Ethiopians, as thus influenced by mixture of Semite blood, it may be well to distinguish them by the general name of Sabaians, as it was the designation by which they were known to the surrounding nations, and was the title adopted by the classical writers, except where a portion only of the people was referred to, when the name of the tribe would be used. The information about them is very unsatisfying during the long period of time that preceded the epoch of the Greek geographers. The national traditions tell unvaried tales of the opulence and grandeur of the nation, and these are more or less confirmed by the notices of military or pacific expeditions contained in the tomb pictures and temple writings of the Egyptians and the cuneiform inscriptions on the Assyrian tablets. Some of these it will be interesting to notice.

Hannu, the General of Sankh-kara, made a rock inscription relating the history of a voyage made by him to Ophir and Punt. "I was sent to conduct ships to the land of Punt, to fetch for Pharaoh sweet-smelling spices. . . . And I set out with an army of 3,000 men. . . I arrived at the Port of Seba, and I had ships of burthen built to bring back products of all kinds." (Brugsch: "Egypt.")

The front walls of the Stage Temple of Queen Hashop (about 1600 B.C.) were covered with coloured sculptures and inscriptions, of which an expedition by sea to the balsam land of Punt is conspicuous above all the rest. The Egyptians were acquainted from hearsay with the wonders of this distant region on the coasts of the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean, the home of the pine incense so much coveted for the service of the temples. A great number of seagoing ships were prepared and a landing was made on the coast of the "incense terraced mountain" (in the vicinity of Cape Guardafui, the Aromata Acron of the Greek writers).

The interviews between the Egyptian ambassadors and the native princes are described and pictured in great detail, and on their return "the ships were laden to the uttermost with the wonderful products of the land of Punt, and with the different precious woods of the divine land, and with heaps of the resin of incense, with fresh incense-trees, with ebony, (objects) of ivory set in pure gold from the land of Anu, with sweet woods, Khesitwood, with Ahem-incense, holy resin, and paint for the eyes, with dog-headed apes, with long-tailed monkeys and greyhounds, with leopard skins, and with natives of the country, together with their children."

Cape Guardafui is the point of Eastern Africa, already noticed as called Agade in ancient days.

The visit of the Queen of the Sabaïans to Solomon, King of Israel, is very remarkable, as indicating that, amidst the splendid display which that monarch made of his wealth and magnificence, his royal visitor was astonished only at his wisdom. The queen arrived at Jerusalem "with a very great company, and camels that bare spices and gold in abundance and precious stones." "And when the Queen of Sheba had seen the wisdom of Solomon, and the house that he had built, and the meat of his table, and the sitting of his servants, and the attendance of his ministers, and their apparel; his cupbearers also, and their apparel . . . there was no more spirit in her. And she said to the king, It was a true report which I heard in mine own land of thine acts, and of thy wisdom; . . . and, behold, one half of the greatness of thy wisdom was not told me." "And she gave the king an hundred and twenty talents of gold, and of spices great abundance, and precious stones." We are told further on that the total revenue of Solomon was 666 talents, so that the queen's present would indicate that she was the wealthier of the two potentates.

The great inscription of Tiglath Pileser II. refers also to the Sabaïans: "The tribes of Maza, Tema, Saba ("Sabæans," Brugsch), etc., . . . at the boundaries . . . of the setting sun, who knew no rivals, whose place was remote, the might of my dominion, . . . they heard, and submitted to my dominion. Gold, silver, camels, she camels, and gum, their tribute at once to my presence they brought, and kissed my feet."

From the same tablets we read: "Samsi, Queen of Arabia, in the country of Saba . . . the people who were in the midst of her camp, the might of my powerful soldiers overwhelmed her, and camels and she camels . . . her present to my presence she sent. A governor over her I appointed, and the people of Saba to my yoke I subdued. The cities of Mazha and Tema, of the Sabæans Hyappa Badana and Hatte of the Idibihitites, etc., . . . submitted to my dominion.

From the first part of the inscription it does not appear that the monarch actually invaded Arabia. The Sabaïans seem to have submitted from reports of his greatness, but the second part leaves it undoubted that they were overcome by the "might of his powerful soldiers."

Arabia Felix was also pillaged as early as the seventeenth century by Thothmes III.; and again in the eighth and seventh centuries, in spite of its inaccessibility, its opulence excited the cupidity of Sargon II. and Sennacherib.

About 740 to 690 that section of the people who crossed over into Africa are found taking prominent part in the affairs of Egypt. As this episode in their history is briefly stated by Sharpe in his "History of Egypt," it will be desirable to quote the account from him:—"The island of Meroë sometimes formed part of the kingdom of Ethiopia, but was probably at other times independent. The river (Nile) within the bounds of Ethiopia makes two great bends, so that Napata, the capital, is separated on one side from Meroë by the desert Bahionda and on the other side from Egypt by the Nubian desert. The Nubians were of the same race as the Egyptians, though with a skin more copper-coloured, as living under a hotter sky; but the Ethiopians or southern part of the population were of an Arabic race, or in the language of the Old Testament, they were Cushites. Ethiopia had been for many years ruled over by the Egyptians. Napata was built at the foot of a steep sandstone mountain, on the right bank of the river. About two centuries before this time (740), soon after the death of Shishank, the Ethiopians had thrown off the Egyptian yoke; and now they marched forward, perhaps a second time, and conquered Egypt, and put Bacchoris (the king) to death. Sabacophth, the Ethiopian, then made himself king of nearly all Egypt." He was succeeded by Sevech, to whom, under the name of So, Hoshea, king of Israel, sent ambassadors with gifts. Tirhakah, or Tirkhak, whose name has been mentioned in connection with the word khak or hyk, succeeded to the throne, and inflicted a great defeat on Sennacherib, near Pelusium. No doubt this

was a great satisfaction to Tirkhak, as affording "utu" (revenge) for the sufferings of his ancestors at the hands of Sennacherib's predecessor, Sargon I. Tirkhak reigned in great splendour, executed vast public works, and erected temples after the Egyptian fashion. However, after a domination of 50 years the reign of the Ethiopians ceased, as appears in consequence of a dream that the reigning king had, for they withdrew from the country. Herodotus ignores Sevech and Tirkhak, and makes Sabacon (as he calls him) reign during the whole 50 years.

The name Sabacophth may have some connection with Saba, the ancient name of Meroë, as Josephus says. Mr. Sharpe's reference to Meroë appears to be to the district of that name.

I do not find that the Southern Arabians, though mentioned, are particularly noticed by Herodotus; but he has one passage with reference to the Ethiopians which, in such an accurate observer, is highly important. In enumerating the forces that accompanied Xerxes in his Greek invasion, he mentions the Ethiopians. He says:—"The Ethiopians from the sunrise (for two kinds served in the expedition) were marshalled with the Indians, and did not at all differ from the others in appearance, but only in their language and their hair. The eastern Ethiopians are straight-haired, but those of Lybia have hair more curly than that of any other people."

The learned writers of the present day often comment on the former grandeur and opulence of the mysterious country, Arabia Felix. Dr. Taylor in his "History of the Alphabet" writes:—"There is abundant evidence that Arabia Felix was the seat of one of the oldest civilisations of the world, and in the possession of great commercial wealth." In the fourteenth century B.C., the spices of Arabia Felix, and even silk from India, were brought to to Babylonia by the merchants of Yemen. . . . . The astonishment of travellers is still excited by the remains of vast aqueducts and terraced gardens, and the ruins of magnificent structures of hewn stone. In another place he says:—"From the tenth to the third century B.C. Yemen was the great central mart in which Indian products were exchanged for the merchandise of the west. Egypt would send cloth, papyrus and glass; Syria, wine, oil, and brass; Phœnicia, weapons and purple stuff; while, in exchange, the Indian coasting vessels brought ivory, gold, precious stones, and Indian wares."

For a prolonged period this lucrative traffic was in the hands of the Sabaians, and was the main source of their proverbial opulence. The trade between Egypt and Yemen began as early as 2300 B.C., and that between Yemen and India was established not later than 1000 B.C. Even in the time of the Ptolemies the trade was not direct, but passed through the hands of the Sabaians, who possessed extensive commerce and vessels. Their ports were frequented by trading vessels from all parts—from the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, the coast of Africa, and especially from the mouth of the Indus. From the Periplus we learn that Aden was a great entrepôt of this commerce, while at the beginning of the second century B.C. the island of Dioscorides, off the Somali coast, was the centre of exchange for Indian products.

The Sabaians supplied Egypt and Syria from very remote periods with frankincense and aromatics. The Egyptians imported spices largely for the purpose of embalming their dead, and for the temple services; and the Phœnicians required them for the Syrian markets, since perfumes have been in all ages both favourite luxuries and among the most popular medicines of the East. The Romans were also large consumers of the aromatic gums of Arabia—required in the religious ceremonies.

. . . *Centumque Sabæo*

*Thure calent aræ,—ÆNEID i. 416.*

The Sabaians possessed for many centuries an absolute monopoly of Indian commerce; and even after Ptolemy Philadelphus (B.C. 274) and his successors had made a communication with the Red Sea by means of the Coptos canal, though no longer the carriers of Indian exports to Egypt, they were still the importers of them from India itself. The Egyptian fleets proceeded no further than the haven of Sabbathath or Mariaba, while the Sabaians, long prior even to the voyage of Nearchus (B.C. 330) ventured across the ocean to Ceylon and the Malabar coast. Their vessels were of larger build than the ordinary merchant ships of the Greeks, and their mariners were more skilful and intrepid than the Greeks, who, it is recorded, shrank with terror from the Indian Ocean. The track of the Sabaian navigators lay along the coast of Gedrosia, since Nearchus found along its shores many Arabic names of places, and at Possem engaged a pilot acquainted with those seas. We may therefore fairly ascribe the extraordinary wealth of the Sabaians to their long monopoly of the Indian trade. (Donne in Dr. W. Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities. Tit. Saba.) Niebuhr ("Description de l'Arabie") asserts that Yemen neither produces, nor ever could have produced, gold. He states, moreover, that the native frankincense is of a very ordinary quality, Sabæa yielding only the species called *Liban*, while the better sorts of that gum are imported from Sumatra, Siam, and Java. The distance from which the superior kinds of myrrh, frankincense, nard, and cassia were fetched probably gave rise to the strange tales related about the danger of gathering them from the trees, with which the Sabaians regaled the Egyptian and Greek merchants, and through them the Greek geographers also.

Some fragments of information as to the existence and wide range, at the very earliest times, of commercial operation and intercourse, without which it is impossible to conceive of a state of society supplied with useful and ornamental articles, as no single locality could furnish all the requisites for these numerous and varied

productions, may be elicited by referring to the early history of the Phœnicians, who were undoubtedly among the most ancient of nations, and eminently devoted to commercial pursuits. Dr. Hale has placed the foundation of Tyre, apparently with great accuracy, at B.C. 2267, and as that city was the offspring of Sidon, it is fair to presume that the Phœnician people were in a prosperous state even at that period. "This opinion is confirmed by other evidence (Smith's 'Patriarchal Age'). We know that the Phœnician Hercules undertook his expedition into the Western Ocean, and that the important colonies of Cadiz and Carthage were established long before the destruction of Troy, which, according to Dr. Hales, took place about the year B.C. 1183. It is certain, therefore, that important commercial intercourse with the West was carried on at a much earlier period. A further confirmation of this is obtained by reference to the era of Melcarthus's expedition, which, we are told, was three hundred years before Jason went to Colchis, and which, in the opinion of Hales, took place B.C. 1225. According to this account, therefore, the Phœnician Hercules sailed into the Western Ocean B.C. 1525; and, if so, there would be ample time in the ensuing two or three centuries for the consolidation of trade and the foundation of numerous colonies. We have strong corroboration of these dates in the fact that Moses, B.C. 1640, speaks of tin and lead being found amongst the spoils of the Midianites; and we have not the slightest evidence that these metals at that period were procured in any other country than in Spain and Britain."

Dr. Vincent ("History of the Commerce, Navigation, and Discoveries of the Ancients in the Indian Ocean") has fully investigated the subject of the early commercial intercourse of nations, and as he says much that is apposite to our present inquiry a lengthy extract from his book will not be unfitting:—

*"That some Oriental spices came into Egypt has been frequently asserted, from the nature of the aromatics which were employed in embalming the mummies; and in the thirtieth chapter of Exodus we find an enumeration of cinnamon, cassia, myrrh, frankincense, stacte, onyca, and galbanum, which are all the produce either of India or Arabia. Moses speaks of these as precious, and appropriate to religious uses; but at the same time in such quantities as to show that they were neither very rare nor very difficult to be obtained. Now, it happens that cinnamon and cassia are two species of the same spice, and that spice is not to be found nearer Egypt or Palestine than Ceylon or the coast of Malabar. If, then, they are found in Egypt they must have been imported; there must have been intermediate carriers; and a communication of some kind or other, even in that age, must have been open between India and Egypt. That the Egyptians themselves might be ignorant of this is possible: for that the Greeks and Romans, as late as the time of Augustus, thought cinnamon the produce of Arabia is manifest from their writings. But it has been proved, from Agartharchides, that the merchants of Sabæa traded to India; and that at the time when Egypt possessed the monopoly of this trade in regard of Europe, the Sabæans enjoyed a similar privilege in regard to Egypt.*

"There are but two possible means of conveying the commodities of India to the West—one by land, through Persia or the provinces of the North, and the other by sea; and if by sea, Arabia must in all ages have been the medium through which this commerce passed, whether the Arabians went to Malabar itself or obtained these articles in Karmania or at the mouths of the Indus. . . .

"The Arabians have a sea-coast round three sides of their vast peninsular; they had no prejudices against navigators, either from habits or religion. There is no history which treats of them which does not notice them as pirates or merchants by sea, as robbers and traders by land. We scarcely touch upon them accidentally in any author without finding that they were the carriers of the Indian Ocean.

"Sabaia, Hadramaut, Oman were the residence of navigators in all ages, from the time that history begins to speak of them; and there is every reason to imagine that they were equally so before the historians acquired a knowledge of them, as they have since continued down to the present age."

Narratives of the classical writers amply show that the greatness of Sabaia had not declined in their time. Sabæi, ad utraque maria porrecti.—PLINY.

Strabo writes not only from his own knowledge, for he is said to have accompanied the Roman army commanded by Ælius Gallus on the invasion of the country in the time of Augustus Cæsar, but he quotes largely from other writers, and very fortunately comments at considerable length about several cities of Arabia Felix bearing the name of Saba.

Describing Arabia passing down the Red Sea, he mentions the Nabatæi, Chaulotai, and Agraii, whom he calls Syrians and Jews, and accurately, no doubt. Nabatæans is the more usual designation. I called them some time back Joktanite Arabs. These people are succeeded, as we pass southwards, by the Scenitæ who had camels. Then he goes on: "Four of the most populous nations inhabit the extremity of the above-named country, namely, the Minæi, the part towards the Red Sea, whose largest city is Carna or Carnana (Calneh). Next to these are the Sabæans, whose chief city is Mariaba. The third nation is the Chattra-baneis, extending to the straits and the passage across the Arabian Gulf. Their royal seat is called Tamna. The Chatramotitæ are the farthest of these nations towards the east. Their city is Sabata.

"All these cities are governed by one monarch, and are flourishing. They are adorned with beautiful temples and palaces. Their houses, in the mode of binding the timbers together, are like those of Egypt. The

four countries comprise a greater territory than the Delta of Egypt;" (in fact, six times as large, says the annotator). Gosselin, a learned scholiast, notes, "Mariaba was not the name of a city, but the title of a city acquired by the residence of their sovereigns. 'Mariana oppidum,' says Pliny, 'significat dominos oranum.'

Pliny does not say why Marisaba means "lords of all." Reference to the Maori language will afford an explanation. *Maru* means shelter, and secondarily protection or sovereignty. Marusaba would therefore be "the sovereignty of Saba" or the Sabaian people; *i. e.*, the principal seat of government.

The capital was called Saba (now Sabbea), and the country in which it is situated is Sabieh." The remains of a monstrous reservoir there still astonish travellers. Strabo says that the above account (and much more not quoted) is given by Eratosthenes. "We must add," he goes on, "what is related by other writers. Artemidorus says the country of the Sabaioi is very populous, and is most fertile of all, producing myrrh, frankincense, and cinnamon."

"Mariaba" (the same as Saba), "the capital of the Sabæans, is situated upon a mountain, well wooded. A king resides there, who determines absolutely all disputes and other matters; but he is forbidden to leave his palace" (a singular sort of tapu).

A Maori *tohunga*, *i. e.*, priest (wizard would better translate the word) is very "tapu," but is not confined to his own house. He is not permitted to enter any other house, for the reason that his presence in it would make it "tapu" and unusable. A few months ago the Ngatiwhakaue tribe fetched from Wairoa a renowned *tohunga*, to remove the tapu from a piece of land, formerly a burial-ground, which was required as the site of a church; but though it was the middle of winter, and the nights were severely cold, the old man was compelled to sleep out of doors. "Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum." (Lucretius.)

He goes on, "The people cultivate the ground and trade in spices. They sail through the straits in vessels covered with leather. They carry their goods as far as Syria and Mesopotamia." This account is quoted by Strabo from Artemidorus, derived by him from Agartharcides. Then follows a long account of an attack made by the Roman army under Ælius Gallus upon Mariaba, or Saba, apparently from cupidity, which caused great misery and considerable loss of life, ten thousand having fallen in one engagement, but which ultimately failed most disastrously.

Strabo speaks of yet another Saba on the African side of the Sabæan dominions: "Next to the harbour of Antiphilus, called the grove of the Colobi, the city of Berenice of Sabæa, and Greek script a considerable city (now Assab). Bordering on these people is a nation blacker in complexion than the others, shorter in stature, and very short-lived."

There are traces of another Saba, spoken of as Saba a port, in the Gulf of Matzua, down the Red Sea, also in Africa. But Gosselin says, "I am not acquainted with these places. Was there a town Saba, which gave its name to the Sabaitic Gulf? but the one in question does not appear to have been situated there."

Smith, in his Classical Dictionary, sums up the learning on this mysterious Saba or Sabai thus: Greek script (the Old Testament Sheba), the capital of the Sabæi in Arabia Felix, lay on a high woody mountain, and was pointed out by an Arabian tradition as the residence of the Queen of Sheba, who went to Jerusalem to hear the wisdom of Solomon; its exact site is doubtful.

"2. There was another city of the same name in the interior of Arabia Felix, where a place called Sabea is still found, about in the centre of El Yemen.

"3. A seaport town of Æthiopia, on the Red Sea, south of Ptolemais Haron.

"A town called Greek script and Greek script is mentioned by Ptolemy, who places it in the Sinus Adulitanus; and about in the same position Strabo mentions a town Greek script as distinct from Saba. The sites of these, two towns, if they are really different, are sought by geographers at Nowarat or Port Mornington, in the south part of the coast of Nubia and Massawah (or Assab), on Foul Bay, on the north-east coast of Abyssinia."

It is remarkable that of the names of the cities of this nation which have been preserved, such a large proportion should have borne one name, Suba. Each of the great tribes composing the Sabaian people seem to have called their principal town Saba, or by a name of which Saba forms part. It will be interesting to inquire as to what is the peculiar significance to this people of the word Saba, that we find it, and scarcely any other, among the records as designating their towns and territories. Was it a sacred word? had it great historic antecedents? or what was the cause of this marked devotion? It would be very satisfactory to be able to deduce it from their ancient abodes in Shinar, but conscientious criticism declines the sufficiency of proof of the existence of a town of that name in the Euphrates valley at an adequately early date. Minas Sabata was a fortress in Babylonia; but there is no evidence of its being there during the epoch when the Cushites governed the country, though it is possible that it obtained its name from an antecedent place, of which no information remains. There is also reference to a Saba preserved on a fragment from the palace of Sennacherib; but again that troublesome element in historical researches, chronology, interferes, and forbids any argument being founded on the record. The inscription is:—

*Assur dan king of Assyria to Karduniyas*

*Karduniyas is another name for Babylonia.*

*went down*

*the cities of Zaba Irriya and Agarsalu he captured and  
their abundant spoil to Assyria he carried away.*

A more probable solution appeared to be to derive the name from the great ancestors of the people, Sheba and Seba; but the dictum of Canon Rawlinson is so distinct and positive as to the solely ethnical character of these names in Genesis x., that I dare not base any inference on my own opinion, though, as I humbly stated, it differs from his in believing that the names given by the sacred genealogist are not ethnical only, but personal also.

That the Arabians, both Joktanite and Cushite, did name their tribes and places after their ancestors is abundantly clear as, in fact, it may be said broadly, did all the nations of antiquity. Arabian tradition states that the twelve sons of Ishmael were the eponyms of twelve powerful tribes—entirely confirmatory of the biblical account of Ishmael's family, which, without this explanation, appears obscure. Gen. xxv. 16: "These are the sons of Ishmael (previously named), and these are their names, by their towns, and by their castles; twelve princes according to their nations." Common native tradition deduces the name of Arabia itself from Yarab, a son of Kahtah, the biblical Joktan, the ancestor of the race.

The natives themselves, however, present a solution of the question as to the origin of the name Saba. In the Arabian traditions, the common progenitor of the tribes of Yemen was Kahtan, who is identified with the Joktan of Genesis. His great-grandson is said to have been Abd-Shams-Saba, and he is the eponymus of the Sabæans, the name by which these tribes were known to the northern Semites. ("Kings of Sheba and Seba," Ps. lxxii., probably of Solomonic age.—"Alphabet:" Taylor.)

The derivation of the name from this ancestor is perfectly satisfactory to my mind, knowing as I do, from long personal observation of the habits of the Maori in this respect, how strong is the tendency to preserve the memory and to perpetuate the names of the forefathers of the people, and how tribes are almost invariably named after them. But others who have had little or no practical experience in judging genealogies and investigating descents may be sceptical, and not content with the above explanation. To them I offer another, but I confess, to my mind, a less satisfactory one, if it stood alone on its own merits; but perhaps both explanations may exist together.

It is universally known that the ancient Chaldæans were more celebrated than any other people for their knowledge of astronomy;

The knowledge of the ancients as to astronomy was great and accurate. Callisthenes, who accompanied Alexander the Great to Babylon, sent to Aristotle a series of Chaldean astronomical observations which he found preserved there, recorded on tablets of baked clay, and extending back as far as 2234 B.C. Humboldt says, "The Chaldeans knew the mean motions of the moon with an exactness which induced the Greek astronomers to use their calculations for the foundation of a lunar theory." The Chaldeans knew the true nature of comets, and could foretell their reappearance. "A lens of considerable power was found in the ruins of Babylon: it was an inch and a half in diameter, and nine-tenths of an inch thick." (Layard's "Nineveh and Babylon.") Nero used optica glasses when he watched the fights of the gladiators. They are supposed to have come from Egypt and the East. "There are actual astronomical calculations in existence, with calendars formed upon them, which eminent astronomers of England and France admit to be genuine and true, and which carry back the antiquity of the science of astronomy, together with the constellations, to within a few years of the Deluge, even on the longer chronology of the Septuagint." ("The Miracle in Stone.") Josephus attributes the invention of the constellations to the family of the antediluvian Seth, the son of Adam; while Origen affirms that it was asserted in the Book of Enoch, that in the time of that patriarch the constellations were already divided and named. Bailly and others assert that astronomy "must have been established when the summer solstice was in the first degree of Virgo, and that the solar and lunar zodiacs were of similar antiquity, which would be about four thousand years before the Christian era." ("Atlantis:" Donnelly.)

The great Chaldæan poem, the "story of Izdhubar," is in 12 books, and their arrangement was based on the calendar, each of the twelve months being represented by a story of the hero—Izdhubar corresponding with the Zodiac sign. Thus for the second month, called the month of the Propitius Bull (Taurus), there was the legend of Heabani, the satyr-like companion of the hero: for the third month—of the Twins, Gemini—the episode of the two twin sisters Samkhat (Pleasure) and Kharimat (Lust), the companions of Ishtar; while the famous Deluge legend is woven into the poem to correspond with the eleventh month, "The curse of rain," and the sign Aquarius.

and they combined with this science what is called astrology. Their religion consisted in adoration of the heavenly bodies, not indeed originally as deities themselves, but from the view that God was too great and sublime to occupy himself directly with the affairs of the world; that he had handed over the ruling of it to the heavenly bodies; that man is too small a thing to address himself immediately to God, but may more fitly direct prayers and offer sacrifices to these intermediate agents. All their gods seem to have represented heavenly bodies, and they were worshipped with great splendour. Temples, no doubt, existed in every town,

According to the Periplus, sixty temples existed within the walls of Sabata. and it appears highly probable that these places of public meeting bore the name of Saba. A passage in Hearn's "Aryan Household" strengthens this probability. "The word Sabha is composed of the preposition sa, which is the Latin cum, the Greek Greek script and of the root bha. It means an assembly, and secondarily a place of worship. Sometimes Sabha is used in the sense of a tribunal." Although the word is a Sanscrit word it was adopted into the Chaldæan language doubtless when all the races were living together in Shinar along with a vast number of other Sanscrit words.

One of the most curious instances of common property in words is the name of the marine animal, the sea-hedgehog or urchin. The Maori name is *hekina*; the Latin, *echinus*; Greek, Greek script English, *urchin*, the *k* being softened into *ch*. Stabo tells us that near some islands in front of the Euphrates sea-urchins were found of a vast size, "some being larger than Macedonian hats, others of the capacity of two cotyli." Possibly when their shells were taken to Greece and Rome for ornaments, the vernacular or Akkadian name accompanied them, as gutta-percha was adopted into the English language when the substance was brought to England. We can, then, well understand that when they abandoned their ancient homes and formed new settlements the first work which this very religious

Greek script See St. Paul's address to the Athenians on Mars Hill. Acts xvii. 22). people would undertake would be the building of a *Saba*, whose name would gradually be transferred to the town that grew around it. The name was a holy name, like the Olympus of the Pelasgians. The course of migration of that illustrious race may be traced by the numerous names of Olympus which mark their progress. The signification is much the same as that of Saba, viz., celestial mansion, or "the house where God's glory dwelleth," to use Solomon's phrase at the dedication of his temple. Thus, immediately south of the Caucanian settlement on the limits of Bithynia, and what was afterwards called Galatia, there was an Olympus. Travelling westward we find an Olympus in the northern confines of Phrygia; a third meets us on the island of Lesbos: a fourth in Cilicia, according to Apollodorus; a fifth in Lycia, mentioned by Pliny; a sixth in Cyprus; a seventh in Arcadia; an eighth in Elis; and a ninth, and best known of all, an Olympus near that part of Thessaly where the name of Pelasgian disappeared and Hellene appeared in its place.

And so perhaps it was with these Chaldæans. They took their sacred name with them, and dotted their new territories with it as with their footprints. Whatever may have been the origin of the name Saba it furnished the future ethnic designation of the nation to the exterior world. The author of Job knew these people as Sabæans. It was the queen of the Sabæans who visited Solomon, and it was the Sabæan wealth that in later times excited the cupidity of Rome, and which was sung by Horace—

Icci, beatis nunc Arabum invides  
Gazis, et acrem militiam paras  
Non ante devictis Sabææ regibus.

I have been thus minute in our inquiry into the history of this word Saba because its position and importance is of the greatest consequence to our subsequent investigations. I hope still further to trace its progress through the islands of the Indian Ocean, where it is living to this day, and into all the great groups of the Pacific, where, under the different forms which it has assumed under dialectic variations, it constitutes an interesting subject of speculation to writers, who wonder why it is so frequent.

## Chapter III. the Indian Ocean.

LEAVING the Sabaians in the occupation of a territory extending from the Persian Gulf across the Straits of Babelmandeb to the waters of the Nile Branches in Africa, cultivating their fields, dispatching fleets to India and to the south of Madagascar, conveying by caravan or by sea great stores of merchandise to Syria and Mesopotamia, thence to find its way to Rome, executing justice after the manner of their ancestors, and making contracts in writing such as we find on the Chaldæan tablets, defending their country against the attacks of a power that had subdued the world, and adoring the heavenly bodies with so zealous and splendid a worship that that type of religion has gained the name of Sabaism, let us inquire as to the means of travelling by sea which

the nations of those days possessed.

In the tomb of Rameses the Great is a representation of a naval combat between the Egyptians and some other people, supposed to be Phoenicians, whose huge ships are propelled by sails.

The fleet of Sesostris

Sesostris is the Greek rendering of Sestura, a surname of Ramases II.

consisted of four hundred ships; and when Semiramis invaded India she was opposed by four thousand vessels.

Solomon made "navy ships" at Ezion-geber, which is beside Eloth on the shore of the Red Sea. That fleet was manned by the servants of Solomon and by the servants of Hiram, king of Tyre, and it went to Ophir and fetched thence gold and brought it to King Solomon (1 Kings ix). From the same Ophir the fleet of Hiram is said to have brought not only gold but great plenty of almug trees and precious stones (1 Kings x). The seaport of Ezion-geber has been identified by some scholars with Akaba, on the north-east extremity of the Red Sea. It was in the same harbour that the ships of Tarshish were broken, which Jehoshaphat had made for similar expeditions (1 Kings xxii). These ships also brought silver, ivory, apes, and peacocks from some country not specified.

"A great deal has been written to find out where Ophir was, and though the question does not admit of a definite answer, the evidence seems to me," says Max Müller ("Science of Language"), "to incline in favour of India, or of a seaport on the south-east coast of Arabia, carrying on active trade with India." Müller shows that the names used for many of the things brought, such as peacocks and almug, are not Hebrew, and argues, in a convincing manner, that as gutta-percha and tobacco have been imported into English the names of those things were imported into Hebrew. They clearly, he says, point to the country whence they came, if we inquire as to what language the words belong to; and he finds that country to be India. It follows, then, that either Hiram's fleets sailed to India or that they stopped at the great emporium Saba or Agane, and that the Sabæan fleets made the rest of the voyage. In either case the result is the same, *i.e.*, in Solomon's days long sea voyages were made.

The extent of the traffic may be gathered from the record of 1 Kings x., "Now the weight of gold that came to Solomon in one year was six hundred threescore and six talents of gold, beside that he had of merchantmen, and of the traffic of the spice merchants, and of all the kings of Arabia, and of the governors of the country."

Commercial emporiums existed in Arabia at the time of Diodorus Siculus, who, after describing the great wealth of Saba in gold, ivory, and precious stones, relates that there were several islands near where merchants from all parts of the world landed, and particularly from Potana (Pattana), which Alexander had founded near the river Indus.

It appears from the testimony of Herodotus that Skylax of Caryanda, who was sent by Dareius, navigated the Indus to Caspatyrus in Pactyice, and thence along the Erythræan Sea by the Arabian Gulf to the coast of Egypt. The term Erythræan Sea was not confined by Herodotus to the Persian Gulf, but included the northern portion of the Indian Ocean.

Diodorus tells a remarkable story. According to him Jambulus, the son of a merchant, on his way to the spice countries, was taken prisoner by the Ethiopians, and, after a time, with one other companion, was placed in a boat and left to his fate. After a long voyage he came to an island rich in all kinds of natural productions and 5,000 stadia round. Jambulus stayed there seven years, and thence went to Palibothra (the modern Patna in India), where he was well received by the king. Mr. Vaux, of the British Museum, thinks that the narrative, though fabulous in its details, is founded on fact, and points to an early intercourse between the shores of Eastern Africa and India.

Pharaoh Necho's expedition circumnavigated Africa. His fleet left the Red Sea, and after three years, during which time the sailors landed and planted crops twice, returned home by the Mediterranean. Herodotus relates that he could not believe the account, because the officers said that whilst sailing towards the West the sun was on their right hand. It is an unquestioned fact that at a very early period the Phoenicians made frequent voyages to the British Isles, principally, it is supposed, for the purpose of obtaining tin, a necessary ingredient in the manufacture of bronze.

Strabo speaks of voyages to the Ganges, and remarks: "Very few of the merchants who now sail from Egypt and the Persian Gulf to India have proceeded as far as the Ganges; and these being ignorant persons were not qualified to give an account of the places they have visited. From one place in India, and from one king, namely, King Pandion, or, according to others, Porus, presents and embassies were sent to Augustus Cæsar."

That the coast of India was the seat of a very early civilisation is attested to the present day by magnificent ruins and inscriptions and by the fragments of a widely-spread tradition.

Mr. Donne is of opinion that the Egyptian fleets proceeded no further than the haven of Sabbata or Mariaba, while the Sabaïans, long prior to the voyage of Nearchos (B.C. 330), ventured across the ocean to Ceylon and the Malabar coast. "Their vessels," he says, "were of larger build than the ordinary merchant ships of the Greeks, who, it is recorded, shrank with terror from the Indian Ocean."

It is most probable that Mr. Donne is correct in supposing that the Egyptian fleets did not usually traverse the ocean, for Hannu's voyage in the reign of Thothmes to Agade is recorded in the inscription already referred to in terms of extravagant exultation, and the scribe concludes: "No such thing was ever done before."

One of the ships built by Ptolemy Philopater was 420 feet long and 57 feet wide, with 40 banks of oars. The largest oars were 57 feet long. This huge ship was rowed by 4,000 rowers, its sails were managed by 400 sailors, and 3,000 soldiers stood in ranks on its decks. The royal barge, in which the king and court moved on the quiet waters of the Nile, was nearly as large as this ship of war. It was 330 feet long and 45 feet wide; it was fitted up with state rooms and private rooms, and was nearly 60 feet high to the top of the awning. (*Vide* Athenæus' long and interesting account of these ships. The method of fastening the brazen bolts is very curious.)

Hiero of Syracuse built, under the superintendence of Archimedes, a vessel which consumed in its construction the material for fifty galleys; it contained galleries, gardens, stables, fishponds, mills, baths, a temple of Venus, and an engine to throw stones three hundred pounds in weight, and arrows 36 feet

Athenæus says eighteen feet long.

long. It had four anchors of wood and eight of iron. The floors of this monstrous vessel were inlaid with scenes from Homer's "Iliad." (Goodrich's "Columbus.")

It is probable that in the earliest times the vessels were sheeted with metal. A Roman ship of the time of Trajan has been recovered from Lake Ricciole. The outside was covered with sheets of lead fastened with small copper nails. Even the use of iron chains in place of ropes for the anchors was known at an early period. Julius Cæsar tells us that the galleys of the Veneti were thus equipped. (Goodrich's "Columbus.")

The truth is that we are too apt to forget that there have been great and splendid epochs in the history of civilisation and enter prise before the one in which we live.

In those old days the knowledge of navigation was very considerable. The stars supplied the absence of the compass, and one very remarkable group received its name from the Greek word to steer Greek script.

From the days of the Phoenicians to the present era there has been no great commercial and sea-going people who have not founded colonies. It is a necessity of their position. Wherever they trade with uncivilised peoples, who usually have articles of commerce, such as sandal-wood or spices, which can be found no-where else, they settle detachments of their own nation on the spot for the purpose of collecting cargoes, and distributing the merchandise which they carry as payment. In other cases nations powerful at sea have founded colonies merely because their navigators have discovered (as it is called) a country which attracts them, and which is possessed at the time by barbarians, a word which is construed to mean a weaker people. There can be no question, *i.e.*, no reasonable doubt, that the Sabaïans did as their friends the Phoenicians did, as at a later period the Portuguese and Spaniards did, as the Dutch and English did, and as the latter are still doing, and as the Germans are beginning to do. They formed settlements, which grew, and which constantly received fresh accessions of strength from the mother-country. Madagascar was colonised, and so were the islands of the Indian Ocean, and settlements were made on the east coast of Africa.

Many authorities might be cited to show a strong relationship in the nguages of Eastern Africa to that spoken by the South Sea Islanders.

At what date the name of Saba was reproduced in the Indian archipelago it is impossible to discover. Pliny and Ptolemy, as far as I know, were the first who recorded the geography of those Eastern lands, and it is presumed that it is chiefly from the writings of those authors and from the Periplus that the existing maps of the world as known to the ancients are constructed. The most westerly islands in this sea, on these maps, is a small group near what is now called Sumatra. They bore the name of Sabadeibai Greek scriptGreek script Humboldt considers, from the great resemblance of the names, that Ptolemy confounded them with the adjoining island, Sabadidi, as Sumatra was then named. It is not improbable, however, that the navigators and early colonists conferred the name Sabadeibai upon these leeward islands, as descriptive of their sheltered situation, lying to the westward of the large island, and being thus protected from the south-easterly monsoons which blow during two-thirds of the year—the vernacular being Taipai, or smooth water. Sabadidi appears as the name of Sumatra. It is written Jabadius in Smith's Classical Dictionary, after Ptolemy. The name Sumatra was conferred most probably at the time of the Indian invasion, a more recent epoch. There was a town also called Saba on the southern extremity of the Malay peninsula, which in Ptolemy's time bore the name of Promontorium aureæ chersonesi, and the sea on the western side was known under the name of Sinus Sabaracus. The northern promontory of Sabadidi was called Promontorium Argenteum. Java (Saba) does not appear to be mentioned by the classical writers, and obtained its name probably at a later date, as the Sabaïans progressed eastwards. It is noteworthy that the Maldive Islands, situated half-way between Africa and Sabadidi, are mentioned also by Ptolemy, who states that their number amounted to 1,378. He must have had information about them, or he would not have known of the existence of that singular oceanic cluster, and the information could not have been obtained otherwise than from sailors or persons traversing the Indian Ocean in sea-going ships who had visited

them.

It has been mentioned before that the traveller Niebuhr ("Description de l'Arabie") asserts that Yemen (Arabia Felix) neither produces now, nor ever could have produced, gold. He states, moreover, that the ordinary frankincense of the country is of a very ordinary quality, Sabaia yielding only the species called Liban, while the better sorts of that gum are imported from Sumatra, Siam, and Java. The Sabaians reported strange dangers connected with the collection of their gums and spices. The spice-woods were said to be the abode of venomous reptiles; one of which, apparently a purple cobra, was aggressive, and springing on intruders, inflicted an incurable wound. It appears probable that the Sabaians, from a very early period, even before the time of Thothmes, imported the gums and incense which were used in embalming the dead, and were so highly valued in the Egyptian temple services, from the islands of the Indian Ocean, where the shrubs that produced them seem to have grown spontaneously, *i.e.*, without artificial assistance. Niebuhr's assertion is uncontradicted, and it is not reasonable to suppose that the great wealth which the Sabaians acquired from their trade in aromatics could have been gained, and their fame maintained, if the articles were of an inferior quality. With the jealousy which often characterises a commercial nation, they would be anxious to exclude all competition, and the tales of dangers to be encountered in the collection of the gums were very probably circulated for the purpose of deterring intruders, though it does not appear certain that the Phœnicians maintained a fleet of sea-going ships in the Arabian waters. It seems equally probable that the gold and silver which so abounded in Sabaia, that its queen could present Solomon with 120 talents, and which Niebuhr assures us could not have been produced in the country itself, must have come from the same part of the world. The Golden Promontory and the Silver Promontory were the names known to Ptolemy for the Malay peninsular and the extreme north of Sabadidi, and it is reasonable to presume that they were conferred because gold and silver were brought thence. Apes and peacocks, which accompanied the royal present of gold, are very abundant in the Sunda Islands.

To fix a date when the colonisation of these islands began is impossible. But it is certain that at the time of the Greek geographers several places were known there which bore the name of Saba, and knowledge even of their names would scarcely have reached those writers if the foundation of the settlements had been recent.

Some notice should be taken of the name of Sabadidi, and of the disappearance of the S from the name, as written by Pliny. Jabadius may have been incorrectly written, the information having been gained, as Strabo says, "through ignorant sailors." Assuming it to be accurately given, it would appear that what Max Müller calls phonetic decay had already commenced in the language; a process which in later times produced marked effects among the dispersed branches of the race, as we shall see hereafter. The name remained unchanged in the town on the mainland, and it also had undergone no decay in the name given to the westerly islands. It may be presumed, then, that those colonies were first formed. How long the Sabaian immigrants remained there before they took possession of the large island, it is impossible to say. Possibly their numbers were not sufficient to make any necessity of extension felt, or possibly races which had been previously driven out of India or Barat by the advance of the Aryans had not yet moved on to Papua and Australia, and the small islands adjoining and extending to New Caledonia, and the Sabaians were not yet strong enough to attack them.

According to the traditions of the Polynesians, the islands were without inhabitants when the first immigrants arrived.

At length, however, the Sabaians appeared in the large island, and, as usual, called it after their sacred fanes in the old country. Pliny heard of it by its new name. The S had been dropped from the language, and the Hawaiians, New Zealanders, and most of the Polynesians have not regained it to this day.

It is remarkable that Capt. Cook frequently makes the mistake of writing S for a strong aspirate, as, for instance, Shoutouru for Hauturu. The S still exists in Samoa and Fakafoa, and there Sabai is Sabai still; and truly in the north of New Zealand the aspirate very much resembles an s, especially when following the letter i. In Ceram the name is Sawai; in Papua, according to the missionaries, it takes the form of Saibai.

The last two syllables in the name Sabadidi are simply the Polynesian diminutive *riri*; in New Zealand, *ririki*. Sabadidi or Jabadii means Saba the Less, the reverse of Sir Charles Dilke's idea when he styled his book on the colonies "The Greater Britain." That the r should be written by the foreign grammarian as a d is simply in accordance with a mysterious phonetic rule whose operation can scarcely have escaped observation.

There seems to be some mysterious feebleness of character in the consonants. It is interchanged for d, and apparently *ad libitum* for l. Even in some dialects of New Zealand their is displaced by l, and sometimes by d. A large portion of the people of England are unable to pronounce their effectually, and Londoners, if I remember aright, sometimes use a win its stead, whilst others move it away from its proper places, and put it where it should not be.

The tree generally called in New Zealand buridy is properly written puriri. A late lamented friend of mine, who had been in the colony forty years, and was intimately acquainted with the Maori language, used always to pronounce Maori as Maody. Taupiri he called Taupidy, and Kirikiriroa he called Kidikidiroa. The kauri pine appears in books as the kowdy; and even Darwin ("Voyage of the Beagle") writes Kororadeka for Kororareka.

Well, then, might Ptolemy call Sabariri Sabadidi, especially when in all probability he received his information from Strabo's "ignorant sailors."

It may be asserted that Ptolemy, when writing Jabadius did not allude to Sumatra, but Java. Authorities may, however, be quoted to show that Sumatra was the island meant. On this subject Col. Yule, in his edition of Marco Polo (1875) remarks: "Polo by no means stands alone in giving the name of Jawa to the island now called Sumatra. The terms Jawa and Jawi were applied by the Arabs to the islands and productions of the archipelago generally, but also especially to Sumatra. Thus Sumatra is the Jawah both of Abulfeda and of Ibu-baluta, the latter of whom spent some time on the island. De Barras says that all the people of Sumatra called themselves by the name of Jawijs. There is reason to believe that the application of the name Java to Sumatra is of very old date." "For the origin of the name Java," Fernander, a very able inquirer, writes, "we must look to that nation and race whose colonies and commerce pervaded the ancient world in prehistoric times—the Cushite Arabians, and among them we find as a protonom the celebrated Saba or Zaba in southern Arabia, a seat of Cushite empire and a commercial emporium from the earliest times."

During the centuries that immediately followed the Christian era the general migration of the nation seems to have progressed more rapidly; for the fame and grandeur of the Sabaian empire in Arabia certainly faded away. Even in the time of Artemidorus the degeneracy of the nation was attracting attention. He says: "By the trade (in aromatics) both the Sabaians and the Gerrhæi have become the richest of all the tribes, and possess a great quantity of wrought articles in gold and silver, as couches, tripods, basins, drinking vessels, to which we must add the costly magnificence of their houses; for the doors, roofs, and walls are variegated with inlaid ivory, gold, silver, and precious stones." He describes the people as greatly enervated by wealth and luxury. "On account of the abundance which the soil produces, the people are lazy and indolent in their mode of life," he says. And again, "The king and those about him pass their lives in effeminate voluptuousness."

It cannot be supposed that a nation so debilitated by luxury would persist in maintaining a prolonged resistance to a powerful enemy when they had become aware that peace and prosperity awaited them in a country as fruitful and beautiful as their own, by simply crossing the ocean, or coasting along the intervening shores, as probably was the general custom of their fleets.

The movement was doubtless accelerated by the attacks of the Roman armies, who ultimately subdued the country, as is recorded by Strabo in a later part of his work. From this historical fact we may gather a conjectural date of the increased emigration. Horace was born B.C. 65, and was fifteen years or so older than Strabo. He wrote his ode, where he speaks of the "non ante devictis regibus Sabææ," perhaps twenty-five years B.C. Strabo recorded the conquest perhaps fifteen years afterwards. The subjugation of the nation, therefore, took place in the interval, that is to say, a few years before the advent of Christ.

The power and integrity of the nation was still further broken by internal dissensions, of which historical evidence is preserved. It is singular that the Polynesian traditions which point to the causes of the abandonment of the ancient homes of the people scarcely allude to foreign aggressions as a cause of migration, but recount intestine commotions and private wars of retaliation as the forces which compelled involuntary exile. It certainly does not appear that the advance of Roman conquests in Europe had the effect of driving the subjugated nations from their countries; on the contrary, the beaten peoples seem to have been gradually and quietly absorbed into the category of Roman citizens. The difference of race may have operated more powerfully in Arabia in frustrating the usual fusion; still the Sabæan nation, as before stated, were a considerable people, and carried on their lucrative commerce for two or three centuries after the date of Augustus Cæsar. It was not until war was waged amongst themselves that the Sabaian name and nation finally disappeared from Arabia and Africa.

One of the most powerful branches of the Sabaians were the Homeritai of the classical writers, the Himyarites or Mahri of the vernacular. The inscriptions known amongst learned men as Himyaritic, which are found on the ruins of the southern coasts, as already mentioned, were the work of these people. Their eponymus was Himyar, the son of Abd-Shams-Saba, the third in descent from Joktan. They seem to have occupied that part of Arabia Felix assigned by Canon Rawlinson to the descendants of Havilah, whose name he was unable to trace to any of the tribes. Perhaps the Himyarites were his descendants; but this is merely a conjecture. The result of the intertribal contests was that Hareth, a descendant of Himyar, obtained the Sabaian throne, and gradually the place of the Sabaians in history was taken by the Himyarites, under their classical form, Homeritai. The Homeritai maintained an independent dominion until about 500 A.D., and there is no reason to believe that internal troubles were renewed, for prosperity and national wealth returned. But the long history of the Sabaians, under their several names of Cushites, Ethiopians, Chaldæans, Akkadians, and Babylonians, in Shinar, and Sabaians and Homeritai in Arabia, was drawing to a close, and again the fatal blow came from a related people. Gibbon ("Decline and Fall"), in his beautiful language, will furnish the account, though of necessity much abbreviated. "The independence of the Homerites, who reigned in the rich and happy Arabia, was first violated by an Ethiopian conqueror; he drew his hereditary claim from the queen of Sheba, and his

ambition was sanctified by religious zeal.

The Abyssinians were Christians.

... The Negus passed the Red Sea with a fleet and army (533 A.D.), and extinguished a race of princes who had ruled above two thousand years the sequestered region of myrrh and frankincense." Ultimately the Ethiopians were attacked by Chosroes, the Persian conqueror, overthrown, and were finally expelled from the continent of Asia. After the invasion of the Persians and the subjugation of the Homeritai, this once powerful sept doubtless followed the other portions of the nation who had previously emigrated. The date of this final movement may be placed at 550 to 600 A.D. There are still existing representatives of the Homeritai in Arabia; viz., the people whose name is written "Mahri;" possibly "Maori" might more accurately represent the sound. They inhabit the southern coasts of Arabia, and a glossary or dictionary of their language has been published. It is stated to have marked affinities to the Galla dialect of Africa.

endeavoured to obtain a copy of this work from England, but unsuccessfully. Only seventy copies were printed, I was informed, and they are mostly in public libraries and museums. "O fortunatos! nimium sua si bono norint," who live in places where books can be got or referred to.

Having now dealt with the historical and documentary evidence, it will be well to examine the traditions of the migration known to the descendants of the people themselves. A rapid decline took place in the civilization and social and mental culture of the Sabaian. Arriving in the islands in detachments, separating themselves into distinct communities, settling wherever fancy led them, they necessarily became segregated, and speedily underwent degradation in all the arts, habits, and knowledge which are included in the word civilization. Then would commence the perpetuation of the family records and the public history by tradition or verbal transmission from one generation to another. The prodigious power of the memory of the uneducated man or the human being without the knowledge of the art of writing can scarcely be appreciated by a person who has had no opportunity of observing it. From long experience in Maori land courts, I can personally testify that the capacity of the mind to retain, and recount when necessary, genealogies extending back for twenty generations, and comprising all the descendants and alliances down to the present day, is perfectly marvellous. I have received in evidence, at intervals of months and years, family pedigrees containing many hundred names, and on minutely comparing them I have found absolute agreement, except that one relator would differ from another relator in the sex of a person who lived perhaps ten or fifteen generations ago.

Taylor, writing on the Law of Evidence, places a high value on traditions, even in courts, and indeed it is now the recognised practice of European scholars, who inquire into prehistoric matters, to accept them, and examine them with the minutest care. The office of priest or tohunga, who was principally charged with the duty of handing down the national and family histories, was always, amongst the Polynesians, an office of high dignity, and he was protected by a perpetual tapu of the most rigorous character. So venerated and feared was the tohunga, that he was often liable to die of starvation, from the difficulty of going through such a vulgar and unsanctified process as eating; for everything he touched became tapu. When he drank, he had to make a funnel of his hands, into which another person poured water. Had the calabash touched his lips, it must have been destroyed. In some of the islands the preservation of the traditions is cared for by the authorities as a matter of state. Dr. Pickering, member of the United States exploring expedition, has noticed this circumstance: "In the midst of the fictions of their songs (Hawaii) their real history is embodied, if I am rightly informed, as far back as the colonization of the group. The preservation of this literature constituted a distinct department of the government, and a class of persons were regularly appointed as depositaries."

As the narrator of the Maui legend said to Sir G. Grey, the people of New Zealand, and in truth of all the Polynesian islands, preserve closely the traditions of old times, as a thing to be taught to the generations that come after them. They are repeated in the prayers, and whenever the deeds of the ancestors from whom each family is descended are related, and upon other similar occasions.

The Hawaiian people have a celebrated tradition, which has been carefully taken down by the indefatigable investigator, Mr. Fernander. The language differs somewhat from Maori, but not sufficiently to require lengthened notice now, the change being almost confined to the substitution of one consonant for another; thus, k in place of t.

There was a chief of high rank, called Hawaiiiloa.

His name appears in the Hawaiian genealogies.

He had another name, Kekowa-o-Hawaii. He was born in a place called Ke-aina kai Melemele a Kane, called also Hawaii kua ole Kaioo, or Hawaii of the verdant hills and dotted sea. This land was situated within a larger district, known by the name of Kapakapa-ua-a-kane. This again was a subdivision of a larger country, called Kahiki-hu. He was born on a place towards the east. To the south of this land was a large country, called Ku-i-lalo, or Hunua ku-i-lalo, renowned for its warlike and savage people, while to the west was another large land or continent, called Kahiki-moe. To the north was a country called Ulunui and Melemele. This chief was a great navigator, and on one of his maritime expeditions, by sailing in the direction of the star Jao (Jupiter when

morning star), and by the Pleiades, *i.e.*, to the eastward, he discovered land. Delighted with the country, he returned to his native land after his wife and family, and having performed the same eastern voyage in the direction of the morning star and the Pleiades, crossing the ocean, which is called by the diverse names of Kai-olo-oka-ia (the sea where fish run), Ka moana kai maokioki a kane (the sacred many-coloured sea), and also Moana kai popolo (the dark green sea), he arrived a second time at the islands, and he and his family were the first human inhabitants. Hawaii-loa is represented as having made several voyages afterwards, between Kapa-kapa-ua and Hawaii, as well as other voyages to the extreme south (to Madagascar, doubtless), and also to some western land where dwelt a people with peculiar eyes, Rahui maka lilio (people with upturned eyes, as Fernander translates lilio). Travelling thence northwards and westwards, he came to a country called Kua hewa-hewa, a very large country. Returning from this country, he is said to have brought with him two white men, Keokeo kane, whom he married, on his return, to Hawaiian women.

Now we must endeavour to discover where the places named are. In the first place the name of their eponymic ancestor is remarkable. Hawaii-i-loa, or Hawaii from afar, is evidently a personification of a people, and the idea becomes a certainty from his other name, Ke Kowa o Hawai, or, as the Maori dialect would term it, Te koha o Hawai. Koha means honour, dignity, or sovereignty. Te koha o Hawai is therefore the sovereignty or nationality of Hawai, or Sabai, as it would be termed before the S was dropped from the language, and the name represents the people of Sabai, though doubtless the exploits of an individual have become mixed up in the general thread of the tradition. The place of residence of the hero or people was Ke aina (te whenua) kai melemele a Kane. The Maori Tane was and is one of their principal gods, and "a Kane" simply means sacred or holy. Melemele means yellow or coloured, as Fernandez tells us, though I know of no corresponding word in Maori. The place therefore is the sacred land of the coloured sea. The Erythræan Sea or Red Sea of Herodotus was the Persian Gulf of modern times, and included the adjoining open sea at the south. The place was therefore in the neighbourhood of the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf. It was situated within a larger district called Kapakapa ua a Kane. And here Fernander truly says: "From analogy and the general idiomacy of the Polynesian language, it becomes highly probable Kapakapaua

Names compounded of kapa are very common in New Zealand. There is a Kau-kapakapa near Auckland. is an old intensive duplicated form of the Cushite Saba—K taking the place of S." A Kane is a term again repeated, referring to the god Tane, and the phrase would mean "the sacred Saba"—the reduplication indicating that there were, situated contiguously, several places bearing that name.

This peculiarity of the Polynesian dialects will be "hard to be under-standed" by persons not conversant with these tongues. Thus, kohe is the name of a species of forest trees, but if a Maori is asked what is the name of the tree, a clump of them being pointed to, he will reply "kohekohe." Similarly korero signifies to speak; korerorero means to talk much or frequently, to chatter. Kama is a verb signifying to move the lips in anticipation of food. Kamukamu means food when the lips move frequently.

Kapakapa-ua was a subdivision of a larger country called Kahi-ki-ku. Ku means eastern. Kahi is evidently the nearest approach that the absence of the letter S permits to be made to the word Kassi. The Kassi or Kusu in Akkadian were the Kissians or Cossæans of the classical writers, the Cushites of the Bible. Kahiki means the land of the Kussi or Cushites—ki and ka meaning land in the Chaldæan tablets according to Rawlinson. Kahiki-ku therefore means the Eastern Kassia or Cushite land. This clearly points to Arabia. To the south of Te Koha's birthplace was a country called Hunua (whenua) ku-i-lalo, renowned for its warlike inhabitants. This appears to mean the eastern land to the south. The eastern part of Africa to the south of Arabia was so celebrated for the savage character of its people that it got the name from the classical writers of Barbarica. To the west was another large continent called Kahikimoe. Moe means west where the sun goes to sleep. Kahikimoe therefore is the Western Kassia or Cushite land, and clearly points to Africa where the Cushites were in abundance. To the north was Ulunui, the ancient settlements of the people Urunu, or Ur of the Chaldees. Among the Hawaiian words signifying north, Fernander tells us, are Ulunui and Melemele, and uru still means north in New Zealand legends, though elsewhere the word is obsolete. Ulunui we know, and Melemele may, besides the signification of coloured, which Fernandez has assigned to it, have been the name of a town or place now lost.

I confess that I am not satisfied with M. Fernander's interpretation of the word melemele. I should much prefer regarding it as a territorial designation, and I find a note in Rawlinson's "Herodotus" which is singularly apposite, and renders this view at least probable. Meremere is at the present time a common name of places in New Zealand; and I cannot help thinking that, as occurring in the tradition, it refers to the country at the mouth of the Euphrates—the word being a Cushite variation of "Mirikh," a god of that country. The following is Rawlinson's note: "All the traditions of Babylonia point to a connection in very early times between Ethiopia (Africa), or Southern Arabia, and the cities on the Lower Euphrates. In the geographical lists the names of Mirukh and Makan are thus always conjoined with those of Ur or Akkad. . . . As we observed, in fact, with the Assyrians, that their founder Asshur not only furnished a name to the country, but was worshipped by them as

the chief god of their pantheon; so we are led to expect that the deified hero who was revered by the Babylonians under the names of Nergal and Nimrod, and who was recognised both as the god of hunting and the god of war, should also have the same name as the country to which he belonged. The real Cushite name of this deity, still applied by the Arabs to the planet Mars, with which the god of war has been always identified, is Mirikh; and this is the exact vernacular title in the inscriptions of the country of Ethiopia corrupted by the Greeks into Greek script." It would be probable then that the Cushite name of the country at the mouth of the Euphrates was a name derived from this deified hero Mirikh. Judging from the change made by the Greeks in Meroe, this name might have taken the form of Mere, or, by duplication after the fashion of the language. Meremere.

In any case the land of Melemele and the sea of Melemele are certainly connected with each other.

The starting point of our hero, or rather of the people of Sabai whom he personifies, is therefore certainly fixed in the southern part of Arabia, and sailing over the sea whose poetical names need not be repeated, but which could have been none other than the Indian Ocean, the islands which he arrived at must have been Sumatra and the adjoining islands called by Strabo Sabadeibai. He is said to have called one after his own name, Hawaii, and another after his son Maui.

According to the legend the islands were, at the arrival of Hawaii, uninhabited, indicating a very early date for the voyage. It must, however, have been subsequent to the migration from Akkadia, for the ancient abodes of the people are referred to as situated to the north of the land in which they were then living, and from which Hawaii started. He is represented as having made several voyages afterwards between Kapakapa (Sabai) and Hawaii, as he had named the new country, referring doubtless to the streams of colonists who hastened to avail themselves of the discovery.

The hero made a journey also to some western land, where dwelt a people with peculiar eyes—*mata lilio*. Mr. Fernander devotes much labour to discover the people with "upturned eyes," as he translates the word, but with no satisfactory result. There is no word in Maori that I know of exactly corresponding to "lilio" of the Hawaiian, but I would find its Maori representative in "ori," which means "a prey to disease." "The people with diseased eyes" might well define the Egyptians, for the papyrus writings contain numerous medical prescriptions for eye diseases, suggesting that the eyes of the people of Egypt were as subject to disease in ancient times as they are now. If that is so, the large country to the north-west would be Marmarica, inhabited by a fair people called on the Egyptian monuments *Thuheni* (the *Naphtuhim* of Scripture), and by the Greeks *Marmaridai*.

Fernander says, with reference to this legend, "Historically speaking, I am inclined to think that the legend of Hawaii-loa represents the adventures and achievements of several persons, which, as ages elapsed, and the individuality of the actor retired into the background, while the echo of his deeds was caught up by successive generations, were finally ascribed to some central figure, who thus became the traditional hero, not only of his own time, but also of times anterior as well as posterior to his actual existence. While the one set of legends shows the voyages and intercourse of the early Cushites with the countries and archipels about the Indian Ocean, the other set of legends shows the inter-course and voyages of the earlier Polynesians between the groups of the Pacific. But to find the former set of legends in the possession of the latter race of people argues a connection, political and social, if not ethnic, and to some extent probably both, so intimate, yet so far antecedent, that the latter had really come to identify themselves with the former, and to appropriate to their own proper heroes the legends brought them by the others. In much later times the process was repeated, when the Hawaiian groups were overrun by adventurers from the south Polynesian islands, who incorporated their own legends and their own version of common legends on the Hawaiian folklore, and interpolated their own heroes on the Hawaiian genealogies."

With all respect to this learned inquirer. I venture to think that the explanation of the adaptation of the legend to the later removal of the people from the Malay archipelago to the Polynesian islands is much more simple. The original legend related, of course, to the Saba, Hawa or Hawaii, which was constituted on the first removal of the Sabaian people from southern Arabia to the islands of the Indian Ocean, and as long as the race sojourned there, that was doubtless the application. When they again moved on, they carried their traditions with them, but the signification in the popular mind, after the lapse of ages, became altered; that is to say, the tradition was made to apply to the only Hawaii then known to the people, that is, to the one at which they were then living. This view seems to me to become a mathematical certainty, from the fact that each group of islands in the Pacific applies the legend to their own Savai or Hawaii—a clear proof, to my mind, that they all have reference back to a Hawaii of ancient date, which was common to all the groups. This could be none other than the Hawaii of the Indian Ocean.

This view receives confirmation from a statement in the legend which I am inclined to regard as an interpolation of later date than the arrival of the Hawaiians in the Pacific. Hawaii-i-loa is reported to have named the newly discovered land Hawaii, and an island adjoining he called after Maui his son. That the celebrated hero

and demi-god Maui was the son of a person of the name of Hawai is confirmed by no other song or legend of the Polynesians, nor can I find that any of the Sunda or Molucca islands was ever called Maui. But one of the principal islands of the Hawaiian group bears the name of Maui, and it seems very probable that the tale of the first great migration into the islands of the Indian Ocean was extended, so as to include that island in the legendary account at a subsequent time, when the popular mind had perceived its applicability to the Hawaiian group, or in truth to any group, and the pride of the people demanded that an eponymic hero should be found for the second island; so they furnished Hawai with a son of that name, and called the island by his name.

The tribe of the Himyarites, or Mahri, did not accompany the first emigrants. When the Sabaian name had disappeared from Arabia, as the name of the people to the outside world, Homeritai took its place; and it cannot be that any important section of that tribe left the country until the time of the invasions of the Ethiopians and Persians, before mentioned; for up to that date the Homeritai had continued to "reign in rich and happy Arabia," as Gibbon says.

One of the most popular of the legends of the New Zealanders relates to the exploits of Maui,

This legend, according to Judge Mailing's version, with his remarks and notes, is printed in full in the Appendix.

whose name appears as part of many names of places in the country, and as furnishing its vernacular designation to the Northern Island. This legend has been taken down by many European writers. The most elegant of all the accounts, and perhaps the most ungarnished, is that of the late Judge Maning, published posthumously in a small pamphlet, containing also the Maori tradition of the Creation.

Maui, the son of Taranga and Makea-Tutara, was born on the shores of the sea. He is represented as of a mischievous and turbulent disposition, incurring the enmity and dislike of his own family. Being abused by them for his laziness, he started with his brothers on a fishing expedition. When the party arrived at the usual fishing place Maui persuaded them to go still further and further, till at last they got to the most distant anchorages ever reached. Here the party prepared to anchor, but Maui said to them, "It is not worth while to fish here; let us go out into the currents of the great ocean, out of sight of land." So on they went, and at last the land disappeared. Maui's brothers murmured, but they sailed on and on. At last Maui let down his hook. "Maui hauls with all his force, and up comes a world! Now the full strain he feels; his god-like strength is matched, no nearer comes the hook. The turbid ocean boils; the mountain tops are seen, and many a whirling vortex roars. Now madness seizes Maui; fierce he strains and shouts his lifting song:

Wherefore, wherefore, O Tongonui!  
Cling you to the ocean depths?  
Resisting still the force of Ranga-whenua.  
Diving in the troubled sea,  
Diving! lifting! ooi!  
The force of Ranga-whenua prevails.

Ha! the fish of Maui rises from the waters—a land fish—a spacious country—Papa-tu-a-nuku!" According to some versions of the legend, Maui, having hauled up this new land, set out on a return expedition to discover his father and mother, whom he found. Afterwards he appears to have rejoined his brothers. "In those days the sun was much hotter than now, and the days were very short; for the sun remained not long in the heavens, his pace was so quick before he set; and men could not labour to procure food by reason of the heat and the shortness of the days; but had the days been longer the world would have been burnt up, so great was the heat of the sun. So Maui said to his brethren, 'Let us assail the sun and take from him some of his heat, and bind him, and retard his motion, that the days may be longer, and men have more time to cultivate the earth.' . . . Maui and his brothers made a great number of ropes—twisted ropes, knotted ropes, plaited ropes, all kinds of ropes—and started for the rising of the sun. Long they journeyed, till at last they arrived at the place where the rising sun comes forth. The attack is made, and the sun complains, 'Wherefore assault you me, O man! you who dare assault even The Great-child-Ra?' Then was first heard the sun's true name—Tama-nui-te-Ra. The fierce assault continues; at last they release the sun; wounded and shorn of half his fire, slowly he takes his way, and it is long before he reaches his setting place. So the days have since been longer and more cool, and men can labour in comfort."

The first part of this legend clearly refers to an early maritime expedition, originating apparently from intestine quarrels. The discovery of land is poetically described by the demi-god's hauling it out of the sea. The Maoris believe that the legend accounts for the creation of New Zealand, and Maui's name is preserved in their name for the North Island; but it appears to me certainly to refer to the earlier migration to the islands of the Indian Ocean. The description of the boiling of the sea and the appearance of new land arising from the water in

the midst of the catastrophe is an ornament which has accreted itself on to the original story, after the terrible convulsions of Nature had been witnessed which are so frequent in the Sundas and Moluccas, and which may have caused the rising of a new island from the sea. Moreover, the demi-god Maui is not confined to New Zealand mythology, but is a legendary hero of all the Polynesian groups, absolutely proving, as in the case of Hawaii, that his exploits occurred before the arrival of the tribes in the Pacific, and must be referred back to an antecedent epoch in their history which was common to all. The Maori name of the North Island of New Zealand is "te ahi a Maui," "the fire of Maui," and preserves the tradition of the volcanic disturbances, the memory of which appears in a poetical form in the legend; although the discovery of land and the subsequent eruptions and raisings of islands are, as might be expected, somewhat confused therein—affording another proof that the land "fished up" was not New Zealand, but must be referred to a region where such phenomena were common.

The traditions of the several expeditions into New Zealand are very well preserved, supplying the names of the vessels and many of the names of the immigrants, and even of the tools with which the vessels were built. This story of Maui has no relation to any of these traditions, nor is his name mentioned in them, but it has no element of unfitness when applied to the discovery of the Indian islands. The great demi-god's name would not have been omitted in the New Zealand traditions of migration to the country if he had taken any part in the expeditions.

The other part of the legend, characterised by much poetic vigour, relates to the abandonment of the hot equatorial regions for a colder country, and is applicable to the second removal of the people. Maui and his companions went constantly on towards the East, and after a long journey stripped the sun of his direful power, and by making him move more slowly prolonged the days. The Malay islands are situated under the equator and New Zealand in the temperate zone, and the course from the one to the other would be south-east. Of course the days are considerably longer in summer in New Zealand than under the Line, and the temperature is very mild and pleasant at all times, so that "men can labour in comfort." These meteorological changes are embodied in the legend, and are attributed to the heroic operations of the demi-god Maui. Whether the whole story is a poetic fiction embodying the long history of the migrations of the people from Arabia, or whether there ever was a heroic personage of the name of Maui who was concerned in the early voyages to the islands of the Indian Ocean, cannot now be determined. I confess that my mind inclines to the latter supposition, for it is difficult otherwise to understand how the folk-lore of each group of islands in the Pacific preserves the memory of his exploits. And the probability of actual foundation of fact for the stories is increased by the retention of the history of heroic deeds of Maui by the people of some groups the memory of which has been lost in others.

Judge Maning is of opinion that the Maui legend "was told certainly a thousand years before the first Maori saw these islands." I agree with him as to the first part of the story, but not as to the second, which to my mind clearly has reference to the migration to New Zealand, and must have been a later addition to a very ancient story, dramatised after the people had settled here.

## Chapter IV. Islands of the Indian and Malay Archipelago.

THERE exists no history or tradition of the process of dispersal of the Sabaian amongst the islands of the Indian Ocean. We have now got beyond the range of the classical historians, and it is unlikely that there should be any memorials preserved by the people of a series of movements which would be gradual and limited in their character, often consisting of families or hapus,

A subdivision of a tribe.

and not attracting public observation. But that the dispersal amongst the whole of these islands, as far east as Papua, including the Philippine Islands, was complete will be abundantly shown when we refer to the names of places still existing. The revered name Saba was again spread as the people spread, and survives still in the name of the large island adjoining Sabadidi—Java, and again in Ceram as Sawai, and again on the north coast of Papua as Saibai, according to a recent missionary report published in the *Evening Star* newspaper, and very notably in the name of the island Saparua or Saba the Second. The legend of Hawaii loa describes the islands discovered by him as uninhabited. That may have been so. It is, however, very remarkable that in the Maui legend Muri-ranga-Whenua expects enemies from the east, and only feels easy in her mind when she finds that Maui is approaching from the west, the quarter from which friends would arrive when making for Sabadidi. This portion of the legend appears in all the versions that I have seen. It would appear from this that there were persons in her neighbourhood whose relations to her were of a hostile character. I am unable to discover whether the Negritto races, who may have been the persons of whom Ranga-whenua was in dread, preceded the Sabaian or arrived after their settlement in the islands, and pushed through to the territories where they are still found. According to recent observations there seems to be considerable approximation of the languages, but the

physical characteristics of the two people are not alike, at least in the eyes of an unscientific observer. Admixture of blood may have taken place, and of language also, possibly though only during the sojourns on the coasts while at a later period the Sabaïans were passing onwards in their progress eastwards.

The first great event which disturbed the Sabaïans after their settlement in the Molucca islands seems to have been an invasion, possibly with warlike forces, possibly by gradual accretion of the Barat or Mahratta races from the south-east of India. Pressed southwards by the increasing weight of foreign invasion from the north the Barats passed over into the islands. Tradition says that Sumatra (our Sabadidi or Jabadi) was at one time joined to Hindustan. Whether it was so or not matters little to our subject. The transit was made, and an impulse was given to an eastward migration of the previous inhabitants—the Sabaïans. It is probable that a contest of some duration took place before the final expulsion of the Sabaïans by the Indians. During this period there would be some intermixture of blood and language, for female prisoners of the intruding race would be saved from destruction by the Sabaïans into whose hands they fell, and would be taken for wives. Thus many Barat words would be introduced into the language, as Mr. Thomson has shown in his papers printed in the proceedings of the New Zealand Institute,—the number, however, being surprisingly small, perhaps not equal to the number of Greek or Aryan words in the Maori language. At this period of their history also were procured, as spoil or otherwise, the Tamul bell, in the possession of the Rev. Mr. Colenzo, and the stone bird, lately discovered at Whaingaroa, and the other bird mentioned by Dr. Von Haast, of Christchurch. Similarly, although the English were successful in the war with the Maoris, the latter are in possession of watches and trinkets, which they took from English officers, and if they migrated again would doubtless take these things with them.

This Hindoo invasion or migration must have been on a very great scale indeed, for the public works of the intruders, still in existence, can only have been erected by a people both numerous and wealthy. Mr. Wallace, a most exact and painstaking observer, spent many years in the Moluccas, Sundas, and Philippines, engaged in his special work of collecting birds and insects. But he furnishes also much information on ethnic and historical matters, all characterised by the same conscientious moderation and cautious observation. A description by Mr. Wallace of some of the architectural wonders of Java, the work of this intruding race, is inserted. He places the date of their construction at five hundred years back, when the Hindoos had complete possession of the Sunda Islands.

"The road to Wonosalem led through a magnificent forest, in the depths of which we passed a fine ruin of what appeared to have been a royal tomb or mausoleum. It is formed entirely of stone and elaborately carved. Near the base is a course of boldly projecting blocks, sculptured in high relief, with a series of scenes which are probably incidents in the life of the defunct. These are all beautifully executed, some of the figures of animals in particular being easily recognisable and very accurate. The general design, as far as the ruined state of the upper part will permit of its being seen, is very good, the effect being given by an immense number and variety of projecting or retreating courses of squared stones in place of mouldings. The size of this structure is about thirty feet square by twenty feet high, and as the traveller comes suddenly upon it on a small elevation by the roadside, overshadowed by gigantic trees, overrun with plants and creepers, and closely backed by the gloomy forest, he is struck by the solemnity and picturesque beauty of the scene, and is led to ponder on the strange law of progress, which looks so like retrogression, and which in so many distant parts of the world has exterminated or driven out a highly artistic and constructive race, to make room for one which, as far as we can judge, is very far its inferior.

"Few Englishmen are aware of the number and beauty of the architectural remains in Java. They have never been popularly illustrated or described, and it will therefore take most people by surprise to learn that they far surpass those of Central America, perchance even those of India. To give some idea of these ruins, and perchance to excite wealthy amateurs to explore them thoroughly and obtain by photography an accurate record of these beautiful sculptures before it is too late, I will enumerate the most important, as briefly described in Sir Stamford Raffles's 'History of Java.'

"Brambanam.—Near the centre of Java, between the native capitals of Djoko-kerta and Sura-kerta, is the village of Brambanam, near which are abundance of ruins, the most important being the temples of Loro-Jongran and Chandi Sewa. At Loro-Jongran there were twenty separate buildings, six large and fourteen small temples. They are now a mass of ruins, but the largest temples are supposed to have been ninety feet high. They were all constructed of solid stone, everywhere decorated with carvings and bas-reliefs, and adorned with numbers of statues, many of which still remain entire. At Chandi Sewa, or the 'Thousand Temples,' are many fine colossal figures. Captain Baker, who surveyed these ruins, said he had never in his life seen 'such stupendous and finished specimens of human labour, and of the science and taste of ages long since forgot, crowded together in so small a compass as in this spot.' They cover a space of nearly six hundred feet square, and consist of an outer row of eighty-four small temples, a second row of seventy-six, a third of sixty-four, a fourth of forty-four, and the fifth forming an inner parallelogram of twenty-eight, in all two hundred and

ninety-six small temples, disposed in five regular parallelograms. In the centre is a large cruciform temple surrounded by forty flights of steps, richly ornamented with sculpture, and containing many apartments. The tropical vegetation has ruined most of the smaller temples, but some remain tolerably perfect, from which the effect of the whole may be imagined. About half-a-mile off is another temple, called Chandi Kali Bening, seventy-two feet square and sixty feet high, in fine preservation and covered with sculptures of Hindoo mythology surpassing any that exist in India. Other ruins of palaces, halls, and temples, with abundance of sculptured deities, are found in the same neighbourhood.

"Borobodo.—About eighty miles eastward, in the province of Kedu, is the great temple of Borobodo. It is built upon a small hill, and consists of a central dome and seven ranges of terraced walls covering the slope of the hill and forming open galleries each below the other, and communicating by steps and gateways. The central dome is fifty feet in diameter; around it is a triple circle of seventy-two towers, and the whole building is six hundred and twenty feet square, and about one hundred feet high. In the terrace walls are niches containing cross-legged figures larger than life, to the number of about four hundred, and both sides of all the terrace walls are covered with bas-reliefs crowded with figures, and carved in hard stone; and which must therefore occupy an extent of nearly three miles in length! The amount of human labour and skill expended on the Great Pyramid of Egypt sinks into insignificance when compared with that required to complete this sculptured hill-temple in the interior of Java.

"Junong Prau.—About forty miles south-west of Samarang, on a mountain called Junong Prau, an extensive plateau is covered with ruins. To reach these temples four flights of stone steps were made up the mountain from opposite directions, each flight consisting of more than a thousand steps. Traces of nearly four hundred temples have been found here, and many (perhaps all) were decorated with rich and delicate sculptures. The whole country between this and Brambanam, a distance of sixty miles, abounds with ruins; so that fine sculptured images may be seen lying in ditches or built into the walls of enclosures.

"In the eastern part of Java, at Kediri and in Malang, there are equally abundant traces of antiquity, but the buildings themselves have been mostly destroyed. Sculptured figures, however, abound; and the ruins of forts, palaces, baths, aqueducts, and temples can be everywhere traced. It is altogether contrary to the plan of this book to describe what I have not myself seen, but having been led to mention them, I felt bound to do something to call attention to these marvellous works of art. One is overwhelmed by the contemplation of these innumerable sculptures, worked with delicacy and artistic feeling in a hard, intractable, trachytic rock, and all found in one tropical island. What could have been the state of society, what the amount of population, what the means of subsistence which rendered such gigantic work possible, will, perhaps, ever remain a mystery: and it is a wonderful example of the power of religious ideas in social life that in the very country where, five hundred years ago, these grand works were being yearly executed, the inhabitants now only build rude houses of bamboo and thatch, and look upon these relics of their forefathers with ignorant amazement, as the undoubted productions of giants or of demons. It is much to be regretted that the Dutch Government do not take vigorous steps for the preservation of these ruins from the destroying agency of tropical vegetation, and for the collection of the fine sculptures which are everywhere scattered over the island."

The constructors of these amazing works must have been a numerous, civilized, and powerful people. They expelled or reduced to slavery, or drove to the mountains, the population previously inhabiting the country. The evidences of the Hindoo intrusion gradually diminish as we advance eastwards, while that of the Mongol or Malay becomes more marked.

It is very difficult to arrange any system of chronology of these events. An approximate estimate may be made, however, which would put the immigration into the islands of the Indian Ocean of small contingents of the Sabaïans at dates anterior to the Solomonic epoch, with a continued accretion of settlers, from commercial or similar interests, progressing down to the classical times. Probably during the centuries that followed the Roman attack on the Sabaïans in Arabia, and more markedly after the supremacy of the Himyaritic tribe had been acquired by force, the movement of the tribes of the nation called by Strabo Chatramotitæ, Chattabaneis, Minœi, and Sabaïans became general. At about 550 A.D., after the Persian invasion under Chosroes, the Himyarites, or a considerable contingent of them, followed the other clans, leaving behind them part of their tribe, who still inhabit the south coast of Arabia, and are called Mahri. We should then expect that the Himyarites would be the occupants of the most westerly lands in the new country, and the last to move on to the east as successive attacks of Hindoos and Malays compelled renewed flight. And this would appear to be so, for many considerations suggest that the Maori and Moriori, who it is presumed are the Polynesian representatives of the Himyarites or Homeritai, were the last of the nation to make their appearance in the Pacific. To an instinctive recognition of this fact may be attributed the general attempt of investigators to trace the migration of the Maori tribe into New Zealand from some other of the Pacific groups. The duration of the residence of the Maori people in New Zealand cannot be more than twenty generations,

I have met with genealogies containing more than twenty generations, but those antecedent to twenty are

generally mythical, containing the names of the gods. I feel very confident that the number twenty may be relied on. According to Fernander, the legends and genealogies of other Polynesian Islands indicate a period for the migration into the Pacific ranging from 200 to 500 A.D.

or 600 years. If then the Himyarites arrived in the Indian Islands about 600 A.D., and appeared in New Zealand in 1250, allowing thirty years for sojournings on the passage (of course a merely conjectural number), their residence in the Indian Islands will have covered a period of 600 years.

After the expulsion of the Sabaiaans, including the Himyarites (or to use their modern designation, the Mahri), from the Westerly Islands, Sumatra and Java, as they are now called, they occupied the more easterly portion of the Sunda and Molucca groups, and the Philippines. No doubt these places had been already settled by the people, and the refugees merely joined their brethren who had gone before. But troubles still followed them. The Malays, a people of Mongol race, who inhabited the adjoining peninsula, commenced encroachments and acquired a military superiority against which the native residents struggled fruitlessly. The invaders treated the inhabitants of these easterly islands as the Barats treated the inhabitants of the Sundas. They expelled them or destroyed them, or drove them to the mountains, leaving a few existing in miserable communities, as we now find them. The Malay accounts furnish abundant evidence of these facts.

Here again took place a slight admixture of foreign blood, and a small introduction of foreign words into the language,—very insignificant indeed, but still sufficiently observable to have caused some writers to attribute to the Polynesians a Malay origin. It is admitted that there is some mixture of blood, and that there is a Malay taint in the Polynesian race, as there ever will be in the case of a conquering people intruding among a people who yield, but the mixture is very slight in the Polynesian Islands, owing to the fact, doubtless, that the conquered people rapidly fled away, and sought new homes in the archipelago, even before they finally abandoned the Indian islands. The portion of the nation that remained among the hostile invaders would be more liable to be affected by the intruding element; but even amongst them the original type is still easily distinguished, and the language does not appear to have undergone much change.

During this troublesome period the work of degradation would advance with accelerated rapidity, and it is probable that long before the Sabaiaans abandoned the islands of the Indian Ocean they had fallen into a state of social barbarism little differing from the aspect presented to Capt. Cook when he made his voyages.

As the belief in the Malay origin of the Polynesians is of very general acceptance, and is, in my judgment, a very singular error, for which no foundation of fact exists, it will be well to insert some quotations from the works of scientific men, who, writing without reference to this special subject, and without *animus arguendi* (to use a lawyer's word), will furnish evidence of undoubted authority.

Dr. Pickering, member of the United States exploring expedition, writes when reaching Luzon, one of the Philippine Islands: "The armed government launch boarded us in the bay, and afforded the opportunity of recognising in the crew the identity in race with the Polynesians."

Writing of Mindanao, he says: "Towards evening we again left the fort to visit a village in the vicinity, with the injunction to be very cautious, and not to trust the Moors. The people were civil. One Malay soldier, however, pronounced them *Moris* (Maoris), and spoke with a compassionate air of their ignorance." Further on he says: "I have not met with any examples of the Harapora tribes, described as inhabiting the interior of Mindanao, Booru, Ceram, and Celebes, and as possessing the entire island of Jilolo. What is alleged of the superior stature

How physical types endure! Herodotus's phrase is "the tallest and handsomest people in the world."

and lordly perfection of these people is worthy of notice, together with the existence among them of the practice of tattooing, or at least of staining the skin. These particulars, taken in connection with what has already been stated of the inhabitants of Pulo-Mariere, seem to have a bearing on the question of the origin of the Polynesians." Again, Hunt, in speaking of the Idan and Maruts of Borneo, states that they are fairer and better featured than Malays, stronger and more robust. The inhabitants of Mount Kiley-Baulu are nearly as fair as Europeans.

What Dr. Pickering refers to about Pulo-Mariere is this. Mr. James Read, of Philadelphia, once landed on Pulo-Mariere, a small island north-east of Jilolo, and found the natives a very large and fine-looking set of people, and beautifully tattooed. Proceeding thence to the Malay Islands, he perceived a striking diminution of stature, together with an entire absence of tattooing.

Mr. Wallace, the celebrated naturalist already mentioned, who travelled for eight years among these islands, also furnishes valuable authority. I should state, however, that this writer includes the Papuans among the Polynesians. He classes the Malays amongst the Mongolians, noticing the absence of beard and the peculiar hair. Speaking of Coupang, he says, "The inhabitants consist of Malays, Chinese, and Dutch, *besides the natives*." Of the Celebes Island he says, "The plateau of Tondano is chiefly inhabited by people nearly as white as the Chinese, and with very pleasing semi-European features. The people of Siau and Sanguir much resemble these, and I believe them to be perhaps immigrants from some of the islands of North Polynesia." Of Batchian

he writes, "In the evening we stayed at a settlement of Galela men. These are natives of a district in the extreme north of Gilolo, and are great wanderers over this part of the archipelago. They build large and roomy praus with outriggers, and settle on any coast or island they take a fancy for. They hunt deer and wild pig, drying the meat; they catch turtle and trepang; they cut down the forest, and plant rice or maize, and are remarkably energetic and industrious. They are a very fine people, of light complexion, tall, and with Papuan features, coming nearer to the drawings and descriptions of the true Polynesians of Tahiti and Owyhee" (properly written Hawaii) "than I have ever seen."

Speaking of Ternate, he says: "The people of Ternate are of three well-marked races: the Ternate Malays, the Orang Serani, and the Dutch. The first are an intrusive Malay race somewhat allied to the Macassar people, who settled in the country at a very early period, drove out the indigenes, who were no doubt the same as those of the adjacent mainland of Gilolo, and established a monarchy. They perhaps obtained many of their wives from the natives, which will account for the extraordinary language they speak—in some respects closely allied to that of the natives of Gilolo, while it contains much that points to a Malay origin. To most of these people the Malay language is quite unintelligible, although such as are engaged in trade are obliged to acquire it."

Of Gilolo he says: "In the country round about Sahoe, and in the interior, there is a large population of indigenes, numbers of which come daily into the village, bringing their produce for sale, while others were engaged as labourers by the Chinese and Ternate traders. A careful examination convinced me that these people are radically distinct from all the Malay races." Further on he accounts for the presence of these people in the Malay islands by supposing an immigration from the islands of the Pacific. Of Manawolko he writes: "The people here, at least the chief men, were of a purer Malay race than the Mahometans of the mainland of Ceram, which is perhaps due to there having been no indigenes on these small islands when the first settlers arrived." It would be better to attribute the absence of indigenes, as he calls them, and properly calls them, on these small islands, to the greater ease with which they would be cleared out by invaders.

In his last chapter he says: "The brown Polynesian race, or some intermediate type, is spread everywhere over the Pacific. The descriptions of these latter agree exactly with the characters of the brown indigenes of Gilolo and Ceram. It is to be especially remarked that the brown and the black Polynesian races closely resemble each other. Their features are almost identical, so that the portraits of a New Zealander or Otaheitan will often serve accurately to represent a Papuan or Timorese, the darker colour and more frizzly hair of the latter being the only differences. They are both tall races. They agree in their love of art and the style of their decorations. They are energetic, demonstrative, and laughter-loving, and in all these particulars they differ widely from the Malay." Further on we read: "The true Polynesians, inhabiting the furthest isles of the Pacific, are no doubt doomed to an early extinction. But the more numerous Malay race seems well adapted to survive as the cultivator of the soil, even when his country and government have passed into the hands of Europeans. A warlike and energetic people who will not submit to national slavery or to domestic servitude, must disappear before the white man as surely as do the wolf and the tiger."

Though Mr. Wallace seems to entertain the belief that the black Polynesians or Papuans are of the same race as the brown Polynesians, Professor Huxley differs. The discussion of this question forms no necessary part of our inquiry. It is sufficient for our present purpose that this scientific writer clearly describes as still existing in the Malay islands settlements of indigenes, a distinct people, who are not Malays, and who exactly resemble the people of the Polynesian islands. And it is remarkable that they exist generally in the interior of the larger islands, having been apparently expelled by the Malays from the smaller ones, and are now found for the most part in a state of political inferiority and social distress.

More authorities hostile to any approximation, except such as has resulted from desultory intermixture, between the characteristics of the Malay and the Polynesian, may be easily produced. Thus D'Urville, in his "Voyage au Pale Sud," describes the Harafuros of Celebes (Menado) as identical, physically, with the Polynesians, and the Harafuros he shows to be the remains of a people who have been subjugated by the Malays.

Lieutenant Kolff, in "Voyages of the Dutch Brig of War, Donga," gives similar testimony with respect to the inhabitants of Kissa, in the southern Moluccas, describing the people as tall and well-formed, with light-brown complexions. Speaking of the inhabitants of the Tenimber group, he says: "They are usually well formed, and possess a finer complexion than most of their neighbours, while their features display few of the characteristics of the inhabitants of the Indian Archipelago."

I will add the authority of the great voyage of Magellan, the author of which clearly distinguishes the dominant Malay race from the scattered remnants of a subject population resembling the Polynesians. De Rienzi, in an article called "Oceanie," in *L'Univers*, treats the question very fully, and arrives at the same conclusion. Finally, the Javanese (Indians) and Malays themselves state that they arrived in the islands at a later date than the people whom we have spoken of as resembling the Polynesians, and that they conquered them, extirpating, driving them out, or compelling them to seek safety in mountain fastnesses. They record their

priority by calling them Orang-Benoa, aborigines or autochthones.

It will have been noticed that the indigenous inhabitants of the Indian Islands, that is, the people who were established there when the Barat and Malay invasions respectively took place, are mentioned by writers under many names, which, however, may be reduced to two general forms—Alfuro, Harafuro, or Harapura; and Baruts, Maruts, Moors, Moris. The former class of names varies, no doubt, simply from the manner in which it was taken down by the several European travellers. I take Harapura to be identical with Hadramaut, the vernacular name of the Sabaian tribe, called by some classical writers Atramitæ, and by Strabo Chatramotitæ, spoken of previously. The latter list represents most probably one and the same word, and may be traced to the "Mahri," of South Arabia, and its more ancient protonom—Homeritai, the classical rendering of Hinyarite. The tribal names seem to have accompanied the emigrating people as well as the national designation. Orang Benoa and Orang Serani simply mean autochthones.

Similarly, the language of the Malay is not the language of these indigenes or pre-Malay races, whom we have identified with the Polynesians (Sabaians). According to Dieffenbach, the Polynesian language, in its whole formation and construction, is by far more primitive than the Malayan and the rest of the Javano-Tagalo languages. It belongs to a primitive state of society. The Malayan is classed by Professor M. Müller amongst the Turanian or agglutinative languages, and Dr. Rae is of opinion that the study of the Polynesian language gives us the key to the original function of language itself, and to its whole mechanism.

Dr. Rae is very ardent in his advocacy of the dignity and antiquity of the Polynesian language. He writes, "All those tongues which we designate the Indo-European languages have their true root and origin in the Polynesian language. I am certain that this is the case as regards Greek and Sanscrit. I find reason to believe it so as to the Latin and other more modern tongues,—in short, as to all European languages, old and young."

It appears highly probable that the Polynesian language, as found in the Pacific, through its various dialects, is the oldest living language on the face of the earth, and the lineal representative of the oldest dead language. A careful comparison of its several dialects shows how wonderfully small is the change it has undergone since the dispersal of the people throughout the islands many centuries ago. The Malayan tongue appears to have no further connection with the Polynesian than such a reciprocal giving and taking of words as must have resulted from the propinquity of residence during a long period of time. Whatever resemblance the Malayan language as spoken in the Archipelago now bears to the Polynesian must be ascribed to the operation of a law clearly stated by Professor Müller.

Professor Müller ("Science of Language") has a remarkable passage on the rule, which appears to be almost uniform, that a conquering and intruding race gradually acquires the language of the subject race. "It was this language, this germanised Latin, which was adopted by the Norman invaders of France, themselves equally Teutonic, and representing originally that branch of the Teutonic stock of speech which is known by the name of Scandinavian. These Normans or Northmen, speaking their newly acquired Franco-Roman dialect, became afterwards the victors of Hastings, and their language, for a time, ruled supreme in the palaces, law courts, churches and colleges of England. The same thing, however, which had happened to the Frank conquerors of Gaul and the Norman conquerors of Neustria happened again to the Norman conquerors of England. They had to acquire the language of their conquered subjects; and as the Franks, though attempting to speak the language of the Roman provincials, retained large numbers of barbaric terms, the Normans, though attempting to conform to the rules of the Saxon grammar, retained many a Norman word which they had brought with them from Normandy." It is in obedience to this law that in New Zealand for one Maori who can speak English there are fifty Englishmen who can speak Maori more or less correctly. It will, however, be remembered, that the reverse process took place on the first conquest of the Cushites by the Semites before mentioned.

The Sabaians or Harafuros are still in those islands in considerable numbers, and the resident Malays have partially acquired their tongue. Mr. Wallace's book contains a list of one hundred and seventeen words in thirty-three languages of the Malay Archipelago, from which a selection is added in the Appendix. The words are selected from the list as most strongly showing Polynesian resemblance. One's mind cannot fail to be impressed with the identity of these words of the existing pre-Malay languages of the Indian Ocean with the corresponding Maori words. "The identity of the Polynesian language with the pre-Malay dialects still existing in the Malay Islands is now established," says Fernander; "and not only so, but it is especially and manifestly the older surviving form of a once common tongue. Thanks to its isolation in the Pacific for long ages, it has preserved the ancient simplicity of its structure, and suffered less phonetic corruption than its congeners and pre-Malay cousins, subject as these have been for unknown ages to a constant and harassing intrusion from, and intercourse with, Kani, Malay, and Chinese."

Many of the words in Mr. Wallace's list seem to follow the Malay, while others may be traced to Barat roots, and others, again, seem to have been engrafted on to the dialects from no known stock. Philologists seem pretty well agreed that the criterion of relationship of languages is to be found in the grammar, and not in the etymology; so that the common property of two forms of speech in a great number of words merely proves that

the people speaking the two languages have at some time or other been in conditions of contiguity of habitation or of considerable intercommunication. This law, therefore, although prohibiting any proof of the affinity between the Maori and other Polynesian dialects and those spoken by the Harapuras and Moris of the Malay Islands, is infinitely serviceable for proving that the two peoples at some past period lived together. There is no foundation of fact for Mr. Wallace's conjecture that the present aboriginal inhabitants of the Malay Islands are immigrants from Polynesia. Dr. Pickering more acutely observes that the similarity of habits and of physical characteristics of these aborigines has a bearing on the question of the origin of the Polynesians.

The Malay intrusion may have been by sudden and overwhelming invasion, with numerous forces, or it may have resulted from gradual accretion of population by desultory settlement. The former system would be more in unison with the usual characteristics of movements of the Mongol races; and the local traditions affirm that the inroad was powerful and violent. It may be presumed, then, that the Sabaian tribes (for it appears by the existing names attributed to the resident remnants of the aborigines, Harapura and Moris, that the tribal formation was preserved) abandoned their homes simultaneously under the stress of military aggression. In opposition to this presumption must, however, be placed a fact clearly apparent, that is, that none of the traditions with which I am acquainted make any mention of external pressure. All the accounts—at least, all the New Zealand accounts—attribute the migrations from their former habitat to New Zealand to intestine commotions, appearing in the legends as family broils, generally of a very trivial character, arising mostly from insults to women or quarrels about land or property. It is very questionable whether the details of the causes which led to emigration, and the long conversational narratives which describe them, are not later additions which have gradually, during the lapse of centuries, grown on to the original tales. If, however, these preludes are truly parts of the ancient traditions, it may be taken as an explanation that the Sabaians were not at first oppressed by the Malays, but were permitted to remain in peace in possession of their ancestral homes; that they did not move away in a body, but departed at various times, moving on from island to island, and occupying probably many years before the tribes arrived at the final place of sojourn, where they now are. For that they all along maintained to a certain extent, perhaps to a very large extent, their tribal relations may be safely inferred not only from the preservation of tribal designations as mentioned above, but also from the great varieties in complexion and general appearance which are found in the several groups of the Polynesian islands, arising, as was previously stated, from the different proportions in which Shemite and Cushite blood were mingled in each tribe.

The general direction pursued by the fleets was of course eastwards; and as the south-east monsoon blows for nine months out of the twelve, the voyages may have been made during the remaining three months of the year. Perhaps each year's voyage was of short duration, the greater part of the year being spent on the shores of some of the islands on the route, during which time crops might be planted and reaped. The sojourns on the islands during the passage may have been sometimes of many years' duration, for it does not appear that there was any intention, on the first migrations, of seeking any particular place. On the contrary, the earlier legends present us with the idea of parties starting away on a sudden impulse, or under pressure of force, and trusting to chance as to where, if anywhere, they would bring up. And, in fact, the general peopling of the islands of the Pacific, notwithstanding the vast distances at which they are situated apart from each other, would tend to show that the course of the expeditions was decided principally by causes over which the navigators had little control. A change of the wind might cause a party's ultimate destination to be the Sandwich Islands or New Zealand, as the fates, or rather as Aiolos, directed. It must be noticed, however, that in the case of the Maori migrations the traditions seem to indicate that after the first expeditions of Ngahue and Kupe the subsequent fleets seem to have started with the definite object of arriving at Aotearoa, or New Zealand, and there is no reason to doubt the genuineness of the legends on this particular point, or the capacity of the previous navigators to make the return voyage, and furnish the requisite information.

The vessels used by the navigators are called in the legends "waka," or canoes—the only vernacular word now known for a water-carriage. It is supposed that they were the double canoes still used in the Pacific Ocean, which are vessels of considerable strength and great speed, of which the use and construction have long since been discontinued in New Zealand. Whatever was the form and size of the craft used by these navigators, it is clear from the legends that they had houses on deck, and were capable of carrying many people. But there is no logical necessity for assuming that the Sabaians had lost all the skill that they once possessed in building vessels and making distant voyages, for knowledge of this sort decays slowly, and a people removing from a continent to islands were little likely to abandon a practice for which they were so renowned, and which had become more than ever a necessity for them. The vessels used by the navigators may have been of a much more powerful and efficient type than is now known amongst the South Sea Islanders, and the legends may, in the course of time, have become altered by adaptation to the character of the craft in general use and known to the people.

But I do not think that there is any necessity for supposing that the art of shipbuilding was in a greatly

superior condition at the epoch of the migration into the Pacific Ocean. The skill of the native artificers, as now existing, is amply efficient to satisfy the necessities of the situation. The praus of the Malay pirates indisputably establish the fact that great skill in shipbuilding and in navigating vessels is not inconsistent with a low state of civilisation. The Maoris of New Zealand build, or used lately to build, very beautiful and powerful canoes, capable of carrying one hundred men and more, with which, even in our time, they were accustomed to make voyages round the coasts.

The Rev. Mr. Lawry, in his "Visit to the Friendly Islands" (1851), says that he measured a canoe, and found it to be ninety feet long, with a sail ninety feet high and sixty feet wide at the top; adding that the canoes sail very fast and near the wind. He mentions the arrival at Tonga of a fleet of double canoes.

There are specimens still in existence, but the construction of large canoes has ceased, as all other habits of industry have ceased. The natives of the Indian islands do not appear to have lost the art of building fine sea-going vessels. Mr. Wallace says: "The art in which the natives of Ké pre-eminently excel is that of boatbuilding. Their forests supply abundance of timber, and from some unknown causes these remote savages have come to excel in what seems a very difficult art. Their small canoes are beautifully formed, broad and low in the centre, but rising at each end, where they terminate in high pointed peaks, more or less carved and ornamented with plumes of feathers. They are not hollowed out of a tree, but are regularly built of planks running from end to end, and so accurately fitted that it is often difficult to find a place where a knife-blade can be inserted between the joints. The larger ones are from 20 to 30 tons burthen, and are finished ready for sea without a nail or particle of iron being used. These vessels are handsome to look at, good sailers, and admirable sea boats, and will make long voyages with perfect safety."

We read from all contemporary voyagers that the navigating powers of the northern Polynesians are still considerable, though the New Zealanders have not only discontinued the habit of going to sea, but have ceased to build canoes. The Tahitians still procure red feathers from Whenuarora, one of the Fiji group, ten days' sail *to the westward* (Pickering's "Races of Man"). Dr. Pickering says, speaking of Tutuila in the Samoan group: "A party of visitors had been expected, from the wind having recently changed to the westward, an occurrence, it was said, that rarely takes place without bringing visitors." He says further on, in a sort of summary at the end of his book: "Of the aboriginal vessels of the Pacific, two kinds only are adapted for long sea voyages—those of Japan, just mentioned, and the large double canoes of the Society and Tonga groups. In times anterior to the impulse given to civilised Europe, through the novel enterprise of Columbus, Polynesians were accustomed to make sea voyages nearly as long, exposed to equal dangers, and in vessels of inferior construction. However incredible this may appear to many, there is sufficient evidence of the fact. The Tonga people are known to hold intercourse with Vavao, Samoa, the Fijis, Rotuma, and the New Hebrides." But there is a document published before those seas were frequented by whalers and trading vessels which shows a more extensive aboriginal acquaintance with the islands of the Pacific. I allude to the map obtained by Foster and Cook from a native of the Society Islands, and which has been shown by Mr. Hale to contain not only the Marquesas and the islands south and east of Tahiti, but the Samoan, Fiji, and even more distant groups.

There is no necessity that more labour should be devoted to collecting proofs that the South Sea islanders have always been, and in some islands are still, capable of making long sea voyages and in any direction.

See Ellis's "Polynesian Researches."

The traditions of the New Zealanders are very clear about their powers of navigation in the olden time. Not only did Tamatekapua and the other leaders of the people make the long voyages to New Zealand, but it is related of almost all the immigrations that, after having reached land, the adventurers put to sea again, and sailed to some other part of the coast, and in some instances return voyages were made to the places whence they came. I confess that how these navigators managed to hit the Chatham Islands has always been to my mind a puzzle. All traditions say that this was a distinct immigration, and that the Chathams were not colonised from New Zealand. It must be presumed that when these expeditions were covering the Pacific Seas parties went where the winds took them, and that many of them must have missed land altogether and have never turned up anywhere. Dr. Pickering says that the inhabitants of parts of the Californian coast are of the Polynesian race, and it is extremely probable that some of the fleets may have missed all the islands and continued on until brought up by the continent of America.

The south-east monsoon would, no doubt, afford considerable obstacle to the Eastward progress of the Sabaian expeditions; but, admitting that all the voyages were not made during the three months when these winds do not blow, and, granting further that there were not many stopping places on the way (which latter is an unnecessary concession, for the traditions even furnish the names of the places at which stoppages were made), it does not appear that the monsoon blows with so much regularity as to present an insuperable difficulty to navigators going in a direction contrary to it, or in any desired direction. The unsteadiness and uncertainty of these trade winds is amusingly described by Wallace, who lamented the loss of time they occasioned in his favourite pursuit—the collection of insects.

He tells us that the south-east monsoon lasts two-thirds of the year, and that a westerly wind prevails during the remainder; but he is sorely vexed with its irregularity. "Night closed in," he says, "and the wind grew more ahead, so we had to take in sail. Then came a calm, and we sailed and rowed as occasion offered." Again: "The rest of the evening we had a fine west wind, which carried us on at five knots an hour, as much as our lumbering old tub can possibly go. Next day a heavy swell from the south-west rolled us about most uncomfortably." Again, December 25: "The afternoon was fine, and the wind got round again to the west; but although this is really the west monsoon, there is no regularity or steadiness about it, calms and breezes from every point of the compass continually occurring." Again: "When we got out of the straits, and were fairly on the great Pacific Ocean, we had a steady wind for the first time since leaving Ternate; but unfortunately it was dead ahead, and we had to beat against it." Again: "We made sail to the northward, hoping soon to get a more southerly wind. Towards noon the sea was much smoother, and with a S.S.E. wind we were laying in the direction of Salwaty. This wind did not, however, last long, but died away into a calm, and a light west wind sprang up." Again: "The wind was, however, as usual, contrary, being S.S.W. instead of S.S.E., as it should have been at this time of the year." Again: "It must be remembered that this was the season of the S.E. monsoon, and yet we had not had half a day's S.E. wind since we left Waikiou." He sums up his complaints of the fickle winds on arriving at his journey's end: "And to crown all, during the whole of our voyages from Goram by Ceram to Waikiou, and from Waikiou to Ternate, occupying in all seventy-eight days, or only twelve days short of three months (all in what was supposed to be the favourable season), we had not one single day of fair wind."

## Chapter V..

### The Pacific Ocean

HAVING now shown the identity of the races inhabiting the islands of the Pacific with the remains of a nation still to be found in the islands of the Malay Archipelago, called by the intruding race indigenes or aborigines; that these people were attacked by strange and hostile nations; and that they had the means and capacity of moving by water, it will be the proper place to recount the legends or traditions which describe the several maritime expeditions, the causes of them, and their fate. Sir G. Grey, K.C.B., late Governor of New Zealand, has made the largest collection; the more valuable in that the traditions appear literally as uttered by the tohungas from whom he obtained them. Mr. J. White has also published some legends. Dr. Shortland's "New Zealand Traditions" is a scholarly work, and quite reliable. Of the late Judge Maning's tractate it is sufficient to say that he wrote it. There are other collections of more or less value.

Several expeditions arrived in New Zealand, all from a place called Hawaiki by the Maoris of the present day, and so named in the legends. When the European first settled in the land, the geographical position of Hawaiki was unknown to the natives; they had even lost all notion of its direction. But learned investigators having determined that, of the numerous islands which bore the name of Hawaii under slightly differing forms, the Hawaii of the Sandwich Islands had the best claim to the distinction, the doctrine has spread amongst the natives, and the direction of Hawaiki is now fixed in the north-east. Thus within one generation many legends and traditions become ruined and worthless by the intromission of the ideas and reasoning of a foreign and civilized race. Yet one would have thought that the fact of there being a legendary Hawaiki in New Zealand—a Samoan Sawaii, a Tahitian Hawaii, a Rarotongan Awaiki, a Nukuhivan Hawaiki, a Tongan Habai, and a Hawaian Hawaii—would have caused amongst inquirers a suspicion that such a wide dispersal of one name throughout insignificant islands in a vast ocean, could have originated only by its introduction from some place which lived in the memories of men when the names were conferred, and which was common to all; just as wherever the English race has penetrated there will be found a Thames and an Avon, an Oxford and a Cambridge, all referable, however, to the original home of the race—by no means to each other.

There seem to have been thirteen expeditions into New Zealand, of which accounts have been preserved in the popular traditions, and others of which no specific stories exist, all from Hawaiki. This may be the proper place to notice the dialectic changes which the language spoken in the several islands has undergone—not, indeed, to pursue the investigation into the divergencies of each group, but merely to refer to the general principles (if that word may be used with reference to a process which is certain, but cannot be understood) which govern the phonetic corruption of a form of speech, when segregation of the people using it takes place. With the exception of the change or loss of consonants, a small creation of new words, and the loss of a few from tapu and other causes which need not be referred to, the Polynesian language is now as it was ages ago. In essentials it varies not over the whole Pacific, and a Maori sails through seventy degrees of latitude and ninety of longitude without finding his mother tongue insufficient for his needs.

Professor M. Müller has described in better language than I can find the mysterious system which seems to

order the gradual change or phonetic decay of languages, when groups of people become segregated. One can understand why the Cush of the Bible, the Etais of the Egyptians, became the Ethiopia of the Greeks. But it is difficult to find any reason why the Maori has lost the b, the f, the l, and the s—why other Polynesian or Sawaian dialects have lost the r, and preserved the l, have kept the f and lost the w; but without attempting to explain it, I will briefly quote what Müller says on the subject: "But what is more curious," he says, "than the absence or presence of certain letters in certain languages or families of languages, is the inability of some races to distinguish, either in hearing or speaking, between some of the normal letters of our alphabet.

Thus the author of that very interesting book called "Poenamoa," who is a man of cultivated mind, and who has been forty years in New Zealand, has failed in catching the true sound or spelling of many Maori words. In his title name he has put in a syllable too much at the beginning, and has mistaken a u for an o at the end. More remarkable still is the utter failure of Major Cruise (84th Regiment), who published a book in 1824, entitled, "Journal of a Ten Months Residence in New Zealand," to catch the true sound of Maori words. He gives the following as the charm of the Maori priests for a fair wind:—

- Show rue, show noa,
- Show poo, keedé keedé
- Keedea too pai darro
- Tee tee parera rera
- Kokoia, homai te show

The words which he purported to write are—

- Hau nui, hau roa
- Hau pukerikeri
- Keria tupairangi
- Titiparerarera
- Kokoia, homai te hau.

No two consonants seem more distinct than k and t. Nevertheless, in the language of the Sandwich Islands, these two sounds run into one, and it seems impossible for a foreigner to say whether what he hears is a guttural or a dental. The same word is written by Protestant missionaries with k, by French missionaries with t.

Similarly, Major Cruise writes Toota-cotta for Tutukaka.

It takes months of patient labour to teach a Hawaiian youth the difference between k and t, g and d, l and r." Again: "The s is absent in several of the Polynesian languages, where its place is taken by h. Thus in Tongan we find hahake for sasake; in the New Zealand dialect heke for seke. In Rarotongan the s is entirely lost, as in ae for sae. The word hongu from the Samoan songi, meaning to salute by pressing noses, has been spelt by different writers, shongi, ehongi, heongi, h'ongi, and songi. F and s are wanting in Rarotongan." Mr. Hale in his grammar says: "No Polynesian dialect makes any distinction between the sounds of b and p, d and t, g and k, l and r, v and w. The l, moreover, is frequently sounded like d and t like k." And Müller says the very name of Hawaii, or more correctly Hawaii, confirms the view that consonants are more likely to be lost than vowels. It is pronounced in the Samoan dialect Sawaii, Tahitian Hawaii, Rarotonga Awaiki, Nukuhiwan Hawaiki, New Zealand Hawaiki, from which (he acutely observes) the original form may be inferred to have been Sawaiki. To this list I will add Tongan Habai, Sandwich Islands Hawaii. If Müller had been aware that one of the islands had still preserved the b he probably would have pronounced the original name to have been Sabai, as Strabo wrote it.

It will be convenient ourselves to follow the dialectic change of the language, and in future to abandon the word Sabai and Sabaian and use Hawaii and Hawaiians instead.

The priority of arrival of the several expeditions has been the subject of much dispute amongst the Maoris, each great section claiming the honour of having led the way. Most probably Ngahue's was the first canoe that touched the shores of New Zealand; but the question is not worth the trouble of a minute investigation. It will be convenient to take them in the order in which they are mentioned in Sir G. Grey's very valuable work, which should be consulted, for brief abstracts are here supplied.

## Legend of Poutini and Whaiapu.

The story commences: "Now pay attention to the cause of contention which arose between Poutini and Whaiapu, which led them to emigrate to New Zealand." Then is detailed a quarrel between a woman called Hine-tu-a-Hoanga and a man named Ngahue about a precious stone of green jasper, which resulted in Ngahue's being compelled to flee, "and he found in the sea this island Aotearoa" (New Zealand). After visiting the Southern Island, he passed up the east coast of the Northern Island, and arrived at Whanga-paraoa, and from thence "he returned direct to Hawaiki, and reported that he had discovered a new country which produced the moa and jasper in abundance." "When Ngahue, returning, arrived again in Hawaiki, he found his people all engaged in war; and when they heard his description of the beauty of the country of Aotea, some of them

determined to come here.

"They then felled a totara tree in Rarotonga, which lies on the other side of Hawaiki, that they might build the Arawa from it." The names of the men who built the canoe are then given, and subsequently the names of the axes. A chief named Hoturoa hearing that the Arawa was built, borrowed the workmen, and with their assistance constructed the Tainui and some other canoes. The names of the canoes built by this party were as follows: "The Arawa was first completed, then Tainui, then Matatua, then Takitumu, then Kurahaupo, then Tokomaru and Matawhaorua. These are the names of the canoes in which our forefathers departed from Hawaiki and crossed to this island. When they had lashed the topsides on to the Tainui, Rata slew the son of Manaia, and hid the body in the chips and shavings of the canoes."

## **Voyage of the Arawa.**

When the canoes were launched, the lading of each was put on board, with all the crews. Tama-te-Kapua was the captain of the Arawa. After the proper propitiatory offerings to the gods the anchors were lifted, and the foresail, mainsail, and mizen were set, "and away shot the canoe." The Arawa scudded rapidly, and after a time Ngatoro the priest thought to himself, "What a rate this canoe goes at! what a vast space we have already traversed! I'll climb up upon the roof of the house which is built on the platform joining the two canoes, and try to get a glimpse of land." At length the voyagers met with a frightful storm, and some of the party were washed overboard. Ngatoro, by powerful incantations, quieted the sea, but most of the lading and provisions were lost. They sailed on, and landed at Whanga-paraoa, and found the pohutukawa tree in full bloom. As soon as they landed they planted some sweet potatoes.

The Tainui (canoe) had already arrived in the same neighbourhood. The Tokomaru (canoe) also appeared, and these two parties sailed up the Tamaki River, and hauled their canoes over the portage into the Manukau arm of the sea on the west coast. The Tainui, apparently a very large canoe, was only got over by the aid of powerful incantations. The two canoes in company sailed through the Manukau Heads, and put to sea again, coasted along southwards, and entered Kawhia harbour. Meanwhile the Arawa sailed to Maketu in the Bay of Plenty, where she was hauled ashore, and some time afterwards burnt by a hostile party. The mingimingi trees still growing on Maketu beach are said to have sprung from one of the crossbeams of the canoe, which was accidentally planted. These trees were very *tapu* until quite recently. A man called Ruaeo had been left behind at Hawaiki when the party sailed, but his wife was among the emigrants. He assembled a party, and manned another canoe with 140 men, and reached Maketu before the Arawa. The leaders of these two parties were heroes and giants. "There have been no men since as tall as these heroes." This legend concludes with a recital of the parting words of Houmaitawhiti to the party when they embarked at Hawaiki: "Do you, my dear children, depart in peace; and when you reach the place you are going to, do not follow after the deeds of Tu, the god of war; if you do, you will perish, as if swept off by the winds. But rather follow quiet and peaceful occupations; then you will die tranquilly, a natural death. Depart, and dwell in peace with all; leave war and strife behind you here. Depart and dwell in peace. It is war and its evils which are driving you hence. Dwell in peace where you are going; conduct yourselves like men; let there be no quarrelling amongst you, but build up a great people."

It appears from a legend which Sir G. Grey has named "The Curse of Manaia," that Ngatoro the priest assembled a party, built another canoe in place of the Arawa, which had been burnt, and returned to Hawaiki, landing at a place called Taraiwhenua, and took revenge for an affront by slaughtering a great number of the people of Manaia, who had uttered a curse of a most terrible character. After this exploit Ngatoro returned to Maketu. Manaia, who had escaped the destruction which overtook so many of his people, assembled an army and suddenly appeared before Motiti, where Ngatoro had taken up his residence, "with a large fleet of canoes and a whole host of warriors;" and here he anchored. But Ngatoro, by powerful incantations, raised a great storm which destroyed the fleet. And when the morning broke, "the aged wife of Ngatoro went out of her house and looked to see what had become of the host of Manaia; and as she cast her eyes along the shore, there she saw them lying dead, cast up on the beach."

## **Emigration of Turi.**

Hoimatua killed and ate a boy called Potikiroroa, a relation of Turi. Turi, in revenge, killed another boy, called Hawepotiki, son of Uenuku. He ate the boy's body, and served up the heart at a feast, in a dainty dish, of which Uenuku partook (reminding one of classical times). Turi, dreading the revenge which impended, constructed two canoes, which he named Matahorua and Aotea. He gave the one to his daughter Kuramarotini, and the other to his daughter Rongorongu. "Matahorua was the canoe in which a large part of the world was explored, and Reti was the name of the man who navigated it." A chief named Kupe, desirous of possessing Kuramarotini, who was the wife of a man called Hoturapa, treacherously slew the husband, and fled away with the wife. He discovered the islands of New Zealand," and coasted entirely round them, without finding any

inhabitants." "He found only two inhabitants in the country, a bird which he named the Kokako, and another bird which he named the Tiwaiwaka. He did not remain in these islands, but returned to his own house" in the fourth year after he had slain Hawepotiki. Turi was then on the point of fleeing to escape the vengeance of Uenuku, and when he heard of Kupe's discoveries he determined to start. Kupe gave him sailing directions. "Now mind, Turi, keep ever steering to the eastward, where the sun rises; keep the bow of your canoe ever steadily directed towards that point of the sky." "Then were carried on board all the articles which the voyagers were to take; and their friends put on board for them seed sweet potatoes, of the species called Te Kakau, and dried stones of the berries of the karaka tree, and some live edible rats in boxes, and some tame green parrots, and added some pet pukekos (water-hens); and many other valuable things were put on board the canoe; whence the proverb, 'The Aotea's valuable freight.'" The canoe had a deck and a house amidships. The canoe leaking badly, the expedition put into an island "which lies in mid-ocean, which they named Rangitahua." Here they repaired and refitted her.

There seems to have been a fleet in company, for mention is made of other canoes. "Amongst the chiefs who landed there with them was one named Porua, whose canoe was called Te Ririno. They were carrying some dogs with them, as these would be very valuable in the islands they were going to, for supplying by their increase food, and skins for warm cloaks." Offerings were made to the gods, and the chiefs prepared to leave their island of refuge and put to sea again. A sharp discussion ensued between Potoru and Turi, as to the course to be steered, Turi advocating an easterly course, and Potoru a westerly one. Turi urged the directions of Kupe. "Why! did not Kupe, who had visited these islands, particularly tell us, 'Now mind, let nothing induce you to turn the prow of the canoe from that quarter of the heaven in which the sun rises'?" However, finally, Turi yielded, and the party started on a westerly course, A current brought the fleet into danger, and the Ririno was wrecked. Thereupon Turi again shaped an easterly course towards the rising sun; and whilst yet in mid-ocean a child was born to Turi, whom he named Tutawa. Their stock of sweet potatoes was now reduced to nine, and one was offered to the spirits on the baptism of the infant. When they drew near land, one of the crew was insolent; so Turi threw him overboard. At the time they landed the pohutukawa tree blossoms were falling off (February). Turi left his canoe in the harbour Aotea, which he named after it, planted his karaka seed, and started on an expedition inland. He arrived at Patea, and built a pa, and commenced cultivation with his remaining eight sweet potatoes.

## **The Emigration of Manaia.**

"The cause which led Manaia to come here from Hawaiki was his being very badly treated by a large party of his friends and neighbours, whom, according to the usual custom, when a chief had any heavy work to be done, he had collected to make spears for him, for they violently ravished his wife Rongotiki." Fighting ensued, and Manaia resolved to emigrate. He fitted up a canoe called Tokomaru belonging to his brother-in-law, embarked with his wife, children, and dependants, sacrificed his brother-in-law as an offering to the gods, caught the dog of the victim, and sailed away "in search of a new country for himself." They reached land; it was this island, Aotearoa. "There were some other canoes coming close after the canoe Tokomaru, which presently made the land too, and reached the shore just where the Tokomaru had been drawn up on the beach." The usual quarrelling followed, and Manaia again put to sea, doubled the North Cape, and thence "made a direct course to Taranaki," landed at Tongaporutu, and left their god Rakeiora there. After visiting Mokau the party returned to Tongaporutu, where they left their vessel, and commenced an exploring expedition inland. At the mouth of the Waitara they found people living, the aborigines of these islands, but Manaia and his party slew them all. At Waitara Manaia finally settled and became the ancestor of the great Ngatiawa tribes.

Mr. John White's publication contains allusions to or accounts of other canoes which made these islands from Hawaiki. There are the Mamari, commanded by Nukutawhiti, and the Riukakara, which sailed in search of Tuputupuwhenua, and peopled the northern parts of New Zealand with tribes, since called Ngapuhi, from the name of an ancestor. There was the Mahuhu, from whose crew are descended the Ngatiwhatua tribes; the Takitumu, commanded by Tata, which landed at the place called Nelson in the Southern Island, and peopled that country; the Tuwhenua, whose passengers were afflicted with leprosy; the Kurahaupo, under Ruatea, which colonised Wellington; and the Matatua, which reached the Bay of Plenty under the captains Ruauru and Toroa. The construction of these two last named is mentioned in Sir G. Grey's legends, but their history is not given.

There is no necessity to pursue the tracks of the wanderers, as they finally apportioned amongst themselves the territory they had discovered and occupied. The accounts of their land quarrels are abundant, and on the whole very consistent. There are contradictions and inconsistencies in the legends above abstracted, but not of sufficient importance to affect the generally reliable character of the traditions, and many apparent difficulties disappear on careful examination and comparison. For instance, if the Manaia who is said to have been lost in the storm at Motiti is the same person as the Manaia who settled ultimately at Waitara, we must suppose that the incantations of Ngatoro were less potent than he boasted, that some of Manaia's expedition were lost, and

that the rest got safely away. It will be remembered that the only persons on the island were Ngatoro and his aged wife, and they would be much tempted to exaggerate the deadly effect of the old priest's charms when recounting the disappearance of the hostile host to their own people. In fact, as the storm occurred in the night, and it was not until the morning that the old woman perceived the effects of it upon the hostile fleet, she could not have known how many vessels sailed away during the night. All that remained for her observation were the bodies of the enemy and the pieces of the broken canoes that were washed ashore on the beach of Motiti.

The general bearing of the legends is very clear. A people living at a place or in a country called Hawaiki constructed powerful vessels in the form of double canoes, with decks and houses amidships, capable of carrying considerable numbers of people, with the requisite food supplies,

It is said of only one canoe, the Takitumu, that the passengers were compelled to prey upon each other.

that they were propelled by paddles worked by strong crews, and by sails attached to three masts, that they were capable of withstanding storms, and that they could progress in any direction that the commanders desired. It also appears that landings were made at islands on the route, and that their course was towards the rising sun. The expeditions arrived in the month of February, for the crews on landing found the pohutukawa blossoms falling off. The south-easterly monsoons blow, according to Wallace, from March to November, so that there were the three fine summer months for the voyages, with an absence of the foul winds which generally prevailed during the rest of the year in the tropical latitudes. As the sun during that season rises 20 to 23 degrees south of the equator, and the navigators pointed their prows to the rising sun, their course—supposing that they started from Mindanao or some of the Philippine Islands—would have some southing in it. If they continued that course of sailing, they would fall in with the north-easterly breezes which prevail at that season of the year to the north of New Zealand, and, running before it, they could scarcely miss New Zealand, which extends over 600 miles in latitude. A course as suggested would account for the expeditions generally making land on the north-east coast. The return voyages were probably made during the autumn, when the south-east winds blow.

The only parts of the legend which suggest serious doubts as to their reliability are the causes which led to the exodus. I confess that I am not satisfied that quarrels about women, and affronts to personal dignity by curses, could have produced such serious results as the desertion of their country by large bodies of men, and the incurring of the dangers of long voyages in search of a land, of the existence of which, on the first expeditions, they had no knowledge. It appears to me much more reasonable to suppose that the movements were caused by the severe pressure of hostile invasion, and that the people fled in large numbers, simply because the uncertain dangers of the sea were preferable to the certain dangers of remaining on the land; and that, in order to conceal this humiliating circumstance, national pride caused the priests, when telling the story of the migrations to a new generation, to invent the histories of internal commotions, which would be rather flattering than otherwise to their dignity.

But a more important point for consideration is, where is Hawaiki, from which all the expeditions sailed, and to which return voyages were made. All that can be discovered from the legends is that it was situated to the west, or rather to the northwest, of New Zealand, that it was a maritime country, and (guided by the Maui legend) that its climate was much hotter than that of New Zealand. The karaka tree, the green parrot, and the blue waterhen render no assistance. Mr. Cheeseman, curator of the Auckland Museum, a good authority in these matters, says that the karaka tree is found in no country but New Zealand, and that the New Zealand green parrot and blue waterhen are not found in the Philippines or Moluccas. The allusion to these things, therefore, in the legend must be an interpolation. Java, Sawai in Ceram, Haparua, Saibai, will all or any of them satisfy the required condition. Probably there were many other names derived from and similar to the historic protonom scattered over the islands of the Indian Archipelago, and many may be there still, for the geography of these islands is imperfectly known except on the coast line.

It is to be regretted that the ordinary maps and the Admiralty charts contain few native names of the innumerable islands which dot the Pacific Ocean.

Thus, of the four names just mentioned, only one appears on ordinary maps. But the most probable supposition is that the name Sabaii or Hawaii had, as far as it was possible amongst a number of detached tribes, gradually come to signify the whole of the district inhabited by them, just as Sabaia was the general designation of the country of their ancestors, although comprising many tribes each of which had a distinctive name. In the same way 'Waikato' at this day is used as the designation of a great extent of country in New Zealand, and applies to a considerable number of tribes peopling it, all of whom have distinctive names, although the term Waikato, strictly speaking, applies to a small hill at the mouth of the river Waikato, and secondarily to the river itself. Judging from the names that remain in the Malay Archipelago, Moors or Moris in Luzon and Maruts in Borneo, it may not be an extravagant supposition to assign the home of the Maoris there to the islands now called the Philippines. The Morioris who came to the Chatham Islands by a separate immigration may have taken their name from the island still called Mariere, to the north of Gilolo. But from

whichever of these islands the Maori expeditions started, it is clear from the legends that the parties in the several expeditions were no strangers to each other; and in truth the movement of so many considerable fleets, starting almost simultaneously, and all, after the first which has the appearance of an exploring expedition, aiming at the same point, present entirely the aspect of a well-considered and carefully-arranged general migration of a people. The course of the fleets, in all probability, was along the north shore of Papua which is still dotted with Maori names. Amongst others appears the historic name in the form Saibai. A greater acquaintance with the interior, and, we may safely say, with the coast line of the Papuan islands and with the inhabitants, would no doubt increase these vestiges of Maori passage.

Judge Fornander has been fortunate enough to meet with a very clear account of the wanderings of that portion of the Hawaiian nation that peopled the Marquesas Islands (Nukuhiva). As this tradition has preserved the names of the places at which stoppages were made, I have thought it well to insert it verbatim, extracting it from Mr. Fernander's interesting book, "An Account of the Polynesian Race." It is important as showing a general consensus of tradition amongst the Polynesians, that the origin of their race was from the west, and that their ancient home bore the name of Sabaii or Hawaii.

"The two Marquesan accounts of the wanderings of then people ere they reached their present abodes, while they entirely agree in the earlier and later stages of the journey, materially disagree in the middle portions. Apparently they are the representations or reminiscences of two tribes or branches of the same family, travelling together, or following each other over the earlier portions of the journey, then separating for several stages, and finally uniting again, or striking the same trail, so to say, until they arrived at the Marquesas group. These itineraries are called by the principal personages whom they represent, or whom the travellers claimed as their ancestors, the Atea and the Tani migrations. Here are their way-bills:—

Thence 'over the ocean' to

Their name for the Marquesas Islands.

"The chant or legendary poem which accompanies the Atea account appears to be imperfect or partly forgotten. It gives short and passing descriptions of the eight first stations, then passes over Fiti-nui in silence; then notices Mata-hou, but takes no notice of Tona-nui and Mau-ewa. I have seen no chant explanatory of the Tani migration. If any such exists among the Marquesans, it is to be hoped that some resident gentleman of leisure and archæological predilections may collect and publish them before the priests of the heathen time and the old people generally, from whom they may be collected, have become extinct. From the chants to which I have had access, through the politeness of Professor W. D. Alexander, and which have been collected and carefully translated by Mr. T. C. Lawson, a resident on Hiwaoa or St. Dominica Island, the following prosaic and historical *resumé* of the Take, as the Marquesans are called in the chants, may be presented:—

*"Take-hee-hee, or Ahee-tai, as another legend calls it, was the oldest original home of which the Takes had any remembrance. It is described as a mountain-land, with a settlement or inhabited district at Tai-ao, another at Meini-taha-hua, and another near the water (lake or river) of Nuu-teea. Wars and commotions having arisen among themselves, the people were driven out of this land, and migrated to—*

*"Ao-nuu, which is described in the chant as—*

*'He henua hiwaoa mei Ahee-tai,*

*He henua hiwahiwa Ao-mai.'*

*'A beautiful country, far from Ahee-tai,*

*A beautiful country is Ao-mai.'*

While dwelling in Ao-nuu, a chief ruled over the country, whose name was Faaina. After him came Anu-o-Aatuna. After that the chief Atea killed Umui, by which civil wars arose, and Atea and many other 'Takes' were driven out, and obliged to seek new homes in other lands. They then migrated to—

*"Papa-nui, which seems to have been reached by sea; for a legend relates that the chief Tiki-Matohe and his wife Hina left Aonuu, with their followers and outfit of pigs, fowls, and fruit, in a double canoe, and thus with a favourable wind arrived at Papanui. This land is described as a high tableland, surrounded by the sea. It appears also that the Tani branch of the family arrived at Papa-nui after Atea; for one of the chants mentions his cordial reception as one of the same family as Atea, and how, for his entertainment, pigs were brought from Ao-tumi, and turtle from Ono-tapu, and fowls from below Ii-Hawa and Nuu-teea.*

*The next stopping-place was—*

*"Take-hee, which is said to—*

*'Tu hiwaoa eeke eeke i te hee.'*

Here the two branches seem to have separated; the Tani legend mentioning five lands not visited, or at least not recorded by the Atea legend, while the latter makes only two stopping-places between Take-hee and

Tu-uma, where the Tani branch seems to have joined it again, or come in upon its track. But while thus separated the Atea branch visits Hawa-ii, which the legend calls—

*'Tai mamao uta-oa tu te Ii.'*

*'The distant sea or region; far inland stand the volcanoes.'*

The hupe kohanui, mio, and temanu trees are said by one chant to have been growing there in abundance. It is also said to have been subject to tremendous hurricanes, followed by famines. Two of the chants give rather particular descriptions of the Hawa-ii remembered by the Marquesans. One mentions five headlands or capes, Fiti-tona-tapu, Pua, Ao, Ao-ena, and Ao-oma, and one mountain, which it calls Mouna-tika-oe. The other chant, of evidently later origin, mentions a mountain called Mouna-oa, which is said to have been raging, burning (Ii) on top, and served as a landmark for Tupaa when he left Hawa-ii, with his family and followers.

"The order in which this Hawa-ii appears on the Marquesan *carte de voyage*, and other considerations, make it impossible to identify it with the North Pacific Hawaiian group, or even with the Sawa-ii of the Samoan group. The constant and emphatic expression of all these legends, that the wanderers came from 'below'—mei, iao, mai—from the direction towards which the wind was blowing, and were always going 'up,' iuna, in the direction from which the wind was blowing, makes it evident that the Hawa-ii to which they refer must have been situated to the westward, or 'below' the Fiti, Viti, Fiji group, from which, with one intermediate station, whose name I am not now able to identify, they proceeded to the Tonga group, Tona-nui, and thence to the Society group, or Mau-ewa, which name I consider to be the same as Ma-ewa, a district on the island of Huahine; thence to Pi-ina, now not known by that name; and thence the wanderers, still going on up the wind, crossed the ocean—una te tai—to the Marquesas, or Te Ao-maama.

"That the Marquesans in after-times visited the Hawaiian group there can be little doubt, and it is quite probable that the whole or a portion of the early Hawaiian settlers came from, or passed through, the Marquesas group; but that the Hawa-ii of the Marquesan *carte de voyage* is the North Pacific Hawaii is not credible under any proper analysis of the legend. It was, then, to the westward of the Fiji group, and, according to the legend, removed by two stages. But one of these is said in the chant to be 'near to Hawa-ii'—

*'Te Tuuma i Hawa-ii tata ae,'*

while the situation of the other, Mea-ai, is not indicated.

"We thus find ourselves again in face of a western Hawa-ii, far west of the Fiji group; but whether it is the same Hawaii to which the Hawaiian legends refer, there are no means to decide. Probably it was not. The Hawa, Sawa, and Djawa name, and its composites, were not uncommon appellations of island places and districts throughout the Asiatic archipelago, and some one of these may have been the Hawa-ii in question.

Here the Tani account of the migrations may offer an indication, at least, of the direction in which this Hawa-ii is to be sought for. Tracing that account backward from Ao-maama, and beyond the Fiji group, through places identical with the Atea account, we find that Vevau is the station just previous to Tuuma, and not Hawa-ii, as the other account calls it. I have already shown that the Vevau referred to in the earlier Marquesan legends corresponds, in all probability, to Timor of the Asiatic archipelago; and thus understood, the Tani account renders the journey both intelligible and credible. Whether Hawa-ii in those ancient times was another name for Vevau or Timor, or whether in the Atea account it is used as a representative name for the Asiatico-Polynesian area, and the eastern and last portion especially, it is now impossible to say.

"The current traditional belief among the southern Marquesans, that they came from Hawaii, which in ordinary parlance has become synonymous with 'the regions below, the invisible world,' and the similarly current belief among the northern Marquesans, that they came from Vavao, an island 'below,' *i.e.*, to westward of Nuku-hiwa, point to the earlier legend and its two migrations, that of Atea and that of Tani. And dialectical differences between the northern and southern portions of the group confirm the fact of a double origin; whether from two originally distinct tribes, or at two widely separate epochs, I am unable to determine. Mr. Hale, in the ethnographical portion of 'The United States Exploring Expedition' (p. 127), inclines to the conclusion that the Marquesans were colonists from Sawaii, of the Samoan group. I think it quite probable and very natural that a considerable portion of the Marquesans did come from the Samoa, either direct or via the Society group; but the legendary Hawa-ii and Vevau of the Marquesans lay unquestionably farther west than either the Samoan or the Tonga group.

"There is no time, or attempt at specification of time, connected with these Marquesan legends; and the conformity of names in the legends with those on the only Marquesan genealogy which I have seen will not even warrant a conjecture. A better acquaintance with, and a critical comparison of, the Marquesan genealogies still extant might furnish some approximative data for determining the period of these migrations.

"I am very little acquainted with the Samoan traditions and legendary lore, and am unable, therefore, to state what reference, if any, the ancient legends of that group may make to the Polynesian migrations into the Pacific, the time of their occurring, or whence they started.

"The name of the Samoan group, however, affords, in my opinion, some indication of the extraction of the

people who named and inhabit it. The group is called by the natives Samoa; in the Tonga and other dialects, Hamoa. The early Spanish visits to the Molucca Islands give the ancient names of Gilolo as 'Mau rica' and 'Bato-chine,' and mentions the middle part of Gilolo as being called Gamoca-nora. The affinity or identity of Gamoca, as the Spaniards pronounced it, and Hamoa or Samoa, is intelligible, and will no doubt be unquestioned by Polynesian scholars; but the epithet nora I am unable to explain, unless it connects with the Polynesian (Hawaiian) noa, meaning 'constantly burning, un- quenched as a volcano,' and thus referring to the former active state of the volcanoes on Gilolo.

"In the absence of positive evidence to the contrary, it is therefore extremely probable that the Samoans came from the Gilolo group, and to the north of the Papuan Archipel; and with them, or by the same route, came the Hawaiians, possibly also the Society islanders; while the Marquesans and the Tongans came by the same route and Torres Straits, the former from Timor, the latter from Buru. From what has been already said, it is equally probable that some portion of the Fiji group was the primary rendezvous of these two, three, or more streams of migration; and that, whether expelled or leaving voluntarily, a new division took place there, according to tribal, dialectical, or other affinities and predilections; some seeking new homes in the north-east, others in the east and south-east. And it has been shown by one genealogy at least that this ethnic movement embraced a period of from seven to thirteen generations previous to the forty-third recognised and generally considered as authentic ancestor of the present Hawaiian chief families.

"Of these thirteen names borne on most of the Hawaiian genealogies, very little is known that throws any historical light on that period. David Malo, an Hawaiian gentleman educated by the earlier missionaries, states in his 'Hawaiian Antiquities,' that many well-informed people of the olden time maintained that the six first generations after Wakea still lived in O-lolo-i-mehani. Be that as it may, it is evident that the Tahiti mentioned in these earlier legends—to and from which Papa, Wakea's wife, made so many voyages, where she took other husbands, and had other children, from whom the Polynesian Tahitians claim their descent, and where she finally died—could not have been the Tahiti of the South Pacific, but must be sought for in some of the islands of the Asiatic archipelago. It is presumable that when, in after ages, the intercourse between the Polynesian tribes was renewed, the scenes of those early legends were shifted and modified to suit the requirements of the new area which they then occupied; and thus O-lolo-i-mehani became located on Oahu of the Hawaiian group, while the Tahiti of the legend was transposed to Tahiti of the Georgian or Society group."

The number of Polynesian names of places still existing in the islands of the Malay Archipelago is very considerable. Mr. Fornander has selected a number of them which the Hawaiians carried with them in their migration and reproduced in their new homes in the Pacific Islands. To his list I have added a few names. In reading this list, the observations previously made as to the altered appearance which names will present in consequence of the loss or the mutation of the consonants of the different dialects now spoken in the Pacific Islands must be borne in mind.

JAVA, SAWAI, SAIBAI, reappear as Hawaiki in New Zealand, Sabaii in Samoa, Havaii in Tahiti, Avaiki in Rarotonga, Havaiki in Nukuhiva, Habai in Tonga, Hawaii in the Sandwich Islands.

MARIERE, one of the Molucca Islands; Morioris, the name of the Chatham Islanders.

OAHU, one of the Hawaiian group; Ouahou, a tract of country in south-east Borneo, and to Ouadju in Central Celebes.

MOLOKAI, of the Hawaiian group; Morotai, one of the Moluccas, north-east of Gilolo. Also Borotai, a village in Borneo.

LEHUA, LEFUKA, and LEVUKA, of the Hawaiian, Tonga, and Fiji groups respectively, and Lefu, one of the Loyalty Islands Labouk, in Borneo.

NIIHAU, one of the Hawaiian group; Lifao, a place in the island of Timor.

MOREA, one of the Society group, and a village in New Zealand; Morea, a name of a mountain range in Java.

BORABORA, one of the Society group, and Polapola, name of places in Ewa, Oahu, in Koolau, and many other islands, and Purapura, places in New Zealand; Pulo-pora, an island near Sumatra.

VAVAO, one of the Habai group in the Friendly Islands, and Mature-Wawao, or Acteon Island, of the Paumotu group; Babao, an ancient name of the Bay of Coupang, Isle of Timor; also of a village and district there, and probably the name of the whole island before the Malays conquered it and called it Timor.

NAMUKA, one of the Tonga (Friendly) Islands, also one of the Fiji group, and Ngarauka, a place in New Zealand; Namusa, one of the Menguis group in the Moluccas.

KAUAI, one of the Hawaiian group; Tawai, one of the Batchian Islands, west of Gilolo; also Kawai, south-west of Sumatra.

PANGAI, one of the Tonga Islands; Pagai Island, west coast, Sumatra.

PANGOPANGO, harbour and village on island of Tutuila, Samoa group, and a village in New Zealand; and Paopao, a land in Kohala, Hawaiian group, and Paopao, or Cook's Harbour, on island of Eimeo, Society Islands;

Papango, a district of Luzon, Philippine Islands.

PUNA, name of districts in Hawaii and Kauai, Hawaiian group, and many other varieties of this name in New Zealand and in other islands; Puna, the name of a mountain tribe in Borneo.

KAPAPALA, name of a land in Kau, Hawaii; also a district called Papara in Tahiti, Society group; Papal, a name of district in Borneo inhabited by Dyaks.

ANAHOLA, a land in the district of Koolau, Kauai, Hawaiian group; Ankola, district of Batta, Sumatra.

LAIE, a land in Koolauloa, Oahu, Hawaiian group, and a land in Kula in Maui Island; Laye, a place in Sumatra.

MANA, a district of Kauai, Hawaiian group, and Mana, an island in New Zealand; Mana, a district near Bencoolen.

KIPU, name of lands on Molokai and at Kona, Hawaii; Tibu, south-west point, Island of Buru.

TAIOA, name of place and bay in Nukuhiwa, Marquesas, and Kaioa, a land in Koolau, Oahu; Kaioa, Island, west of Gilolo.

LAWAI, a land in Kauai, Hawaiian group; Lawai, river and land of Borneo, inhabited by Dyaks.

GILOLO is mentioned in legends, and appears as Hihifo in the Friendly Islands.

FATU-HIWA, one of the Marquesas; Batou, a place on the south side of Timor.

HALAWA, name of several islands in Hawaiian group; Salaway north-east cape of Jilolo.

KEPA, a village on Kauai; Tapa, a village on the island of Baba.

MANOA, valley in Oahu; Manoa Islands, off south-east prong of Celebes.

Besides these references—and their number could be greatly increased—there are numerous places on all the principal Polynesian groups which preserve names still known in the Indian Archipelago, such as Waikapu, Wailuku, Waipa, Waipipiha, Waigama in Mysol, Waiputi and Waiapo in Bouru and New Zealand, Waikui in Timor, Waikio an island. And the Indian Archipelago abounds in names which will be at once recognised as belonging to the Polynesian dialects.

In Sumatra, Moera-dua.

In Ceram, Sawai, Wahai, Teluti, Hoia, Makariki, Ruatau, Awaia, Awahei, Hatorua, Warenama, Batuassa (Patuaha), Kiriwaru, Waipoti.

In Celebes, Tondano, Tomohou, Rurukau, Pangu, Kakahi.

In Bouru, Waiapo, Waiputi.

In Papua, Oetanata, Lakahia, Kowaihi.

Then we have islands: Aru, Saparua, Haruka, Waikio, Motu, Kaioa, Tomore, Amahei, Uta, Kiriwaru, Te Anate, Tanakaki, Muka, Ke.

It would be satisfactory if an examination could be made of the grammar of the languages now spoken by the Harapuras and Moris of the Indian Archipelago; but we must await the time when missionaries will furnish the means of making such an investigation. A grammar or dictionary of the Mahri dialect of South Arabia exists, but, as stated before, I have been unable to obtain a copy. Notwithstanding the absence of such valuable documents, I venture to think that the identity of the Polynesian people with the so-called aborigines of the Philippines, Moluccas, and Sunda Islands is sufficiently established, and that their origin has been further traced from the Cushite tribes of South Arabia, and ultimately from their congeners in the Euphrates Valley.

It is noteworthy that the Polynesian race have preserved no ethnic designation for the whole people. They call themselves mostly after the islands in which they live. New Zealand and the Hawaiian islands furnish exceptions. In both these groups the natives are known by the term Maori or Maoli. Although the word Maori is used as an adjective signifying indigenous, or sound, healthy or useful, as rakau maori, or wai maori, as distinguished from salt water, yet there is no doubt that it is (as Dr. Shortland shows) a true ethnic title. This view is confirmed by the fact that the Chatham islanders, who arrived by a distinct migration, bear the same name, Morion. This absence of a general national name affords strong corroborative evidence that the view taken that the people maintained their tribal formation, and migrated in tribes, is the correct one. The tribal names may be traced through all the wanderings of the Maori people. We can recall the Moors, or Moris, of Luzon, the vernacular word no doubt being Maori, as in Mauritania, whose people we call Moors;

Nec eget Mauri jaculis nec arcu.—HORACE, Ode xxiii. The early Spanish voyagers called Gilolo, the Island of the Indian Archipelago so often mentioned, 'Maurica.'

also Pulo Mariere, the Indian island; also the Maruts, the indigenes of Amboyna; also the Amharic language, which Rawlinson says greatly assisted him in translating the Babylonian cylinders; and above all, the Homeritæ, the principal tribe of the Sabaïans in South Arabia, represented now by the Mahri, which was probably, even in the classical times, the vernacular word.

It is not part of our undertaking to enter into any inquiry as to the subsequent migrations of this ancient race amongst the islands of the Pacific. In such migrations the Maoris have taken no part. The sum of our investigations, I submit, is—1. That the Maoris are the same people as the Maruts, Moors, or Moris of the

Malay Archipelago, the Mahri or Homeritai and Himyarites of South Arabia, and that their eponymic ancestor is Himyar, the third in descent from Joktan the son of Eber, the ancestor of the Hebrews; and 2. That the other tribes of Polynesia are members of the same great family and nation, branching off, genealogically speaking, from the same stock in the epoch of Himyar. And that they all, under the names of Chaldeans, Babylonians, Cushites, Akkadians, or Ethiopians, dwelt together with representatives of all the Noachic families of man in the plains of Shinar, from the very earliest ages, speaking a language which bore as much resemblance to the Maori language of to-day as the Aramaic

Sec Gen. xxxi. 47.

of Abraham and his ancestors does to the existing Hebrew of that patriarch's descendants—probably much greater resemblance.

## Chapter IV..

### Concluding Observations

THERE are some concluding observations of a miscellaneous character which I now crowd together, "rudis indigestaque moles," because the dread of length prompts me to refrain from enlarging. Thoughtful men who have studied the Maori language have been much puzzled by the presence of a very considerable number of Aryan and other words in the Maori dialect. A Nelson gentleman has a list of several hundreds. I have collected many, some of them very remarkable.

ENGLISH. MAORI. LATIN. GREEK. EGYPTIAN. AKKADIAN. HEBREW. PORPOISE TUPOPO ... ..  
 ... .. URCHIN KINA ECHINUS ... .. (SEA) CALL OUT, CLANGOUR KARANGA CLANGOR ... ..  
 KARA RANK OR RANGE RANGA ... .. TOWN PA ... .. PA PA ... Firma-ment rangi ... .. haki'a  
 SPIRIT WAIRUA ... .. VADUKHU RUAH Mountain maunga MONS ... .. Ridge of a mountain tihi ...  
 ... .. DIZ ... Wind HAU ANU TARA'AKI aura ... .. TEN TEKAU DECEM ... ..

ENGLISH. MAORI. LATIN. GREEK. EgyptiaN. AKKADIAN. HEBREW. To blow hau ... .. Dead  
 mate mortuus ... .. mot Death hemonga mate mors ... .. Woman hine ... .. Fish ika ... .. kha ... The te  
 ... .. A he ... .. Fire ahi ignis ... (Sanskrit) ... .. kapura ... (acc.) aki ... esh Stream awa ... .. wa yohr  
 (Avon) ... .. Love aroha ... (acc.) ... .. ahava alofa (Hawai) ... .. To go haere ire ... ..  
 Fairy patu- paiere ... ..

The list might be vastly increased. Rawlinson has noticed the same singular manifestation in the primitive Chaldean language. "One of the most remarkable results," he says, "of an analysis of the Hamite cuneiform alphabet is the evidence of an Aryan element in the vocabulary of the very earliest period, thus showing either that in that remote age there must have been an Aryan race dwelling on the Euphrates among the Hamite tribes, or that (as I myself think more probable) the distinction between Aryan, Semitic, and Turanian tongues had not been developed when picture-writing was first used in Chaldæa, but that the words then in use passed indifferently at a subsequent period, and under certain modifications, into the three great families among which the languages of the world were divided." We must be very cautious, therefore, in drawing direct ethnological inferences from the linguistic indications of a very early age. "It will be far wiser," adds Rawlinson, "in these early times to follow the general scheme of ethnic affiliation which is given in the tenth chapter of Genesis, and to lay as little stress as possible on presumed affinities or diversities of language."

The Maori language abounds in vowel sounds. No two consonants come together, the ng being in fact one nasal sound. Every word ends with a vowel, and the general effect upon the ear is particularly soft and pleasant. It is a language admirably adapted for vocal music. Dr. J. H. Carter, in the *Bombay Journal* of 1847, speaking of the language spoken to this day by the Arabs of Mahrah, in Arabia, says "it is the softest and sweetest language I ever heard."

Confirmation of the previously indicated migrations of the Polynesians may also be had from the names of the points of the compass in use in the Polynesian Islands at the present time, as they indicate a residence at some previous time on lands whose characteristics or physical surroundings were different from those which the people now inhabit. Thus in Hawaiian songs and legends we find the names Ulunui, Melemele and in Maori legends the name Uru for the north, being, as we have seen, the names of their ancient towns to the north of their former habitat in South Arabia.

Hau-a-uru, the name in Maori of the westerly wind, was doubtless introduced into the language at a later date, when the people were living in the Indian Islands. The wind from Uru would then be a north-westerly wind, and Hau-a-uru, wind from Uru, would fitly describe it. Ra-whiti is the east, where the sun rises; Ra-ki is the north, where the sun is on the meridian; and Ra-to is the west, where the sun sets or dies—Ea-tu of the Akkadians, Ra-tum of the Egyptians.

Mr. Fornander well notices that in many of the groups (including New Zealand) the expressions "up" and

"down"—runga and raro—meaning northwards and southwards, point strongly to a former habitat in lands where the regular monsoons prevailed. As the south-east wind blew for nine months out of the twelve, it was the prevailing wind, and one is said to go up, runga, when travelling against the wind, and to go down, raro, when going before it. Thus the terms became fixed as indicating the quarters from which the wind came or to which it blew. The words can have no application in New Zealand, where there are no trade winds, and are consequently older than the residence of the Maoris here.

Dread of tedious length forbids me to enter into an investigation of the religion, or want of religion (in our sense of the word) of the people as we find them, or to compare their gods (such as they are) with the gods they so ardently adored in their first and second homes. Every idea of religion as connected with the gods is lost, and in some cases even their names. Nor can I refer to their customs, such as salutation by hongī, or rubbing noses; tattooing; cooking with hot stones in the open air; the law of tapu, or pomale, as it is called in the Indian archipelago; astrology, still practised in Hawaii; their skill in cutting hard stones, as may be witnessed here every day, and as the beautiful seals in the British Museum testify of the ancestors of the Maoris; the custom of carrying burdens by the balance beam, common to all parts of Polynesia, except New Zealand; their weapons of war; their canoes, still sewn together; their huts, still bound by withes, as recorded by Strabo, was the custom of their ancestors in Arabia; their great skill in weaving, which will recall to our minds the beautiful Babylonian garments which we read of in the Bible, one of which, "a goodly Babylonish raiment," proved so fatal to Achan; their treatment of the dead; the horrible rite of human sacrifices; the division of the year: the preparation and use of holy water; the custom of circumcision—an almost universal custom amongst the Polynesians, except in New Zealand and the Southern Marquesas, where the practice has long been obsolete;—all these subjects I must pass over.

There are, however, one or two matters of interest which I may notice. In a cave at Weka Pass, in the other island, are some rock paintings of undoubted antiquity, in the colour red, the sacred colour of the Maoris, as it was of the Chaldeans. The most prominent of these ancient pictures are large serpents and lizards or crocodiles of enormous size relatively to the human figures there also depicted. No such reptiles ever inhabited New Zealand. A superstitious reverence for, and terrible dread of, even the most harmless lizard existed, and exists still in a diminished degree, throughout the Polynesian Islands. What was the origin of this popular sentiment? Throughout all the islands we hear accounts of huge taniwhas which inhabit certain secluded places, but which, when diligently sought for, as Mr. Colenzo has well shown, are never to be found. There can be no doubt this terrible dread arose from legends of the olden time, strictly handed down from father to son, containing histories of some fearful monsters which had terrified and warred upon their ancestors. The python (Anaconda) is still extremely common in Mindanao, and of enormous size. The image of the large lizard placed on one of the Marais at Tahiti, and the long row of lizards still to be seen in Pokiha's carved house at Maketu, and, in fact, in every New Zealand pa, are simply memories of the terrible crocodiles which were the source of perpetual danger, and the occasion of heroic exploits, in the lands from which their forefathers came.

A careful observer will discover in almost all the carved figures of the Maori ancestors a mythological figure with a hawk's head attacking the shoulders of the principal image. I have made numerous inquiries amongst the Maoris as to the meaning and origin of this ever-present animal. The general answer is that it is a manaia; occasionally it is said to be a kotuku. Further inquiry will educe a story, evidently of recent invention, though fitted on to an old legend. The origin of this figure is certainly very ancient, and its meaning is clearly lost amongst the people. I venture to suggest the legend of the Sin of the God Zu as the origin of this mythological creature. The extract is taken from Mr. G. Smith's work, "Assyrian Discoveries."

### **Extracts from Tablets of the Sin of the God Zu.**

- The god Sarturda (the lesser king) to a country, a place remote (went);
- In the land of Sabu (he dwelt).
- His mother had not placed him, and had not . . . . (lacuna).
- His father had not placed him, and with him did not (go).
- The strength of his knowledge . . . .
- From the will of his heart a resolution he did not ....
- In his own heart a resolution he made.
- To the likeness of a bird he changed.
- To the likeness of the divine storm bird (or zu bird) he changed, etc.

NOTE BY SMITH.—"This Zu bird I suppose to be the same as the god Zu of the inscriptions. His nature is shown by a passage in the annals of Assurnazirpal ('Cuneiform Inscriptions,' vol. i. p. 22), where he says his warriors 'like the divine zu bird upon them darted.' This bird is called the cloud or storm bird, the flesh-eating bird, the lion or giant bird, the bird of prey, the bird with sharp beak, and it evidently indicates some ravenous bird which was deified by the Babylonians. Some excellent remarks on the nature of this bird are given by

Delitzsch, in his 'Assy-rische Studien,' pp. 96, 116."

In the legend of Sarturda it is said that he changed into a Zu bird. Sarturda, which may be explained "the young king," was lord of the city of Amarda or Marad, and he is said to have been the deity worshipped by Izdubar.

Another subject for thought I venture to suggest. The statues of the gods of the Babylonians were covered with cuneiform writing. The carved figures of the ancestors of the Maoris,

It was customary in the Babylonian period to make statues of metal or stone, and to inlay the eyes of the figures with gems or agates cut to resemble the shape and colour of the eyes. (Smith's "Assyrian Discoveries.") in their large houses, are similarly covered with very regular series of arrow-heads. Is this peculiar ornamentation all that remains of a style of carving that once embodied a language and a religion, the meaning and object of which has long faded away from the popular mind?

The great house of meeting, called Tamatekapua, at Ohinemutu, contains a painting on the left-hand wall-plate. There is the canoe Arawa, which brought that great tribe to New Zealand, with its name written from right to left. There is a tree with a fish fastened to it; there is a sun and a moon. If one asks what is the meaning of the sun, moon, and fish, the people will not be able to tell anything more than that it always was so. The truth is, the picture represents the three great gods, the trinity of their ancestors, Ra, Rono, and Tangaroa (Dakan), sun, moon, and sea.

In a very ancient calendar, furnished to me by Captain Mair, a learned and very indefatigable collector of Maori lore, each day of the moon is set forth as propitious or otherwise for fishing and planting. Several of the days are named after the old gods of the people, and the twenty-seventh day is called Orongonui, after an ancient name of the moon god. I mention this because Rono or Rona in these days only appears in legends. The calendar is printed in the Appendix.

I will add one word more, calling attention to the marvellous permanency of marked physical characteristics. Jeremiah spoke of the Sabaïans as "men of stature," and Herodotus says that the Ethiopians of his day had the character of being the tallest and handsomest nation in the world. A member of one of the learned societies in London lately read a paper containing the heights of all the nations of the world of which he had obtained measurements, and he found that the Polynesians were the tallest people; the Lowland Scotch came next, and the Patagonians ranked third.

And now, having done little more than glanced over our subject, I must draw to a close. A few years hence, when the race of men whose varied career we have been following from the time when they walked with Abram in the great city of Ur, through their periods of grandeur in Southern Arabia, and whose wanderings we have accompanied in the Indian and Pacific Oceans, shall have disappeared from the face of the earth, their history will possess an interest which no human effort can now excite. We have been present at their cradle in the great Mesopotamian basin, before the races of men had dispersed themselves over the earth, and we or our children will, it can scarcely be doubted, stand over their grave. Their ancestors were building huge temples in honour of the hosts of heaven, which they worshipped as gods, and conducting a gorgeous, though cruel, religion, and were subjects of a splendid empire, whose literature and libraries still exist, at a time when our own ancestors were wandering, an unknown people, in the regions of Central Asia. Let, then, the great English nation treat the remnant of the race with gentleness, and learn from their varied career the transitory nature of all human greatness.

If I have by this my contribution left no footprint on the sands of time, I have, at least, said things which will excite thought, and which may attract the attention of abler men, who can command access to books unobtainable here. And, lest any should be inclined to treat these reflections with ridicule, I will finish with an extract from Müller's great work. Noticing the passage in Dr. Rae's writings previously quoted, Müller says: "Strange as it may sound to hear the language of Homer and Ennius spoken of as an off-shoot of the Sandwich Islands, mere ridicule would be a very inappropriate and very inefficient answer to such a theory."

## Appendices.

### The Legend of Maui.

(Reprinted from Judge Making's Translation.)

THE mention of the birth and abandonment of Maui is a mere abridged sketch intended to introduce two of his exploits which I have extracted from a more complete history of his life and adventures. Maui was the younger brother of five; he was contemned and abandoned by his parents, but nevertheless became the great hero of the family. His brothers were all called Maui, but each had a distinctive epithet: one was Maui-*taha*; another, Maui-*roto*; another, Maui-*Pae*; the fourth, Maui-*waho*. Maui the Great was in ordinary called Maui-*Potiki*, or the younger; but his heroic name was Maui-tiki-tiki-a-Taranga. Maui means *left-handed*; and

the Maoris have a saying or proverb, "*Maui kai tangata*"—*i.e.*, Maui the man eater—from the difficulty of parrying the blows from the weapon of a left-handed man, and who consequently kills and eats more than the average allowance of such *viand*. The brothers of Maui lived in this world, where they had been supplied with the seeds of plants and edible roots, tools, fishing nets, etc., etc., by their parents. Their parents lived in God-land (very similar to this, though better), and their mother came to see them every night, and disappeared before daylight. Maui's brothers knew not where she came from; but Maui, by a cunning device, followed her, and discovered the abode of his father and mother, and went through a series of adventures in the "quest" in God-land. His brothers, though demigods, never were noted for any great deeds, except when they seconded him in some of his adventures; they indeed disliked and feared him greatly, as he was a thorough larrikin, and a plague both to gods and men. Yet it is remarkable that of all the hero demi-gods, many of whom performed feats fully equal to those of Maui (such as climbing to the tenth heaven, and doing great things there), though not so mischievous, he is the favourite Maori hero; he is, in fact, notwithstanding the myths with which he is surrounded, a true historical personage. The Maoris love to twine history and allegory and romance so together that it is not always easy to unstrand the rope.

The story of the fishing up of the land is told as having reference to New Zealand, but the tradition was told certainly a thousand years before the first Maori saw these islands—probably twice as long, before they discovered this country—and is told now in many islands north and south of the equator. It is one of the three-stranded, historical, allegorical, mythological stories, and refers to probably the first land discovered on entering the North Pacific.

It is remarkable also that Maui was a great favourite with the gods, though he played very annoying tricks with them: in general they did what he wanted, and were very kind to him when they found out it was Maui (for he mostly went *incog.*). Even "the great Lady Death" was kind to him until he became too mischievous, and he had to run for the first time, and only escaped by the intervention of the elder gods, his ancestors, on his calling for help. But being determined not to be beaten, even by death, he tried another piece of impudence with her, and was killed; and death still pursues all his descendants from generation to generation, until they have become mere ordinary (Maori) men. This of course includes all men; for Maui and his brothers were, though partaking of the god-like nature, the first family who, descended from the secondary or inferior gods, had begun to degenerate and tend towards the condition of ordinary men. The descent or pedigree of men from gods, and the origin of gods themselves, evolved from still more ancient parents, is very interesting and also very suggestive.

I see my introduction is as long as my story. Few people can form (from the few attempts that have been made to translate Maori traditions) any idea of the quaint elegance and sometimes epic magnificence of some of the Maori traditional histories. I have therefore endeavoured always to give as close a verbal translation as possible, and also to preserve the tone or style. I may give you an example some of these days, as I think I have succeeded well in one of the most ancient and interesting traditions.

MAUI, the son of Taranga and Makea-Tutara, was born on the seashore. His mother hurled him into the ocean; the waves dashed him to and fro. There, in the foam of the sea, the sea-weeds swathed him round. At last the storm and the whirlwind returned him to the land, where, buried in the sea-drift, flies swarmed about him, and the wild sea-birds hovered over him, until his ancestor, The-Great-Child-in-Heaven, observed him and came to his rescue. Raising him up, he took him to his home, and hung him over the fire. The heat and smoke revived him, and by the kindness of his ancestor he became a man.

After this, Maui being grown up, he appeared to his mother and his brethren; but they disowned him at first. Then he told them the history of his birth, and of his being flung into the ocean, and returned by the storm to the land, and preserved by his ancestor, The Sun; and when they heard all this, they accepted him, and he dwelt with them thenceforward.

Now, this Maui, whilst yet young, performed many wonderful acts; but he was capricious and mischievous, and cared not whether his deeds were good or evil, so they were great, and wonderful, and surpassing those of all others.

This is his character throughout his whole history, and is indeed the *beau ideal* of a Maori Toa. Every act of Maui's life shows this to be his character—capricious, flighty, mischievous for amusement, pitiless.

So it happened on a day that he saw the people who were carrying food to his ancestress, The Farthest-Bounds-of-Earth

"The Farthest-Bounds-of-Earth," literally Muri-ranga-whenua, which may be translated variously, as the last *range* of earth, the last line or boundary, or the end or extremity of the earth. This story is a part of the ancient history of the Maori nation. Conveyed in an allegory, all the proper names and incidents have a mystical or concealed meaning, only understood by the initiated, the "Tohunga."

Since this note was written I have discovered what is intended to be conveyed in the words, "Muri-ranga-whenua."

—and he inquired of them, saying, "For whom is that food you carry?" He was answered, "For your ancestress, Muri-ranga-whenua." "Where is she?" "Away yonder." Then said Maui, "Leave it for me to carry." So he carried the food then and on several following days, but never took it to Muri-ranga-whenua. He carried it but part of the way, and there left it. So at last as he went on another day to carry the food, Muri-ranga-whenua discovered that she was cheated, and she swelled up her breast with the intention to swallow up Maui. So she smelt about the north, south, and east, but could perceive nothing. At last, turning to the west, she smelt Maui, and cried out, "The wind has brought you hither." Then she heard Maui muttering to himself, and was aware that it was her grandchild, and so the swelling of her chest went back; but had any other wind but the west brought him, he would have been devoured. So she called out, "Are you Maui?" "Yes, I am Maui." "Why do you thus ill-treat me?" "I want you to lend me your jaw-bone." Then said Ranga-whenua, "Take it." So Maui took the jaw-bone of Muri-ranga-whenua, and returned home to his brethren, and they then perceived that his object had been to possess himself of that invincible weapon.

In those days the sun was much hotter than now, and the days were very short; for the sun remained not long in the heavens, his pace was so quick before he set; and men could not labour to procure food by reason of the heat and the shortness of the days; but had the days been longer, the world would have been burned up, so great was the heat of the sun.

So Maui said to his brethren, "Let us assail the sun, and take from him some of his great heat, and blind him, and retard his motion, that the days may be longer, and men have more time to cultivate the earth."

But his brethren answered, "No man may approach the sun, so vehement is his heat."

Then said Maui, "You have seen my numerous labours, and that I have never failed. In this also I shall be successful—in this and in greater things also."

So his brethren were persuaded, and consented to attack the sun.

So they commenced making ropes. Then indeed might be seen the art of rope-making—twisted ropes, plaited ropes, knotted ropes, all kinds of ropes they made; and when they had finished, Maui took his club, and with his brothers bearing the ropes, he started for the rising of the sun. Long they journeyed, travelling by night, and resting by day in the open plains, till getting nearer and nearer, they at last arrived at the place where the rising sun comes forth.

Now they build walls of earth, and houses of boughs of trees, to save them from the heat, and now they raise the snare of ropes wherewith to catch the sun at his rising, and having thus prepared, they take their stations, Maui at one side, and his brethren at the other side, of the rising of the sun, and all with their war-mats on.

"With their war-mats on." The natives formerly made a thick matted sort of cloth, impervious to spear thrusts, which they used as armour. In more modern times this defence was only used to save the breast from injury in climbing trees. I cannot find a better English term of description than "war-mat." If I gave the native word it would not be understood by most readers.

Maui then, holding in his hand the jaw-bone of Muri-ranga-whenua, addressed his brethren: "Be patient, and cautious, and pitiless; startle him not; let him be enveloped in our snares, even to the arm-pits; then when I shout, haul in your ropes, and hold him long, whilst I attack and maim him with my club. Be sure you have no pity; when he cries for mercy, be merciless, O my friends."

Now the sun arises like flaming fire, blazing upon the earth! On he comes. His head is in the snare; now his armpits are enclosed; now they haul the ropes. Ha! the hero is ensnared! Now leaps forward Maui-tikitiki-o-Taranga,

"Maui-tikitiki-o-Taranga," the full title of Maui. He has, however, other names, such as Maui-Potiki, etc., but the above is his proper title.

and, club in hand, assaults the sun. Down on his yellow hair the ponderous weapon comes; his shining locks divide, and now in scattered rays they reach the ends of the earth, not, as of old, in solid flames of fire. Then the entangled hero cries, "Wherefore assault you me, O man? you who dare assault even The-Great-Child-Ra!" Thus was first heard the sun's true name, Tama-nui-te-Ra. The fierce assault continues. At last they release the sun. Wounded and shorn of half his fire, slowly he takes his way, and it was long before he reached his setting place. So the days have since been longer and more cool, and men can labour in comfort.

So Maui and his companions returned home. And on a day when his brethren had gone to sea to catch fish, Maui overheard his wives and children grumbling among themselves at his indolence in not going to fish also, like his brethren. So he cried out, "Ha you! you women and children, in no great work have I failed, and think you I cannot catch fish? Soon the sun shall shine upon them heaped upon the shore."

Now Maui prepares a hook; he fastens it from the jaw-bone of Muri-ranga-Whenua, and then he twists a rope. "Now," says he to his brothers, "let us go to sea and fish but his brothers refused to let him enter the canoe, fearful that he should play them some evil trick, and went to sea themselves. So on their return at night Maui went and hid himself under the stage of the canoe; and in the morning the brothers put to sea again, not

knowing that Maui was with them. So when they had got out from the land, Maui arose from his place of concealment, and when his brothers saw him they proposed to return and set him on shore. But Maui said to them, "Suffer me to remain to bale out the water which comes into the canoe." So they allowed him to remain. Then they pulled out to sea to their usual fishing-place, and were about to anchor, when Maui persuaded them to go still further; and so he persuaded them to go still further and further, till at last they got to the most distant anchorage canoes had ever reached; and here again they proposed to anchor; but Maui said to them, "It is not worth while to fish here: let us go out into the currents of the great ocean, out of sight of land, and our canoe will be filled in the winking of an eye; for the fish will follow the hook in shoals right into the canoe." So on they went, and at last, the land disappearing, they anchored, and the brothers began to fish. Twice only they threw out their hooks, and as Maui had said, the canoe was loaded; for the fish followed the hooks in shoals into the canoe. So the brothers of Maui prepared to return to the land; but Maui entreated them, saying, "Stay yet a little longer, till I throw out my hook." Then said the brothers, "Where should you find a hook?" "Ah!" said Maui, "but I have a hook." "Then throw it out." Then from under his cloak he pulls his hook, glistening with inlaid pearl, carved and ornamented with tufts of hair and feathers, the jaw-bone of his ancestress Muri-ranga-whenua!

His ancestress. Earth, Air, Fire, and Water were the ancestors of Maui; but his immediate ancestors, or parents, were gods of the second order, descended from the great ancient gods, who were born of Heaven and Earth.

Then Maui said, "Give me some bait;" but the brothers answered, "None shall you have." So he closed his fist and struck himself on the nose. The blood flowed, and he rubbed it on his hook, and cast it into the sea. Down goes the hook—down, down. Now it is near the bottom of the sea, and now it has reached the housetop of Tongonui, the ancestor of Maui, who dwells beneath the waters. Down goes the hook, it passes the eave, the carved work of the house-front. Now it has reached the floor, and Maui hauls the line. Ha! the house of that ancient, Tongonui, is caught by the hook of Maui-tikitiki-o-Taranga!

Now Maui hauls again with all his force; far up he tugs the house of Tongonui, and with it comes—a world! Now the full strain he feels; his god-like strength is matched. No nearer comes the hook. The turbid ocean boils, the mountain-tops are near, and many a whirling vortex roars. Now madness seizes Maui;

A divine fury. The giant demi-god fiercely dragging up the earth, the ocean "boiling" with whirlpools as the earth approaches, the thundering song of the Titan, altogether form a scene equal to anything in ancient mythology.

fierce he strains, and shouts his lifting song—

*"Wherefore,  
Wherefore, O Tongonui,  
Cling you to the ocean depths?  
Resisting still  
The force of Ranga-whenua.  
Diving in the troubled sea,  
Diving!  
Lifting! Ooi!*

*Ooi! or Oi! the shout of the ancient priests when invoking the gods of heaven and earth, or the war god, but no others. This cry was often introduced in the prayers or incantations at the end of a verse or sentence; it was a fierce shout given when the priest seemed to be possessed or inspired, and as it were commanding the god.*

*This shout was also the old war cry of the Scandinavian nations, and of the Saxons when they were pagans, and was also used in the same way when their war gods were addressed—"Aoi! ooi! ooi!"*

*The force of Ranga-whenua  
Prevails!"*

Ha! the fish of Maui rises from the waters—a land fish—a spacious country—Papa-tu-a-nuku!

So now the canoe of Maui lies dry on land, and he says to his brethren, "Remain here now till my return. I go to present an offering to the gods; they first must taste our fish. Touch it not, nor divide it, till my return, when, the gods being appeased, we shall divide it, and each shall receive his portion in peace, and rejoice in the possession thereof, and that which remains shall remain in peace and undisturbed."

The hero then departed, bearing the offering to the gods. No sooner had he disappeared, than his brothers, disregarding his Words, began to cut up and eat the fish of Maui, thus failing to appease the gods by presenting them with the first of the fish of Maui, their imitator and disciple.

Now the sea-god Tangaroa, seeing the evil deeds of Maui's brethren, became enraged, and caused the fish

to struggle. Dashing about with fierce convulsions, it became deformed and shapeless; and it is from this cause that the land is so ill-formed—mountains, valleys, plains, ravines, and precipices, all mingled without order. Had it not been for the impiety of the brothers of Maui, the fish would have lain still, and so also would the land have remained for ever: for the fish of Maui is the land. But now a second time was the land disturbed since the separation of Heaven from Earth. The first was when the heavens and the winds and the floods made war against the Children of Earth, and now again by the convulsions of the fish of Maui; for such was the will of Tangaroa.

### Extract from Mr. Wallace's Book, "the Malay Archipelago."

ENGLISH . . . . Bird Come Ear Eye Fish Fruit Hand Leaf Louse Rain Tooth Water Two Three Five Seven Eight MALAY . . . . Burung Mari Telinga Mata Ikan Bua Tangan Daun Kutu Hujan Gigi Ayer Dua Tiga Lima Tujoh Delapan JAVANESE . . . . Manok Marein Kuping Moto Ikan Wowoan Tangan Godong Kutu Hudan Untu Banyu Loro Talu Lima Pitu Wola BOUTON S. Celebes . Manumanu Maive Talinga Mata Ikani Bakena Olima Tawana Okutu Wao Nichi Manu Ruano Taruano Limami Pituano Veluano SALAYER Burung Maika Toli Mata Jugo Bua Lima Taha Kutu Bosi Gigi Aer Rua Tello Lima Tujoh Karna MENADO N. Celebes Manu Simepu Turi Mata Maranigan Bua Rilma Daun Kutu Tahity Ngisi Akei Dudua Tateru Rima Pitu Walru BOLANG hITAM Manoko Aripa Boronga Mata Sea Bunganea Rima Lungiane Kutu Oha Dongito Sarugo Dia Toro Rima Pitu Waro SANGUIR, SIAN . . . Manu Dumahi Toli Mata Kina Buani Lima Deoaluni Kutu Tahiti Tsi Àki Dua Tellon Lima Kapitu Walu SULIBABO . . . . Manu urarutang Maranig Telinga Inasah Buah Urong Wai Dua Tetalu Delima Pitu Waru SULAISLANDS . . . . Manu Mai Telilan Hama Kena Kaofua Lima Kao hosa Kota Huyu Nihi Wai Gahu Gatil Lima Gapitu Gatahua CAJELI . . . . Manui Omai Telingan Lamumo Iani Buan Limamo Atetun Olta Ulani Nisim Waili Lua Tello Lima Hito Walo WAYAPO Bouru Manuti Ikomai Liganani Raman Ikan Fuan Fahan Kroman Kota Dekat Nisi Wai Rua Tello Lima Pito Etrua MASSARATY Manuti Gumahi Herenatia Ramani Ikan Fuan Fahan Koman Koto Dekati Nisinen Wai Rua Tello Lima Pito Trua Amblaw . . . . Manue Buoma Ngan Lumatibukoi Ikiani Buani Lemnatia Lai obawai Uru Ulah Nisnyatea Wai Lua Relu Lima Pitu Walu TIDORE . . . . Namu bangow Inokere Tinget Lau Nyan Hatimooto sopho Gia Hatimooto merow Tuma Bessar Ing Aki Malofo Rangi Runtoha Tumodi Tufkangi Gani Gilolo . . Manik Mai Nangow Umtowt Ian Lapu Komud Nilonko Kutu Ulan Afod Waiyr Leplu Leptol Leplim Lepfit Lepwal GALELA Namu Nehino Terina Lako Nau Masopo Gia Misoka Gani Hura Ini Aki Sinoto Sangi Matoha Tumidingi Itupangi LIANG Amboyna Tuwi Uimai Telina Mata Iyan Hua Rimak Ailow Utu Hulan Niki Weyr Rua Tero Rima Itu Waru MORELLA Mano Oimai Telinawa Mata Iyan Hua Limaka Ailow Utu Hulan Nikin Weyl Lua Telo Lima Itu Waru BATUMERAH Burung Omai Terina Matava Iani Aihuan Limawa Aiteli Utu Hulani Nindiwa Weyl Lua Telua Lima Itua Walua LARIKI Mano Mai Terena Mata Ian Aihua Lima Aorawa Kutu Haran Niki Weyl Dua Toro Rima Itu Waru SAPARUA . . . . Mano Mai Terinamo Mata Ian Hwanyo Rimah Laun Utu Tiah Nio Wai Rua Toru Rima Hitu Waru AWAIYA Ceram Manue Olowei Terinam Matamo Iani Huwaiy Ala Laini Utu Ulane Nisimo Waeli Luna Te elo Lima Witu Walu CAMARIAN Manu Mai Tinacono Mata Iani Huwai Limamo Airowi Utua Ulani Nikim Waeli Lua Tello Lima Itu Walu TELUTI Manuo Mai Likan Matalo Yano Huan Limacolo Daun Utu Gia Lilico Welo Lua Toi Lima Fitu Wagu AHTIAGO AND TOBO Niova Kule Telikeinlium Malan Ian Vuan Niman Lan Tinan Ulan Nifan Wai Lua Tol Lima Fit Wal AHTIAGO (ALFUROS) Manuwan Dak lapar Tanomulino Matara lem Eifuanum Tai-imara Eilunim Kutim Roim Nesnim Wai im Elua Entol Enlima Enhit Enwol GAH Manok Mai Teninare Matanina Ikan Woya Numonina Lino Kutu Uan Nisikonina Arr Lotu Tolo Lim Fiti Alu WAHAI Malok Mai Tilgar Mata Ian Huan Mimare Totun Utum Ulan Lesin Tolun Lua Tolo Nima Itu Alu METABELLO . . . . Manok Gomari Karin Matada Ian Woi imotta Dumada lomina Arehin Utu Udama Nifoa Arr Rua Tolu Rima Fitu Allu TEOR . . . . Manok Yef man Tenaan Matin Ikan Phuim Liman Chafen Hut Hurani Nifin Wehr Rua Tel Lima Fit Wal MYSOL . . . . Yogmah Tun Ein Gapeah Kanin Kaluin Ut Golim Kalifin Wayr Lu Tol Lim Fit Wal MYSOL . . . . Bomun Motora Mut morobu Ein Ipo Mot mor Idun Uti Golim Kelif Lu Tol Lim Tit Wal Baju . . . . Mano Paituco Telinga Mata Deiah Bua Tangan Daun Kutu Huran Gigi Boi Dua Tiga Lima Tujoh Dolapan MAORI . . . . Manu Mai Taringa Mata Ika Hua Ringa Rau Kutu Ua Niho Wai Rua Toru Rima Whitu Waru

### Ancient Calendar.

NGA ra tika me nga ra kino ote mamma e ai ta te kopu wananga:—

Pongahuru ma Rima mai ite kohiti tanga ka turu to marama. Ponga-huru ma Rima mai ite Turutanga ka mutu whenua. Ara kapau te marama itera. Ka kawhakina ete ra kirotu kite Hinapouri a ka mahuetia e te ra ka kohiti mai ano.

- He whiro. He ra kino ka kohiti te marama.

- He Tirea. He ra kino.
- He Hoata. He rakino kua kitea nuitia.
- He one. He ra pai. Hei te ata tae kite ra pou pou he pai.
- He okou. He ra pai. Hei te ra pou pou tae kite ahiahi he pai.
- He Tamateakai ariki. He ra kino kua au te moana.
- He Tamatea ananga. He ra kino kua kata rawa te au.
- 8. He Tamatea aio. He ra pai.
- He Tamatea whakapau. He ra kino, he rangi hau.
- He Huna. He ra kino he huna kai.
- He ari roa. He ra awangawanga. Mehemea he pai na te Mawharu.
- He Mawharu. He ra pai.
- He Maurea. Mehemea he pai na te mawharu, he kino ma te atua.
- He atua whakahaehae. He ra kino rawa.
- He Turu. Pari tonu nga tai ata me nga taiahiahi. Ka rere te marama ka to te ra.
- He Rakaunui, kua Raununui te marama. Kua whero.
- He Rakaumatohi. Kua Riwha te marama.
- He Takirau. Hei te ata ka pai.
- He Oika. Hei te ahi ahi ka pai. Hapara o Takirau, ahi ahi o Te Oika.
- He korekore. He ra kino.
- He korekoreturua. He ra kino.
- He korekore piritangaroa. He ra kino.
- He Tangaroa amua. He ra pai.
- He Tangaroa aroto. He ra pai rawa. He aho pou pou.
- He Tangaroa kiokio. He ra tino pai rawa, kua pukohu auta.
- He Otane. He ra pai.
- He Orongonui. He ra pai, kua heke te Inanga.
- He Mauri. He ra pai. Kua Hinapouri, kua ngaro te marama iroto i te ra.
- He omutu. He ra kino.
- He Mutuwhenua. He ra kino. E ono enei ra he pai rawa me whaka-momori kite patu nga kai o te moana me nga kai ote whenua.

## Translation.

THE good days and the bad days for planting and fishing, according to the words of the wise men who have come from the seat of learning (kopu wananga):—

In 10 days and 5 days (15) from the first seeing (the new moon) comes the Turu or full moon, and in 10 days and 5 days (15) from the full comes the Mutuwhenua. The moon has then reached the Hinapouri (not visible), it is hidden in and carried away by the sun, who leaves it in the west and it then comes forth again as a new moon.

- Ka kohititia. Is seen for the first time. New moon.
- Ka kitea nui tia. Has become so large it can be seen plainly.
- From the morning to mid-day (ra pou pou) a good day.
- From mid-day (ra pou pou) to evening, a good day.
- Tamatea kai ariki (a slayer of chiefs), a bad day. There is a strong tide in the sea.
- Tamatea aio (a calm day).
- A windy day. A bad day.
- Fish and food are hidden from man; a bad day.
- If a good day it is owing to the approaching Mawharu. It is a doubtful day.
- If a good day it is owing to the influence of Mawharu. If bad it is owing to the approach of Atua.
- Full moon. Full tides morning and evening. The moon rises as the sun sets.
- The moon looks largest, and is red at rising.
- The moon has lost its symmetry. A piece has gone on one side.
- In the morning good.
- The morning of Takirau, the evening of Te Oiku (Hapara o Takirau etc.)
- Nothing of nothingness.
- Second nothing of nothingness.
- Joining of the nothingness to Tangaroa (god of fish).
- The first Tangaroa.
- The inner Tangaroa.

- The side or outer Tangaroa. No current in the sea.
- The white bait descend the rivers. Perfect calm. Hills are cloud-capped.
- The moon is hidden and borne away by the sun (Hinapouri).
- The ending.

The six days, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, and 28, are all good days. Men should strive to collect food from the sea and land in these days.

## Proceedings of the Geographical Society of Australasia

New South Wales and Victorian Branches.

With Maps and Illustrations.

1st Session, 1883-4.

Edited By E. Marin La Meslée, ESQ., M.C.G.S., PARIS, ETC., AND HONORARY SECRETARY OF THE SOCIETY, AND A. C. Macdonald, ESQ., HON. SEC. AND TREASURER OF THE VICTORIAN BRANCH.

*The authors of papers are alone responsible for the opinions expressed therein.*

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Preliminary Meeting and Formation of the Geographical Society of Australasia.

# Preliminary Meeting to Establish a Geographical Society, 2ND April, 1883.

A MEETING of gentlemen interested in geographical science took place on the 2nd April, 1883, at the residence of Dr. Belgrave, for the purpose of taking into consideration the propriety of either reorganizing the Geographical Section of the Royal Society, or forming a new and entirely independent organization on a cooperative basis to apply to all the Australasian Colonies.

There were present Sir. Gerard, formerly Hon. Secretary of the defunct Geographical Section of the Royal Society of New South Wales; Sir. Du Faur, Chairman of the same body; Mr. Edward M'Farlane, Mr. E. Marin La Meslée, member of the Geographical Society of Paris; Mr. Brodribb, M.L.C.; Mr. P. A. S. Kennedy, from N.W. Australia; Mr. Harrie Wood, the Rev. J. Jefferis, LL.B.; Mr. J. B. Donkin, Mr. James Garvan, M.L.A., and other gentlemen.

Dr. BELGRAVE proposed that Mr. Du Faur should take the Chair. The proposition was received with unanimity, Mr. Gerard also consenting, however, to act as Secretary for the evening only.

Telegrams and correspondence were read from the Secretary for Lands in Queensland, the Secretary for Education in South Australia; Mr. Wilkinson, the Government Geologist, at present at Glen Innes; Mr. James Manning; Mr. Sahl, the German Consul; Mr. Palmerston, the explorer, and others. The latter four gentlemen joined the movement.

The CHAIRMAN opened the proceedings by relating, in considerable detail, the efforts that had been made by the Council of the Royal Society to establish a Geographical Section. In spite of every effort it lapsed, the Chairman and Secretary becoming ultimately the only attendants at meetings. Possibly, a mere subordinate Section of a local Society did not fill the field, and necessarily could not. The present occasion afforded a suitable and convenient opportunity for thoroughly discussing the subject, and he hoped each gentleman present would express himself freely. He must confess that he thought the cessation of the Section was regrettable. He hoped, however, some action would ensue from the revived interest in the matter. Personally he would aid the movement to the utmost of his power, whatever direction it might take; he feared, however, it would be impossible for him now to find time to do justice to the position of President of any new Society. The money value of the co-operation of the Royal Society in such a matter was very considerable; they gave us the use of their rooms, light, an excellent library, and other advantages. To establish a new and special organization would necessarily entail considerable expenditure; however, they should not be discouraged by the contemplation of that fact, as the most important Society in the Colony, though it had languished during the first two years of its existence, immediately took a good footing when he and his cooperating colleague took premises at £250 a year, and made themselves personally responsible for £1,000. The circumstance showed the people and Government of that day (more than twenty years ago) that they were in earnest; and in consequence 500 subscribers at once joined, and the Government spontaneously assisted them. He would now call on Mr. La Meslée—who had doubtless thought over the subject carefully—to explain his views with reference to the direction the movement should take.

Mr. LA MESLÉE began by stating that when Dr. Belgrave urged him to interview such members of the late

Geographical Section as could be found, and to start a new movement, it appeared to him that if his ideas met with any response it might be advantageous that he should prepare a short paper on the general question. As the present meeting was influential and earnest, he would, with their permission, read it, reserving his observations on points suggested by the opening remarks of the Chairman to later on in the evening:—"The idea of forming in Australia a Geographical Society occurred to me for the first time when about to take my leave of the Secretary-General of the Geographical Society of France. M. Maunoir had several times mentioned the fact that the want of such an institution was probably the cause that very little information about our part of the world ever reached the Continent of Europe, and that that which the sister Society of London possessed was comparatively small. Should such a Society be established at Sydney or Melbourne, kindred Societies at home and on the Continent would be glad to enter into correspondence and exchange information which could but tend to develop commercial and other relations between the old world and Australasia. The usefulness of Geographical Societies is unquestionable, and we all know what results have been achieved through their influence. The recent discoveries in Central Africa are in a great measure due to the exertions of travellers whose expenses were partly paid out of the funds of the Geographical Societies of London and Paris; and if in a scientific point of view their results have been immense, there is no overlooking the fact that the commercial interests of England and France are already reaping benefits which cannot be over-estimated. Fifty millions of human beings have been brought by this means into communication with the civilized world, and already several nations are preparing themselves for a friendly struggle for the trade of Central Africa. Situated as we are here in the centre of that part of the earth's surface which is the least known, surrounded by mighty islands such as New Guinea, and the numerous archipelagoes which stud the surface of the Pacific Ocean, and by the almost unexplored wastes of the Austral and Antarctic Ocean extending to the South Pole, there lies before an Australian Geographical Society enough useful and interesting work to undertake. The object of the Society would be to foster the knowledge of the geography of Australasia, to read and discuss, and to contribute in every way scientific papers to the thorough and systematic exploration of our continent and the surrounding lands, for which latter object an exploring fund would have to be raised, supplemented by subventions from the various State Governments, and in general, to acquire by every available means and diffuse through the medium of a proper organ all possible information about Australasia and the southern hemisphere.

Geographical knowledge does not simply mean the acquirement of the dry facts of physical geography, but it extends into the domain of commercial, political, and natural sciences. The study of ethnography, philology, the hydrography and orography of countries, and the commercial and political relations of races, &c., is a corollary to that of geography taken in its broadest meaning. Hitherto most of the explorations in Australia have had for sole object the discovery of tracts of land fit for grazing cattle and sheep; and even at the present time we hear every day of expeditions for that purpose starting from different points to penetrate the unknown parts of our continent. Explorers are at work in every direction, mostly on account of private firms or wealthy syndicates. Little of the information thus acquired has ever reached the general public, and those who found the means for carrying these expeditions through have kept the results to themselves, and are rapidly reaping immense benefits from the knowledge thus gained. It could hardly be otherwise, but it points to the necessity for the establishment of a Society whose aim shall be to give the community at large an amount of information more complete and varied than that which a privileged few have used to such great material advantage to themselves. It is proposed to invite the great Missionary Societies of various countries and religions to co-operate, as they have already accomplished so much towards the elevation of the aboriginal races in the southern hemisphere. We propose to name this Society the Federal Geographical Society of Australasia, because the work to be done is in every sense a national one, for the information and the benefit of the people of Australasia in general. The establishment of such a Society must recommend itself to every one who may be interested in the progress of this great country; squatters, merchants, miners, agriculturists, &c., all have something to gain by it—something to learn which they can utilize to their special benefit. Besides, Australia is not the only field open to explorations; New Guinea, contemplated for very good reasons to be annexed by Queensland, and the numerous groups of islands in Polynesia are yet hardly known, and many interesting geographical problems have yet to be solved in the exploration of the Austral and Antarctic Oceans. The geographical position of Australia points to the future settlement from its shores of the whole of Polynesia. A considerable trade is already carried on with the islands, and many curious and interesting researches might be made with regard to the dusky races that inhabit them. In course of time a museum of ethnological collections might be formed in connection with the Society, which would remain as silent records of the history of those inferior races that are rapidly passing away under the relentless pressure of the civilization of the West and the progress of humanity. It has been remarked by some persons that it would be perhaps better to make this a Section of the Royal Society, as it appeared to them that in a young community such as ours there was hardly room for another independent scientific body. A Geographical Section of the Royal Society has been in existence and was continued some time; but as the Chairman, Mr. Du Faur, and the Secretary, Mr. Gerard, were almost the only

two gentlemen who ever attended its meetings, that Section could hardly be called a success; judging from the past, it would be almost hopeless to try to revive that Section. Moreover, the work to be undertaken by a Geographical Society is of too varied and of too important a nature to be well and completely carried out by a Section of the Royal Society; in fact, an independent Society, purely of New South Wales or of any particular Colony, would have, as the French term it, no *raison d'être*, as the work to be done lies not in one particular province, but in and around the whole of Australia. It will be necessary to apply to the various Colonial Governments to assist in carrying out our programme, and how could a simple Section of the Royal Society of New South Wales make such a request to the Government of another Colony? Another reason is that no special qualification is required to become a member of a Geographical Society, as any one is qualified who is interested in the progress of Australia, and is actuated by the patriotic desire of seeing the natural resources of this great country brought to light and developed, and the land become the home of happy and contented millions. This community may be too young, and may not yet contain the elements to form special scientific bodies, and it is to old Europe we must look for the investigation of particular fields in science. But with us in Australia, geography is a science that cannot wait, as our very future depends upon the more or less perfect acquaintance which is gained of the natural resources of the country. Before those resources become developed they must be first discovered and located. The work of the geographer goes hand in hand with that of the pioneer, and in the older settled provinces of Australia, the knowledge of physical geography—of the orographic and hydrographic systems—is one of pre-eminent importance, as it is only at such time when we have become thoroughly acquainted with these physical dispositions of mountains and rivers and watercourses, that we shall be in a position to solve that great problem upon which depends the future of Australia, *i.e.*, the preservation of water. The formation of a Society with such a programme might be called a national work, as it is intended that it should be to all that is Australian what the Royal Geographical Society of London is to all that is English, and that of Paris to all that is French. Such is the project which is introduced for discussion tonight. It might have remained in the state of an unborn idea had other gentlemen less obscure than I am not taken it up and presented it to the public. Dr. Belgrave, Messieurs Du Faur and Gerard, the last-named two having previously identified themselves with the advancement of geographical science in New South Wales, have taken the project in hand, and it is to be hoped that it will meet with general approbation. No work can be productive at home of more practical good than one which has for its object the perfection of the knowledge we already possess of our great land; the existence and the distribution of its natural resources; the natural advantages offered to the settlement on Australian shores of numbers of the white race, and the preservation and civilization of the various indigenous races. Abroad it will have the effect of making the Colonies more widely known, and it would be difficult to find better means of sound advertisement. The first precaution of a man who enters into a new home is to make himself thoroughly acquainted with the house he has to occupy, and convince himself that everything which is wanted is there, and to make such alterations as may be necessary for his comfort and that of his family. The first care of a young nation must likewise be to obtain a thorough knowledge of its new home, the land it has peacefully conquered, and which is destined to become the home of countless generations of descendants."

At the conclusion of the reading, Mr. La Meslée was greeted with evident marks of warm appreciation.

Mr. BRODRIBB, after congratulating Mr. La Meslée, said the ignorance of the bulk of Australians in reference to their own country was most remarkable; and there could be no doubt that, if properly conceived and effectively organized, an Association of the scope and character of that proposed would add much to scientific knowledge, and confer lasting benefit on the Colonies. He then related an amusing anecdote in illustration of how the popular ignorance of the natural features and properties of the interior led people into ridiculous errors. The story was one where a well-known political character, in proof of the corn-growing power of a northern district on the Darling watershed, had brought to Sydney a box containing specimens of wheat in full growth, and displaying them at a public meeting, inquired, "Who can now question the possibility of growing wheat in the north?" (of New South Wales). In the specimens exhibited to the applauding multitude, the ears did not contain a single grain, the natural conditions of the climate and soil in which they had been grown having necessarily rendered them abortive. Mr. Brodrigg related instances in proof of the advantages accruing to exploring expeditions carrying sheep, &c., with them.

Mr. HARRIE WOOD concurred in the project, and thought it was much required; and that if entered into with the co-operation of other Colonies it could not fail to become a beneficent success.

Mr. JAMES GARVAN hoped, notwithstanding discouraging experience in connection with the defunct Section, that gentleman would not lose heart. There was a vast fund of most valuable scientific information to be secured; indeed, in the archives of the Survey and other public Offices there was already much hidden which, put into proper shape, would be of great public advantage. He did not think the expenses would at first be very great, and he entertained small doubt but that, when they had collected information worth publishing, the assistance of the Government Printing Office would be cheerfully granted. For his part, he would do

anything he could to encourage such useful labours, and he thought neither the Government nor Parliament of this Colony would view any combined action by all the Colonies, in the more general researches contemplated, with any other feeling than one of approbation and a desire to assist.

The Rev. J. JEFFERIS, LL.B., said they were evidently unanimous concerning the importance and necessity of the work; the point to be considered was, the particular form of the new Association. He thought the use of the term "federal" supposed the existence already of a Geographical Society in each Australasian Colony, whereas one of the preceding speakers had informed them that, though there were sixty-five Societies in Europe and some in other lands, in Australasia there is not one. He would suggest, therefore, that the new Society should be called the "Australian Geographical Society," and that if they could work in co-operation with the Royal Society the better. He would like to see every Colony in the group participate in so excellent a movement. The Society should be independent and Australian.

Mr. DONKIN was of opinion that, while preserving their Australian character, they should seek to form a definite alliance with the Geographical Society of Great Britain, as numerous advantages would attend such a course.

An animated conversation took place, in the course of which Mr. La Meslée assured the meeting that he felt certain they could depend on the co-operation of the great Geographical Societies of Paris and London.

Dr. BELGRAVE inquired whether Mr. Donkin's proposal had not been somewhat misapprehended by Mr. La Meslée. As he (Dr. Belgrave) understood it, the new Association was proposed to become the "Australian Branch of the Royal Geographical Society of Great Britain," having to pay its share to the common fund, to be entitled to receive the publications of the parent Society, and to participate in the usual subventions granted in aid of exploring expeditions.

Mr. DONKIN replied that that was precisely the idea he contemplated.

Dr. BELGRAVE said the course he proposed before he had heard the observations that had been made was to recommend the meeting "to resolve itself into a Committee to prepare a complete scheme," and when agreed on to convene a general meeting in the Royal Society's house for the definitive organization of the Geographical Association. His notion was that their meetings should take place periodically, first in one capital city then in another; that they should especially systematize the labours of the professional explorers, keep careful records of and duly publish all work done, and make productive use of the various botanical and mineral specimens obtained. If he were correctly informed, the unexplored were more remarkable than the explored parts of the continent. Mr. Palmerston reported rivers and mountains of great size; and there were rumours of harbours, rivers, and tablelands on the north-west requiring to be further investigated.

A gentleman here interposed, and said that practically the whole Colony was now explored, and the assumed unknown parts mapped out into blocks of a hundred square miles or more, several blocks often being held by one firm, individual, or a syndicate. The field of exploration apparently contemplated by Dr. Belgrave in Australia was therefore really not so large. Work of that kind would now lie outside the continent.

Dr. BELGRAVE expressed astonishment at this information, as the discoverer of the head of the Daintree had informed him that there was but one settler on the eastern border of that district.

After further discussion the Chairman put the propositions made to the meeting. The first was that proposed by Dr. Belgrave, to the effect "that the meeting resolve itself into a Committee to carry into effect the idea of an Australian Geographical Society," The proposition having been seconded by Mr. Brodribb, was put and carried by acclamation.

Dr. MARANO, the Italian Consul, then proposed that Mr. La Meslée, become Secretary to the Society.

The suggestion was seconded by Mr. GERARD, who expressed a wish that Mr. La Meslée would accept the position, as his enthusiasm in the cause of Australian exploration was a good augury of future activity.

The proposition was unanimously agreed to, Mr. La Meslée expressing his sense of the honor and the importance of the position. The Chairman suggested that Dr. Belgrave, Mr. La Meslée, Mr. Gerard, and another gentleman should form a sub-committee to draw up a definite scheme for consideration at another meeting. He hoped Dr. Belgrave would be good enough to let them meet at his house until they had a home of their own. The meeting and gentlemen named signified their acquiescence with the Chairman's suggestions.

The Rev. J. JEFFERIS recommended that a fund should be placed in hand to meet preliminary expenses, and he would suggest that each gentleman present should contribute one guinea.

This suggestion was acted upon.

Mr. Gerard was appointed Treasurer.

The meeting then separated on the understanding that they should re-assemble when the Secretary summoned them.

## **First Meeting of the Provisional Committee.**

THE first meeting of the Provisional Committee of the Geographical Society of Australasia took place on Friday evening, in the meeting room of the Free Public Library. There were present: Messrs. E. Du Faur, F.R.G.S., Chairman; F. Gerard, Treasurer; E. Marin La Meslée, Com. Geog. Soc., Paris, Hon. Secretary; P. F. Adams, Surveyor General of New South Wales; Professor Stephens, Sydney University; the Hon. W. A. Brodribb, M.L.C., F.R.G.S.; Dr. Belgrave, the Rev. James Jefferis, LL.B.; Messrs. Harrie Wood, Under Secretary for Mines, W. Freeman, H. Vantin, Gresely Lukin, J. C. Neild, M. Lyons, W. B. Christie, L.O. Mr. E. Parrott, C.E., representing the New South Wales Institute of Surveyors, and Lieutenant Osborne Moore, B.N., in command of H.M.S. "Dart," were also present at the meeting. Mr. E. Du Faur took the Chair, and addressed the gentlemen present, pointing out the object of this first meeting, which was to adopt measures for the constitution of a Geographical Society of Australasia. The sub-committee appointed at the preliminary meeting held on April 2, at the residence of Dr. Belgrave, had adopted a plan which would be submitted for the consideration of this meeting. The Chairman noticed that many gentlemen were present to-night who were not at the preliminary meeting; but as the members of the original Committee were at liberty to add to their number, it would be desirable that these gentlemen should be regularly admitted as additional members of the Committee. A motion to that effect was adopted. The Chairman then requested the Hon. Secretary to read the correspondence and explain the plan adopted by the sub-committee for the constitution of the Society. Mr. E. Marin La Meslée, Hon. Secretary, read a letter from the Secretary for Education in South Australia, to the effect that Mr. Ernest Favenc, now at Normanton, Queensland, had been communicated with by his Department, and advised by telegraph of the formation of the Geographical Society; and a letter from Mr. Christie Palmerston, now exploring in Northern Queensland, addressed to Dr. Belgrave, was also read, in which the explorer expressed his pleasure at the news of the formation of the Geographical Society, and intimated that he will be happy to put himself in communication with the Society. A communication was also read from Dr. Tarrant, regretting that he was unable to attend the meeting this evening.

The Secretary then proceeded to read the various articles of the constitution framed by the sub-committee, the main features of which are:—The formation of an institution essentially Australasian in character upon a broad and federal basis, composed of honorary, corresponding and ordinary members, whose affairs should be managed by a Council elected in such a manner that every one of the Australasian Colonies should be represented by an equal number of members. Ladies might be admitted as members of the Society. The objects would be the same as those of other scientific and commercial Geographical Societies in existence in all parts of the world, that is, the advancement of geographical science, and the study of the physical and commercial geography of the world, more especially that of Australasia. The Society would fill up a great gap in the education of the people, and public lectures would be given on all countries, illustrative of their commerce, productions, and industries. Having read this plan in its entirety, Mr. E. Marin La Meslée made the following remarks:—"As to the necessity for the establishment of a Geographical Society of Australasia, the feeling of the last meeting appeared to have been unanimous. It is not necessary for me to dwell at any length on that point, but within the last few days several facts have been disclosed which show how important to the Colonies at large, as a means of giving even the English people a more accurate knowledge of their immense resources, a Geographical Society would be. But a few days ago I had occasion to see the text of a letter addressed by the Curator of the Map Department of the Royal Geographical Society of London to the authorities here, requesting that certain maps of the Colony of New South Wales published years ago by the Survey Department be forwarded to the Society; the knowledge of the existence of those documents having come to that gentleman through the medium of a celebrated German geographical publication, 'Petermann Mittheilungen.' This fact shows how very little attention seems to have been paid to the geography of the Colonies, and there is not the slightest doubt that in the British Isles, as well as on the continent of America, a great deal more is known about Timbuctoo, the Congo, and the negro lands of Central Africa than about Australasia. Those countries have been brought prominently before the public of late years through the remarkable discoveries of Burton, Speke, Grant, Cameron, Stanley, Livingstone, De Brazza, &c., &c., whilst peaceful plodding Australia is left comparatively in the cold, and little attention is ever directed by the Press of the old world to the growing importance of its settlements, the immensity of its natural resources, and the great field which it opens to European colonization. The average educated Englishman will tell you that the interior of Australia is a desert, and that the present prosperity of the Colonies is due to the fact that the gold mines are not all worked out yet. The first object of the Society must, therefore, be to dispel the ignorance prevailing abroad about the Australasian Colonies, and at home educate the people to a better knowledge of the world we live in, and the advantages of commercial intercourse with other nations. We are not in a position here to divide commercial from physical geography, but the work is not too great for a single Society to undertake. That there is a great deal yet to be explored in and around Australia, and that a Geographical Society of Australasia might do much towards solving the remaining geographical mysteries in our part of the southern hemisphere there is not the slightest doubt, but this would involve so much cost as to be for the present, at any rate, impracticable. But a great deal may be done towards

that end by granting rewards in the shape of medals or other honorific distinctions to successful explorers. This would stimulate explorations in all parts of Australasia, and before many years little work would remain to be done by the geographical pioneer, and that result would be attained without the Society having been put to any great expense. Should we receive, however, outside help in the shape of donations, such as similar Societies in Europe have received from friends of civilization, the Society might materially contribute towards the solution of great geographical problems. Until then we must look to the practical side of the question, and our first care must be to collect the most complete records of past explorations in Australasia, besides obtaining the best works on the geography of the world in general. A great deal has been done by the Survey Departments of the various Colonies, and a vast amount of geographical information lies buried in their records, mixed up with an equally large amount of departmental and technical information. There is little doubt that the Society may rely on the help of the eminent officers who are at the head of those Departments in the various Australasian Colonies. The presence of the Surveyor-General of New South Wales amongst us to-night is a guarantee that his support may be relied upon by the Society. I need not dwell upon the last item on the programme; every one will see at once the advantage to be derived by all classes of the community through the spreading of the knowledge of other countries and other races, their industries and resources, and the advantages that are offered by intercourse with them. In fact, is there any doubt that the various colonial Governments, anxious as they have shown themselves to promote the interests of education, will heartily approve of a project so well calculated to dispel ignorance abroad, and to spread at home a better and sounder knowledge of the physical and commercial geography of Australasia and the world at large? When the fact is known that in the year 1882 a Geographical Society was actually founded in the Portuguese possessions in Central Africa, under the patronage of the Portuguese Governor of Mozambique, it will appear pretty clear that it is high time we in Australia should be awakened to the importance of an institution which is recognized as a necessary one by the Portuguese colonists at Mozambique."

Professor STEPHENS addressed the Surveyor-General with regard to the statement made by Mr. E. Marin La Meslée in the first part of his remarks. The Surveyor-General said that the statement was perfectly correct, and explained that about four years ago the celebrated German geographer Von Petermann wrote to him, requesting that he would kindly supply him with the latest geographical documents published by his department. He (Mr. Adams) immediately forwarded to Germany a number of maps of New South Wales, forming a very complete collection, and it was only quite recently that the Curator of the Maps Department at the Royal Geographical Society of London, having seen these documents mentioned in the admirable geographical work of Petermann, wrote to the authorities, requesting that a similar collection be forwarded him.

The Hon. W. A. BRODRIBB directed the attention of the meeting to a letter which had just been handed to him from the Rev. Tenison-Woods, in which the rev. gentleman stated that he regretted being unable to attend the meeting to-night, but he wished his honorable friend to convey to those interested his willingness to co-operate, and to state to the meeting that he was about to proceed on a scientific exploration of some portion of the Malayan Peninsula, and that he would be happy to put himself in communication with the Society during his journey. The hon. gentleman congratulated the infant Society upon having secured the spontaneous co-operation of one who has rendered such great services to science in Australia. He would propose that the Secretary be requested to officially acknowledge the communication. Mr. Brodrigg also added that, since the first meeting at Dr. Belgrave's, several of his friends had signified their willingness to join the movement—The Hon. William Macleay, M.L.C., the Hon. W. A. Busby, M.L.C., Professor Stephens, Messrs. J. Griffin, M. Lyons, George Lougham, Murray Campbell, and Mr. Taulton, of the New Zealand Bank. The Secretary had also secured the co-operation of Mons. J. De Court, Consul for France; Mr. F. Pluss, Consul for Switzerland; Mons. A. Conil, the Agent for the Messageries Maritimes Co., and several other gentlemen.

The Chairman requested the attention of the meeting to the various articles of the constitution, which were to be discussed seriatim, and called upon the Secretary to read the first article. The Secretary read the first article:—"The Society shall be styled 'The Geographical Society of Australasia.'" Dr. Belgrave said that the original name—"The Federal Geographical Society of Australasia"—should not be discarded, and pointed out that it would almost become necessary that local Societies should be established in the various capital cities of Australasia, and that the term would be most appropriate.

Professor STEPHENS thought that, before proceeding to name the Society, an exact definition of the term Australasia should be arrived at, and suggested that the following rider should be added to this first article:—"That the Australian region, as defined by W. Wallace, shall be recognized by this Society as the space within which the operations shall be concentrated." A discussion followed, and on the proposition being seconded by Mr. M. Lyons, it was agreed to by the meeting.

The second article, stating the objects of the Society, was then read by the Secretary, and agreed to. The Secretary read the third article, but before a discussion took place, Mr. Christie, L.S., proposed that the plan of the constitution of the Society should be printed and distributed among the members of the Committee, arguing

that it would be impossible to deal with such an important measure at a first committee meeting. The course proposed by him would give time for the measure to be considered by the members, and would greatly facilitate business. The motion was seconded by Mr. J. C. Neild and agreed to.

Dr. BELGRAVE suggested that the other articles be read by the Secretary, in order that the members of the sub-committee might make themselves acquainted with the general view held by the meeting, and that a debate of a conversational nature should take place on the subject. The Secretary then proceeded to read a few more articles, and an interesting conversation took place, which was brought to a close attention being directed to the lateness of the hour, and it was suggested that the sub-committee, consisting of Messrs. Belgrave and Gerard and E. Marin La Meslée, should request one or two more gentlemen to join them. They would meet at an early date and study the plan for the constitution of the Society, amending the original if necessary before it be printed and circulated amongst the members of the Committee. Messrs. Parrott, C.E., and Harrie Wood kindly accepted the task with the above-mentioned gentlemen, and the meeting adjourned. At the conclusion of the proceedings, Dr. Belgrave moved that a vote of thanks should be given to the Chairman, which was seconded and carried unanimously.

## First General Meeting of the Founders of the Geographical Society of Australasia.

THE first general meeting of the founders of the recently formed Geographical Society of Australasia was held in the Chamber of Commerce, at the Exchange, on Tuesday the 31st May. There were about seventy gentlemen present, and Mr. E. Du Faur, F.R.G.S., was voted to the chair. The advertisement convening the meeting having been read,—

The CHAIRMAN said it has doubtless been regretted by many besides myself that, hitherto, geography has been almost the only science which has received no organized support from, nor been prominently brought under the notice of, our community. Whilst in all parts of Europe, and in many other parts of the world, Geographical Societies have existed for years, numbering at the present time about eighty, neither this or any other Australian Colony has placed itself in a position to correspond with those recognized centres; and while many minor cities in Europe, and places such as Lima, Buenos Ayres, Quebec, and Japan, can support independent Societies, although having little scope for local investigations in the cause of geographical science, we who occupy almost the centre of a hemisphere, abounding with unexplored fields, have failed to co-operate with them. The organizers of these Societies have been actuated doubtless not by mere local interests, but by a desire to keep pace with the world-wide efforts of others in the same cause. We, with our own continent but roughly explored—with the countless islands of the Pacific in the pathways of our mercantile trades—with New Guinea (probably the least known extensive tracts in the world) adjacent to our shores, and with the vast Antarctic Ocean awaiting the enterprise of hardy spirits such as have conferred renown on the English race and the inhabitants of Northern Europe and America, have done nothing. We have not had even a recognized body that could greet those who have visited our shores from time to time in the cause of geographical science. Some years since an attempt was made to establish a Geographical Section in connection with the Royal Society of New South Wales, and for two years I endeavoured as Chairman of such Section to get together at least the nucleus of a Geographical Society. Either the movement was premature—or possibly I was not the right man—but I failed even to obtain the attendance of a few members at our monthly meetings. I rejoice to think that we now start under more promising auspices. A gentleman has come among us who is an enthusiast in the cause—who is willing to undertake the hard work and detail drudgery involved in the early stages of such a movement, and who, I feel convinced, will lead it to a successful issue. You will all have full opportunities of making the acquaintance of M. Marin La Meslée during this and our ensuing meetings. Some of you may recollect that recently a Geographical Congress was held at Venice, with which, in common with all other civilized countries, we were invited to co-operate. Much valuable information was collected in some of the Government Departments relating to the geography of New South Wales, but it appears to have been assumed that there was no one in our community who was sufficiently interested in the subject, or capable of representing us on the occasion; and a chance commercial visitor to our shores, not even a British subject, who had seen nothing of Australia beyond what could be gathered by a few weeks' residence in Melbourne and Sydney, and an overland journey between them by rail, was commissioned to represent us. The result was such as might well be expected. Our representative does not appear to have opened his lips, and our contributions were probably consigned to oblivion, unexamined and unexplained. I trust—I may say that I am certain—from the attendance here this evening, that no such absurdity will ever be permitted again, but that, at the next European Geographical Congress, we shall take our proper place, with intelligent representatives for each of the

Australian Colonies. There are endless topics on which I might dilate, notably that of New Guinea, but to them better justice will be done at our inaugural meeting.

Mr. E. MARIN LA MESLEE, M.C.G.S., Paris, Hon. Secretary *pro tem.*, remarked that he felt very sensibly the flattering remarks the Chairman had kindly made with reference to the work he had done in connection with the formation of the Society, and he could only say that the necessity of such an institution struck him so forcibly when he was at home last year, that he made up his mind on his return to Australia to do all in his power to establish it out here. He found that, as regards geographical science and the progress of commercial geography, we in Australia were placed at a great disadvantage by not possessing a Geographical Society, and it appeared to him beyond all manner of doubt that Japan, Central Africa, the Congo, and various other out-of-the-way places, of far less importance than Australasia, were very much better known in the old world than we were. Whilst these regions were being opened up to commerce, and the merchants of the old world were turning their efforts in their direction, comparatively little attention was paid to our growing commercial importance. Geographical works used in English and Continental schools contained the most absurd errors as regards Australasia, and a few lines were considered sufficient to deal with the geography of this part of the world. Last, but not least, we were placed in the very centre of the remaining unexplored portions of the globe, and it seemed to him that it would be an everlasting shame if we allowed others to continue and perfect the work of exploration in Australasia. With this object in view, this Society would be invited to give its support towards a thorough and scientific exploration of New Guinea and the completion of the work of exploration in Australasia. These were the reasons which presented themselves to his mind, and he made these views public at a meeting of the Royal Society at which he brought a message from the Geographical Society of Paris.

The draft constitution of the Society, which had been prepared by a Provisional Committee, was then read by the Hon. Secretary.

Dr. BELGRAVE moved as an amendment to the first clause in the constitution:—"That the name of the Society be 'The Federal Geographical Society of Australasia.'"

Sir JOHN ROBERTSON objected to the word "Federal" in regard to the Society, and he thought that if it were employed many of the gentlemen who were now the best friends of the Society would become greatly opposed to it.

Professor SLADEN seconded the amendment, and he said that, if it were carried, it would be the means of distinguishing the Society from the Geographical Societies which abounded in other British Dominions.

The amendment was put and lost, and the draft constitution of the Society was accepted, on the motion of Mr. II. Wood, seconded by Mr. F. Garrard.

A ballot was then taken for the election of a Vice-President and officers in connection with the Society, with the following result:—

## ***Vice-President—***

- Professor Stephens.

## ***General Council—***

- Hon. P. G. King.
- Mr. P. F. Adams.
- Mr. Christopher Rolleston.

## ***Hon. Secretary—***

- Mons. E. Marin La Meslée, M.C.G.S.P.

## ***Hon. Treasurer—***

- Mr. Francis Garrard.

## ***Administrative Council—***

- Mr. E. Du Faur, F.R.G.S.
- Dr. Belgrave.
- Hon. W. A. Brodribb, F.R.G.S.
- Mr. G. Ranken.
- Mr. C. S. Wilkinson.
- Rev. J. Jefferis, LL.B.

The Secretary announced that a meeting of the Administrative Council would take place at an early date, in order to prepare a programme for the inaugural meeting of the Society.

A vote of thanks was then passed to the Chairman, and the proceedings terminated.

Proceedings of the Geographical Society of Australasia.

1st Session, 1883-84

New South Wales Branch.

## Constitution of the Geographical Society of Australasia.

- 1.—The Society shall be styled the "GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF AUSTRALASIA."
- 2.—The objects of the Society are—Scientific, Commercial, and Educational.
  - Scientific—The advancement of Geographical Science and the study of the physical geography of the world, and more especially the completion of the geographical exploration of unknown and imperfectly known parts of Australasia, with a view to obtain information in reference to their physical features, fauna, flora, and geological formation.
  - Commercial—The study of commercial geography, the natural and artificial products of various countries, and their industries, with a view to further the commercial progress of Australasia.
  - Educational—The promotion of the knowledge of physical, commercial, and political geography among all classes by means of illustrated public lectures, and various publications.

The collection of information for the compilation of a reliable geography of Australasia.
- 3.—The Society shall be composed of Honorary, Corresponding, and Ordinary Members.
- 4.—Honorary Members shall be elected from among such eminent persons as have rendered valuable service in the cause of geographical science.
- 5.—Persons of distinguished scientific attainments, nonresident in the British Colonies of Australasia, who have promoted the objects of the Society, may be elected Corresponding Members.
- 6.—Any lady or gentleman may become an Ordinary Member, subject to election.
- 7.—The General Council of the Society shall be composed of—A President,
  - A Vice-President, for each associated province.
  - One or more Honorary Secretaries, and one Honorary Treasurer,
  - and three Councillors for each associated province.
- 8.—An Administrative Council shall be elected from among the Members of the Society residing in Sydney.
  - The Vice-President for the province of New South Wales shall be *ex officio* President of the Administrative Council.
  - The Honorary Secretaries and the Honorary Treasurer of the Society shall be *ex officio* Members of the Administrative Council, which shall consist of six members, besides the above-mentioned officers.
  - The Members of the General Council when present in Sydney will be *ex officio* Members of the Administrative Council.
- 9.—One-third of the Members of the General and Administrative Councils and Local Committees shall vacate office every year, and shall not be eligible for re-election for twelve months.
  - The President, Vice-Presidents, Honorary Secretaries, and Honorary Treasurer, shall be elected for three years, and shall be eligible for re-election.
- 10.—The election of Members of the General Council, and of the Administrative Council shall take place at the end of every session for the ensuing year, through the medium of ballot papers.
- 11.—The Meetings of the Society shall be: General Annual, Ordinary Monthly, and Special or Local.
  - The General Annual Meeting to be held at the commencement of every Annual Session in the capital of some associated province.
  - Ordinary Monthly Meetings to be held at the Society's rooms in Sydney, every month during the session.
  - Special or Local Meetings to be held in any city of the associated provinces.

12.—The Members of the Society in any associated province may elect a Local Committee, the local Members of the General Council being *ex officio* Members of the said Committee.

13.—The Session shall begin in the month of May, and last eight calendar months.

14.—The entrance fee to be paid by every ordinary Member of the Society shall be One Guinea.

• The Annual Subscription to be paid by every ordinary Member of the Society shall be One Guinea.

15.—The archives of the Society shall be kept in Sydney.

16.—An Annual Report of the Transactions of the Society shall be published.

17.—Reports of all meetings held outside Sydney shall be transmitted to the Hon. Secretaries of the Society, so as to admit of their insertion in the Annual Report or Transactions.

18.—No Rule or Regulation shall be proposed, discussed, or adopted, except at the General Annual Meetings, or at a Special Meeting.

## Inaugural Meeting of the Society.

THE inaugural meeting of the "Geographical Society of Australasia" was held at the Protestant Hall, Castlereagh-street, Sydney, on the 22nd June, 1883. A very large attendance, estimated at 700 to 800 persons, filled the building, and the proceedings opened by a short address from the Vice-President elect, Prof. W. J. Stephens, M.A., immediately followed by the reading of the following paper by the Hon. Sec. of the Society, Mr. E. Marin La Meslée.

## Past Explorations of New Guinea, and a Scheme for the Scientific Exploration of the Great Island.

### I.—PAST EXPLORATIONS.

THE subject which I have to treat this evening is one of great importance, both to geographical science and to the future of British Australasia. The news that the Colony of Queensland had a few weeks ago annexed part of the great island of New Guinea to the colonial empire of Great Britain took everybody by surprise, both at home and in the Australian Colonies.

The action of the Queensland Government has necessarily attracted towards New Guinea a large share of public attention; people have remembered that New Guinea, one of the largest islands in the world, has remained up to this day a sealed book to the geographer, and apart from some flying surveys of portions of its coast, a few important explorations within 20 to 40 miles from its shores, and the discovery of a few rivers, little is known of the interior of the country.

The sailor who happens to pass within 50 miles from its eastern shores perceives, on the distant horizon, a broken line of high mountains, running parallel to the coast, the highest peaks towering to a height of 12,000 and 13,000 feet above the sea-level, but beyond them no white man has dared to brave the unknown terrors of the interior of the dark island. Two Europeans have ascended the course of a mighty stream, which carries to the sea the drainage of an immense watershed on the south-western part, but they only ventured within gunshot of its banks, and in many cases met with great hostility on the part of the natives. More dangerous, perhaps, than the arrows of the Papuans, a terrible fever reigns supreme on the low lands; no one escapes the effects of the malaria; and, if Nature appears clothed in its most brilliant tropical garments, inviting by its splendid aspect the admiration of man, the poisonous air itself stands guard over the island's treasures, and seems to forbid to the explorer the entrance to that magnificent garden of Eden. Not only is the country rich beyond description with an admirable and varied flora, but insect and animal life are both of a profuse character. Amidst the brilliant foliage which shades the river's banks, under the green dome of the silent forests, myriads of insects and birds have their home. The latter are amongst the most beautiful of the Almighty's creatures, so marvellous that the first naturalists who described them, in ecstasy before the exquisite colours and the splendour of their gorgeous plumage, have deemed them worthy of a place in Elysium, and have classed them under the generic name of "Birds of Paradise." Many are the speculations which at various times have obtained credence as to the value of the natural products of New Guinea. It has been currently believed that gold would be found in profusion, and the mineral resources of the island have been spoken of as probably of an extreme richness; but

so far little is known which might tend to verify such assumptions.

New Guinea is now in the position of Australia when Captain Cook hoisted the British standard on the shores of Botany Bay. Little more is known of its coast than was known of those of the Australian continent a century ago, and its interior has yet to be explored. The time has come for an expedition of a scientific nature to visit the dark island; and since, sooner or later, its eastern portion will become part of the future dominion of Australasia, to which geographical system it belongs, such an expedition almost becomes a national undertaking.

It may be well that I review before you to-night the history of past explorations, and that I give you a general idea of their results in a geographical point of view. The experience of those who first had dealings with the natives, the information of a varied and interesting character which they have obtained, as to their customs and habits, and their observations on the climatic conditions of the island, are of the greatest importance when it is attempted to penetrate a country so little known.

I need not describe the geographical position of New Guinea; any one who has cast a glance at the map of Australasia could not fail to notice that large island very much longer than it is broad, terminated at the south-east by a long narrow peninsula through which runs a range of high mountains, and the extreme northwest of which is formed of another peninsula, almost round in shape, nearly cut off from the mainland by a deep inlet on the western side, and that great indenture of Gelwink Bay on the eastern. It is situated opposite the extreme northern point of the Australian continent, and, if York Peninsula was prolonged, it would almost cut the great island in two equal parts.

From its extreme south-east to its north-west point the distance is nearly 1,100 miles, and its greatest breadth is not less than 500 miles. The superficial area of New Guinea, as far as can be ascertained from our yet incomplete geographical notions, exceeds 300,000 square miles, being a larger area than that of France. The population, composed of a great many different races, among which the Papuan and the Malayan types are the most conspicuous, is estimated by some at 8,000,000, and by others at 2,000,000 only. This leaves a very large margin for any possible error; but if we may rely on the descriptions of the few travellers and naval officers who have visited its shores, there is no doubt that the population will be found nearer the first than the last figure.

The discovery of New Guinea is attributed to a Spanish sailor, Alvaro de Saavedra, who sighted its coast in the year 1528. It is however presumed that the Portuguese who had settled in the Moluccas about the year 1512, had obtained a knowledge of its existence. Long before the Europeans ever came to that part of the world, the Malays and the Chinese had been in the habit of communicating with New Guinea, and they have left undeniable proof of their intercourse in the alteration of the original characteristics of the native races. The Malays must have circumnavigated the island at an early period, as the mixture of Malayan blood is to be found amongst the coast tribes on both the east and west coast, as well as near its south-easternmost point. The island of Salwatee, which is separated from the mainland by the strait of Galewo, is inhabited by natives of various races, but the prevailing element is Malayan, and the political power is in the hands of a Malay rajah. The intercourse between the Malays and the natives of the north-west has been constantly kept up from ages past, whilst the former have probably long since ceased to visit the southern coasts.

Of all Europeans who have left records of their travels to those parts of the southern hemisphere, the next who saw New Guinea was Luis Vaz de Torres, who has given his name to the straits which separate the island from the continent of Australia. Seventy years elapsed before other European navigators visited the shores of the great Papua, and in 1676 the Dutch sailors, Schouten and Lemaire, recognized part of the south-western coast. The French Navigator, De Bougainville, in 1768, and the celebrated English Navigator, Captain Cook, whose name is for ever associated with the history of the discovery of Australia, followed in 1770, calling at some point of the coast, which was afterwards visited by the Dutch officers in the first half of this century. Among English navigators who subsequently came in sight of the shores of New Guinea, I may cite Forrest, in 1774, Edwards, in 1791, Captain Bligh, of the "Bounty," in 1791, and Captain Flinders, in 1799. The records left by them are, however, of very small importance, as they do not go beyond a few notes entered in their journals. The French navigator, Dumont d'Urville, who made a voyage to the east coast, was really the first to give an interesting account of the island. He landed several parties, and the naturalists attached to his expedition made very complete zoological collections, and wrote interesting reports on the natural history of Papua.

The Dutch, who had annexed to their Malayan colonies the northern part of New Guinea down to the 141st parallel, sent several expeditions to visit and report on its apparent natural resources. In 1825 and 1826, the Dutch man-of-war, "Dourga," under the command of Lieutenant Kolff, reached the entrance of what was supposed to be a large river, emptying itself in the Timor Sea, which he christened the St. Bartholomew. It is situated by 8° 25' south latitude and 139° 2' east longitude. He describes the coast in the vicinity as low and covered with mangrove trees, the sea being of very little depth, and great mud banks extending far from the land. He pursued his course along the coast, and after rounding False Cape discovered the entrance of another

river which he named the Dourga; but it was afterwards found by the expedition of the "Postilion" in 1835 that the Dourga and the Bartholomew were not rivers at all, but formed a strait separating Prince Frederick Henry Island from the mainland. The shores of that island were so low as to be almost inaccessible on account of the mud banks and the low mangrove vegetation, already described.

Lieutenant Kolff proceeded along the coast in a northerly direction, and between the entrance to Dourga Straits and the Outernata River he traced the mouths of many large streams; but owing to the low formation already noticed was unable to approach the shore. To judge from the number of villages seen from the vessel the coast seems to be densely populated. On arriving at a point opposite the island of Adi the land becomes very high. The people of that part of the coast showed themselves very hostile.

The flying survey of Lieutenant Kolff was completed by the two expeditions of the "Siren" in 1832 and the "Triton" in 1835 (the results of which Dr. Solomon Muller has published). The coast of Adi Island, Nautilus Straits, and several points of the south-western coast were examined. This was the second voyage of the "Triton," as in 1828 that vessel had visited the south-west coast, the Outernata River and Triton Bay. In 1858, the steamship "Etna," also of the Dutch Navy, explored the same region; the river Karoefa was examined and ascended for many miles, the country which it waters being described as high and covered with the most admirable vegetation. The Dutch steamer subsequently visited Etna Bay and the Bay of Caimans, and made a survey of Humboldt Bay. The Dutch expeditions were completed by scientific missions, that of Van der Crab in 1871, and that of Teysman, Correngeel, Langeweldt, Hemert, and Swan in 1876, who examined the northern coast and made splendid collections of natural history specimens, adding greatly to our knowledge of that part of New Guinea.

We now come to the English expeditions and surveys, commencing with that of H.M.S. "Fly" in 1842-46, to which the discovery of the Fly River is clue, and that of the "Rattlesnake" in 1846-50, in which Prof. Huxley took part. These expeditions, however, did no more than survey part of the south-east coast, and never ventured to send parties inland to explore the country.

Captain Owen Stanley, in a paper read before the Royal Geographical Society of London, in 1851, spoke of a range of very high mountains following the direction of the extreme south-east coast, one of them attaining an altitude of 12,800 feet. This mountain is the magnificent Mount Owen Stanley, which forms so conspicuous a background to the scenery of the coast at Port Moresby.

We are now approaching a new period in the history of the geographical exploration of New Guinea. The first English missionaries made their appearance, and with them Christianity and civilization dawned on the natives of New Guinea. Until now, be it said to the great credit of the missionaries, their efforts have been attended with the best effects; the Papuans have been made to understand the pacific intentions of the white man, and the days of murders and cannibalism seem to be passing away, unless perhaps at the beginning of a new era of colonization steps are not taken from the first to prevent any difficulties arising between the natives and the early colonists.

In 1867 the Rev. Mr. Chalmers, together with Mr. Chester, the same gentleman who recently annexed the island to the colonial domain of England, in the name of the Government of Queensland, visited the south-eastern shores, and subsequently the Mai Cussar River was discovered, which has been re-christened the Baxter by the missionaries who visited it in the steamer "Ellengowan." Mission stations were established on the coast, and they have flourished and done great good in opening the country to the influence of civilization.

We now come to the most complete explorations of the coast made by English navigators—I mean those of Captain Moresby, in 1871 and 1876. He left Sydney under orders from the Commodore of the Australian Station, picked up *en route* the remains of an ill-fated expedition, of which I shall speak further on, anchored in Redscar Bay on the south-east coast, and proceeded to examine the surrounding country. He found the natives of the Malay type, small well-built people with a fine and pleasing expression of countenance, living in large houses raised on piles of the unusual height of 15 to 20 feet. He discovered a wide estuary into which several rivers empty themselves, but unfortunately unconnected with the sea by any navigable passage, otherwise it would be one of the finest harbours in the world. An exploration was made of the Edith and Osborne Rivers, which are described as fine streams with a strong current, but which, would be easily ascended by steam launches.

The inhabitants, very shy at first, soon became friendly, and he never had to complain of their conduct in any way. Below Redscar Bay the coast was examined and the magnificent harbour of Port Moresby discovered. Yule Island and Hall Sound were afterwards visited, and Captain Moresby described the latter as a perfectly land-locked harbour, in which hundreds of vessels could lie in safety. Yule Island is a very remarkable, highly mountainous country, covered with magnificent tropical vegetation, and relatively healthy. The inhabitants belong to the Malay group, but the type is coarser than at Redscar Bay. They are also friendly and well disposed towards traders. Iron hoop and scrap iron have the greatest value as articles of trade.

Captain Moresby completed the survey of the extreme southeast coast of New Guinea, which the early

French navigators Bougainville, d'Entrecasteaux, and the English captain Owen Stanley had seen; but they had not approached sufficiently near to find the outline of the land. Milne Bay was completely surveyed, and Moresby anchored in a small bay inside the greater one, on the shores of which a beautiful village is situated. He called it Discovery Bay. The natives were very friendly and came alongside the English vessel in beautifully ornamented canoes, from 50 to 60 feet long. Rounding the easternmost point of New Guinea, Captain Moresby made a flying survey of the east coast, and expressed himself in very glowing terms as to its aspect. "Between East and Vogel Cape, there is a coast line of about 100 miles; villages abound, and the valleys, not seen from the sea, on account of the lie of the hills, appear well cultivated. The villages are scattered on this part of the coast on a plateau of park-like land, which intervenes between the shore and the mountains within, which, rising by gradually higher undulations, terminate at a height of many thousand feet above the sea. There can be no doubt, says Moresby, as to the capabilities of this land if cultivated. On the hills, herds of cattle and sheep innumerable might find pasture, whilst from the cold summit to the hot plain all the products of wide extent of climate might be grown. The climate of that part of New Guinea would not be prejudicial to Europeans, high land possessing every degree of temperature abounds, and the Europeans who inhabit the islands of Polynesia appear to enjoy perfect health." The English captain continued his survey of the east coast as far as Astrolabe Bay, and describes its aspect as magnificent. He observed, however, that the natives of that part of New Guinea seemed very much more savage and intractable than those of the south-east coast and of Milne Bay. A meteorological peculiarity which he observed was, that whilst the western part is exposed during the months of March, April, and May, to very bad and extremely hot weather, on the eastern shore, although the heat is great, the air is always beautiful and clear.

Captain Moresby's coast survey in 1876 is the last which I have to record, although the "Wolverene" made a flying trip to the south-west coast in 1881, and the vessels of the Australian stations have frequently visited portions of its shores within the last few years. The sailors must now give place to the naturalists, to whom is due most of the knowledge we possess of the parts of New Guinea, extending at any distance from the coast, which have ever been visited by Europeans.

To Wallace, who explored the northern coasts of New Guinea, we owe most of our geographical knowledge of that part of the island. The Italian naturalists, d'Albertis and Beccari, in 1872, proceeded along the coast to Salwattee Island, visited Tangior Bay, Kulokadi and Kapauer Harbour on the north-west, where the people trade with the Boughis merchants of Macassar. All along the northern coast the country is splendid in its aspect. Hills beautifully covered with vegetation rise from the sea, and behind them higher hills, everywhere thickly wooded, form the background. Round to the east the mountains become gigantic, and Mount Arfak measures 12,000 feet. The interior is completely unknown, the natives are cannibals, very numerous and well armed. Along that coast they appear to be a mixture of Malays and Papuans; many of them have embraced the Mussulman faith, and missionaries of that religion reside on the mainland. This fact shows that little friendliness can be expected from them in that quarter. Wherever the Malays have had dealings with the Papuans, the result has been to render them, if it were possible, more savage, and it is a fact too well known that Europeans have always found great difficulty to establish relations with any kind of native races where Islamism has penetrated. The French in Senegambia and in the Cayor have met with the greatest opposition on the part of the Mahomedan blacks. The institution of slavery, dear to every follower of the Prophet, necessarily implants itself wherever this religious system has sway; and as the white man's first care is to put a stop to that horrible trade in human merchandise, he can expect nothing but a most determined opposition. Dr. Beccari and d'Albertis remained some time in the vicinity of Mt. Arfak until the Italian corvette "Vittor Pisani" picked them up and brought them to Australia. They touched at Orangerie Bay on the voyage down, and described that part of the country as very beautiful, and the natives as very friendly. There they found that the New Guineans of that region had not got beyond the age of stone, as all their implements were made of beautifully polished hard stone. Iron, however, under the name of *dim dim*, seemed to be in great requisition.

But the most important of d'Albertis' explorations is that in which, in company with Mr. Law. Hargraves, as engineer of the steam launch "Neva," which was lent to him by the Government of New South Wales, he ascended the Fly River for a distance of 454 miles, and discovered its principal affluent, the Alice Hargrave River. He first visited Yule Island and Hall Sound, and on the Ethel River made a flying exploration in search of specimens of natural history. The "Neva" afterwards entered the Fly River, which is described as running for a considerable distance from its mouth, between mangrove skirted shores, very low and unhealthy. The source of the river, which was not discovered, probably lies at the foot of a long range, which seems to cross New Guinea from the south-east to the north-west. The river winds between low hills, gradually increasing in height towards the north, and making a turn westerly runs through a large extent of low flat plains, covered with an admirable vegetation, forests of sago palms, &c., &c. The mouth is a wide delta of numerous islands, Kiwai, the largest of them, being very densely populated. The Italian naturalist's opinion is greatly against the possibility of Europeans ever being able to stand the fearful climate of the low plains, but he thinks that on both

sides of the high central range the mountainous regions would offer chances of success. D'Albertis found the natives very savage, and had several times to use force in order to save the life of himself and his party. As they ascended more into the interior the race became totally different, and the real Papuans were met with, free from any admixture of Malay blood.

The explorations of d'Albertis and Dr. Beccari must have been highly successful, as I see from a paragraph in the Proceedings of the Geographical Society of London that they have brought home about 5,000 species of plants and 100,000 of animals, of which 10,000 birds and 80,000 insects were deposited by them in the Museums of Genoa and Florence.

Besides Italians, naturalists of other nationalities have visited the great island. In 1876, the French Government sent Mons. Raffray on a scientific mission, and he visited the Dorei Andrai Peninsula, and the natives of the Arfak tribes. His splendid collections of natural history specimens were forwarded to the Paris Museums. New South Wales is also represented by two expeditions; that of the "Clievert," which was equipped at the expense of the Hon. William Macleay, was, in a scientific point of view, eminently successful. Geographically speaking, little new information was gained, as the vessel visited spots already known, but natural sciences were greatly benefited. In 1877, the Trustees of the Australian Museum sent Mr. Alexander Morton in search of specimens of natural history. He landed at Pt. Moresby, in company with the botanical collector, Mr. A. Goldie, and started for Redscar Bay.

The whole of the land round this district appears to belong to the Pt. Moresby natives, but the next village, called Momeara, is inhabited by another tribe. Mr. Morton relates that he found great difficulty in obtaining natives to carry the provisions, owing to certain laws which seem to have force in the whole of that part of New Guinea between various tribes. The Pt. Moresby natives were willing to carry goods as far as Momeara, but nothing could induce them to go a step further. The Momeara natives were also disposed to carry as far as the next village, but the same difficulty was met with there, and as the villages became more and more numerous, and the tribal boundaries narrower as the travellers penetrated further inland, they found this curious custom a great drawback to their explorations.

A new river was discovered at a distance of about 45 miles from Pt. Moresby, emptying itself into the Laloki, and Mr. Morton, named it after Mr. Goldie. This river runs very rapidly, with many falls of great height, and as far as could be judged seems to have its source at the foot of the Owen Stanley Range.

The explorers afterwards came across a village which was built in the forks of trees, the natives of which were very shy; but an incident occurred there which shows how very beneficial an influence the presence of the missionaries has exerted in the natives of that part of New Guinea. When the inhabitants of the village had recovered from their fears, they became a little bolder, and, approaching within speaking distance, one of them inquired in his language if the white man was a friend of Mr. Lawes, and on an affirmative answer being given they immediately became friendly. The missionary referred to had never been in this part of the district, but his name was known to the natives as a byword of peace, and the simple fact that the white men were his friends was sufficient to ensure a good reception. Mr. Morton observed that the natives had a very good knowledge of tropical agriculture; their gardens are neatly fenced, and they grow in profusion yams, taro, sugar-cane, bread-fruit, and some extremely fine tobacco. He and his party experienced great kindness on the part of these natives. Prospecting was also tried both along the Goldie River and its numerous small tributaries, and up to the point whence they returned. The colour was found only in the river itself, but none could be found in any of the tributaries. This seems to point to the fact that the gold has been washed from the foot of the Owen Stanley Range, where it is surmised lies the source of the Goldie.

In 1871 the Russian corvette "Vitiáz" landed on the eastern coast of New Guinea a gentleman who has devoted his life to the advancement of our knowledge of the natural history of the great island, and who for over four years has resided among the wild tribes of that inhospitable coast, collecting a vast amount of scientific information and studying the beautiful animated nature of that splendid country. I have named the Russian savant, N. de Miklouho-Maclay. The part of the coast which he explored is situated on the eastern side of New Guinea, between Dampier Island and King William Cape. It extends over a distance of nearly 200 miles, and the Russian naturalist made numerous excursions inland, exploring the country at an average distance of 40 miles from the coast. That part of New Guinea is very high, and between the sea shore and the high summits of the coast range the total distance does not exceed 50 to 60 miles. Beyond a certain height on the slope of the mountains the country is uninhabited. Near the coast, however, the natives are very numerous; they were very troublesome at first, and the naturalist often felt very insecure among his savage neighbours, but his great energy, his just and kind treatment of them, enabled him to pass safely through all dangers. That part of the eastern coast is now named the Maclay coast, and the Russian naturalist's explorations are by far the most important made by any traveller in New Guinea. But Maclay did not confine his labours to the east coast of the island. In 1874 he visited the Papua-Koviay coast, which was formerly examined by the Dutch, penetrated to a certain distance inland, and discovered at a height of 1,500 feet above the sea level the beautiful lake of

Kamaka Wallar.

Besides the vast amount of important geographical information about New Guinea which Maclay has collected, the results of his investigations in other fields of science, his anthropological and ethnological researches in a country so admirably suited for such studies, will be awaited for with impatience by the scientific world. After a residence of eighteen months on the Maclay coast in 1871-72, and excursion in 1874 on the Papua-Koviay coast, two or more years' travels in 1876 and 1877 in his scientific domain among the Papuans of Astrolabe Bay, his explorations of the south coast in 1879 and 1880, a trip on board the "Wolverene" in 1881, and a last visit in 1883, three months ago, on his return from Russia, to that admirable coast, which is so rightly named after himself, the Russian savant needed rest.

He has now returned to Sydney, and is putting together the results of his numerous experiences in that little retreat at the Biological Station near Watson's Bay, awaiting the time when the work of twelve years passed outside the pale of civilization will have seen light, and ready again to return to his Maclay coast among the savage races, who regard him no more as an enemy—but as their friend and benefactor.

After the naturalists come the missionaries, and to them we are indebted for the knowledge we possess of the customs and habits of the natives of the inland tribes round Pt. Moresby. They were the first to ascend the Fly River, a distance of over 200 miles, and the mission steamer "Ellengowan" has visited many parts of the coast. The Revd. Messrs. Lawes and Chalmers have at different periods visited the districts round Pt. Moresby, Hall Sound, and Yule Island. In August, 1880, Mr. Chalmers started from Pt. Moresby, and examined the district lying behind Redscar Bay, and Messrs. Chester and Beswick started for an inland journey, under the guidance of the chief of Momeara. The year before Mr. Chalmers had visited the country between Pt. Moresby and the foot of Mt. Owen Stanley, and went to the Elkiri district. He tried, but in vain, to cross the Owen Stanley Range and reach the east coast, but on his return journey crossing the head of the Laloki he traversed two districts at the foot of Mount Astrolabe, and from the summit of a high spur obtained a splendid view of a country which he says has no equal in New Guinea. It is a succession of green ridges, between which are fruitful and well-watered valleys; the country is densely populated, beautifully cultivated near the villages, and the natives are very friendly. In one of these excursions Mr. Chalmers came across a splendid fall on the Laloki River, the height of which he estimated at 900 feet.

I have to record two more expeditions,—one of a commercial character along the north-west coast and the shores of McCluer Inlet, and the other in search of gold in the Port Moresby district and near the Owen Stanley Range.

In 1877, Mr. Hartog, a Dutch merchant of Macassar, visited in the "Egerton" the district situated in the vicinity of McCluer Inlet, which the traders from Ceram have long been in the habit of visiting at irregular intervals. The scenery on the shores of the Gulf is magnificent. The hills, which rise from the sea, are covered with virgin forests inhabited by the Alfuras tribes, and about forty villages containing a population of 20,000 Papuans form a regular *cordon* of trading centres round the bay. The coast tribes act as go-between the traders and the Alfuras of the interior, and Mr. Hartog describes the people he was in connection with as neither savage, treacherous, nor cunning, but rather lively and energetic, and showing great eagerness to trade. The commerce of the Gulf is estimated by him at a value of £80,000 to £90,000 annually, and could easily be increased. The merchants of Macassar, Ceram, and Goram, however, are afraid of establishing regular communication with the country; but, according to Mr. Hartog, the fear is more one of tradition than real insecurity. Sago forms the principal food of the natives, and the land produces naturally and in abundance everything desirable. Nutmegs grow wild and in profusion, and the soil is of surpassing richness.

The results of Mr. Hartog's expedition were both interesting and useful, more so than those of the Australian expedition in search of gold, which visited the country about the Laloki and Goldie Rivers, and returned without having been successful in their search for the precious metal. They left behind them their horses, which have considerably multiplied, and will probably be found very useful to an exploring party intending to start from Port Moresby. This was about the only good result of that expedition, which did not increase our knowledge of the geography of that part of New Guinea the party visited. Since then, Lt. Powell visited part of the east and south-east coast, and lately published the results of his observations in a paper which he read before the Geographical Society of London.

Such is a brief *résumé* of the extent of the knowledge we actually possess of the great island. Compared to what remains to be known, it is very little indeed, but the experience acquired by others is of the greatest importance.

## II.—FUTURE EXPLORATIONS.

Before entering upon any scheme of future exploration, it is necessary to form as good an idea as possible of the extent of the country to be examined, and of the probable difficulties to be encountered. It plainly

appears, judging from past experience in New Guinea, that Nature and the natives have placed many difficulties in the ways of small and ill-equipped exploring parties. Isolated explorers cannot go very far from the coast, and fever and ague would soon put a stop to the enthusiasm of the most eager adventure-seeker; but there are always to be found in the world inexperienced young men ready to jump at any chance they may get of acquiring fame, without any definite aims, and without calculating beforehand the risks they may run in rushing into undertakings which cannot in any way bring any beneficial results, either to the public or to themselves. We have had in our own Colony, and in connection with the very island which is the subject of this lecture to-night, a sad and striking example of the results that may be anticipated from ill-contrived expeditions in search of adventures in a new land. The fate of the "Maria" expedition twelve years ago is still within the memory of many of my hearers.

Captain Moresby has related the rescue of the survivors of that expedition. The "Maria" was wrecked on the Queensland coast before ever reaching New Guinea, and almost the whole of its passengers were drowned or killed by the natives; seven or eight of them were rescued by the "Basilisk," and a few others reached Cardwell in safety, whence they returned home. "Thus," says Moresby, "ended this unfortunate attempt to reach New Guinea, an attempt which is but one proof out of many that Australian interest points to the possession of that great island." This last reflection of the gallant officer contained a hope which is near being realized; and now that the attention of everybody in Australia is attracted towards that magnificent country, the necessity of obtaining an accurate knowledge of the features of the island, and of the distribution of natural resources throughout its interior becomes almost a national care. It would be an everlasting shame if we were to allow others to perform a task which is so essentially our own. One great difficulty to be surmounted will probably be found in the hostility of the natives, who, on the banks of the Fly River, and on many points of the coast, have shown themselves very much opposed to the white man's intrusion. Wherever the Malayan influence is great, this will be found to be the case; in the far interior, however, where the true Papuan race will probably be met with in all its purity, the difficulties may not be so great. These people have never seen any white men, and their first impression will be one of curiosity, and possibly of fear if the party have horses. It has been noticed that the natives were greatly afraid of horses, and it is the opinion of Mr. Hargrave and other New Guinea explorers that the presence of horses will be in itself a great protection to any party that may attempt to explore the island. But we are now looking on the bright side of the picture, and the facts may be found very different. The Papuans of the interior may show towards a party of white strangers the same hostility that the coast tribes have evinced, and this opinion will find support if the narrative of d'Albertis is not exaggerated. The Italian naturalist had several encounters with the noble savage on the banks of the Fly River, and found him more ready to deal in arrows than in birds of Paradise.

However, difficulties of that sort have been met with in other countries, and may be overcome in New Guinea, but those who undertake to join an exploring party to the dark island must be prepared to face great and unknown dangers. One who does not possess great natural courage, a cool head, and sound judgment, and who is not willing to bow, without the slightest hesitation, to the authority of the head of the expedition, is unfit to be a member of such a party and had better stop at home.

In dealing with native races, experience has taught the necessity of acting with the greatest caution. Intending explorers in New Guinea must be alive to the necessity of treating the natives with the greatest kindness, avoiding any interference in their affairs, respecting their customs, however barbarous they may be. "Be just in all your dealings," says Maclay, "and above all, try to impress the native's mind with the fact that you have come for a special purpose, and that you will not interfere with them; they *may* then leave you alone." I say *may* leave you alone, as it would be foolish to neglect other precautions; those indicated above are only dictated by the experience of the past, and if acted upon in every point, they will probably afford sufficient security; but, however just one may be towards savages, they sometimes prove very treacherous, and it is often when they appear the most friendly that they are most to be dreaded. The fate of the gallant Commodore Goodenough, the most humane of commanders, has taught others that prudence must be exercised.

The greatest of other difficulties which an expedition will have to contend against is the unhealthiness of the climate. In the low lands on the coast, and even up to a certain height on the mountain slopes, fever and ague reign supreme; but the first white men who settled in the north of Queensland, and those who now are colonizing the Northern Territory of South Australia, had to contend with the same climatic difficulties. At one time the Queensland fevers were spoken of as the greatest obstacle towards the colonization of the northern districts by the white man. No doubt a great many of the pioneers of those far away districts succumbed to the effects of the climate, but experience has taught their followers what precautions should be taken against the fever. These precautions may be resumed, thus: The utmost sobriety should be observed and the use of spirits condemned from the first; no water should be drunk unless it had been previously boiled, and this rule should be strictly insisted upon; no one should be allowed to sleep on the ground; and an exploring party ought to be well provided with Ashantee hammocks; lastly the party should be accompanied with one or two medical men,

and carry a large quantity of sulphate of quinine and other medicines generally used to combat fever and ague. Should these precautions against the possibility of hostility on the part of the natives and against the unhealthiness of the climate be strictly adhered to, prompt obedience to the orders of the head of the expedition exacted from every member of the party, and care be taken not on any consideration to interfere with the natives, then some success may be anticipated.

The preceding remarks point to the necessity of an expedition on a large scale. A party should be formed of sufficient strength, properly equipped and armed, whose object should be the geographical exploration of New Guinea. Such expedition, placed under the command of a man having had previous experience in tropical countries, might be composed of surveyors, skilled collectors, and persons possessing special knowledge in various branches of science. Men already accustomed to tropical travels, able to turn their hands to anything, and a few Malays well skilled in the preparation of sago, which will be found of the greatest use as an article of diet, should accompany the expedition as subordinates. Two medical men should go with the party, and it would be all the better if they happened to possess special abilities as naturalists. Although the principal object of that first expedition would be the study of physical geography of New Guinea, its results would be much more important if the party was so composed. There is little doubt that men of ability would be found both at home and in Australia to form such an expedition. The services of properly qualified medical men, surveyors, and collectors, could easily be obtained in the Australian Colonies, as there is no lack among us of men of the right stamp, who will be ready to brave the dangers of the expedition; but we may have to look at home for specialists in the various fields of science. The necessity of the formation of a party of sufficient strength to be able to resist the possible attacks of savages is apparent, although no doubt a great deal might be accomplished by smaller expeditions; but if it is considered desirable that the party be so composed, it is essential that the services of the best men be secured, as the results would necessarily be of the greatest importance, not only to geographical science but also to all sciences in general, and as a necessary consequence, in view of the future colonization of the island, to those who may wish to settle in New Guinea.

As to the route that such an expedition might take, much will necessarily depend on circumstances, but a scheme might be agreed upon which would allow of the possibility of maintaining in a certain measure correspondence from time to time with the expedition, and affording it relief in case fever or the hostility of the natives had reduced its strength, besides relieving it of all cumbersome luggage in the shape of large collections of specimens, which it would be most necessary to preserve intact if possible.

The south-western watershed of New Guinea offers for that purpose the greatest advantages, as the island is admirably watered by numerous and large rivers, navigable to a considerable distance with steam launches of little draught. In connection with the expedition operating on the mainland, a second party might operate along the coast, whose object would be to recognize the principal features of the coast, the entrance of rivers, and which would ascend the largest of them up to their highest navigable point, exploring the country on either side. It might be agreed upon that the two expeditions meet at certain given points. For instance, should the main expedition start from Hall Sound, its first stage would be thence to the highest navigable point of the Aird River, which disembogues in the Gulf of Papua; then it would meet the relief expedition, which would take back the sick and those of the party who would not care to proceed further, and also the correspondence and the collections of natural history specimens made during this first part of the exploration. The main body might then be reinforced with men of the relief expedition, and whatever provisions be needed might be procured. They would then separate, the main body proceeding towards the interior, gaining higher levels as soon as possible, so as to escape the effects of the malaria in the low lands, and they would examine the south-western slope of the main dividing range, crossing on their way the head of all streams and rivers which may have their source in the mountains. They would then make for the confluence of the Alice Hargrave and the Fly River, the position of which is approximately known, and meet there for the second time the relief party, who, after descending the Aird River, would examine the coast along the shores of the Gulf of Papua, ascend the Fly, and explore the country on its banks at a greater distance and in a more systematic manner than was done by d'Albertis. There they would separate again to meet on the eastern coast. The main body, after exploring the country on the western side of the main range, might endeavour to cross the mountains and reach the opposite coast. It is probable, however, that after crossing the main dividing range, the explorers would come upon the source of that large river the mouth of which forms such an immense delta on the north-east of New Guinea at the head of Gelwink Bay. It might be deemed more prudent for the expedition to follow the course of that river, either in canoes or on rafts, which could be easily constructed, as there will be no lack of material at hand. Should the state of the party permit of gaining the eastern shore and reach Humboldt Bay, the explorers might there be met by the relief expedition and brought back to the nearest Australian port. This, however, is only a sketch of what might be accomplished, but circumstances may greatly interfere with the carrying out of such a scheme, and much must necessarily be left in expeditions of that sort to the discretion of the leaders. As to that part of the country extending between Port Moresby and the extreme south-east, the missionaries of the London

Missionary Society have already established many stations on the coast, and we may leave to them the task of completing our geographical knowledge of that part of New Guinea.

Thus important geographical and scientific information might be gained as to the aspect and capabilities of New Guinea, and the efforts to colonize the country might be in the future guided by the results obtained. Experience of that sort, in a country offering great inducements to Australian trade and enterprise, cannot be too dearly bought; and the first expense, although probably large, would be the means of saving the expenditure of much larger sums and preventing the sacrifice of many human lives in attempts at settlements in places most unsuited for colonizing purposes. The necessity of obtaining information as to the population of New Guinea, the customs and manners of the natives, the probable reception Europeans might expect to meet at their hands, are subjects of the utmost importance to future colonists. A telegram the other day announced that the British Government would simply allow settlements to be formed at some point of the coast facing Torres Straits. This information evidently emanated from persons little acquainted with the character of the country, and still less with that of the kind of colonists who might be expected to cross over to New Guinea. The coast must be the starting point of colonization certainly, but is it reasonable, or even possible, to expect that Europeans will remain in the fever-stricken districts of the low coast lands, when greater and better inducements may be offered to their enterprise in healthier and more suitable localities, on the mountain slopes in the interior? Large navigable rivers offer splendid natural highways to the sugar, tobacco, sago, and nutmeg producing districts, and is it likely that Europeans could be prevented from trading in those commodities with the natives?

But we must bear in mind that the colonization of New Guinea will be very different to that of even similar tropical parts of Australia. In the latter country, the white man has had to deal with nomadic tribes, having no fixed settlements, no plantations, and hardly any social order, besides being neither numerous nor powerful. In New Guinea we are brought in the presence of a very opposite state of affairs. Not only are the natives numerous, but in most parts they have attained a certain degree of rough civilization; they live in large communities, independent from each other, and follow agricultural pursuits. The fact that they cultivate all kinds of natural products in their small, neatly fenced gardens, denotes that the idea of property exists among them to a high degree, and it is needless to say that they will resent any kind of interference with their customs. If the white man does not take the necessary precautions to ascertain the traditions of the natives in that and many other respects, conflicts will certainly arise that may ruin all efforts to colonize New Guinea, set the black and white races at each other's throats, and end in disaster to both.

It is of no use trying to put a stop to colonizing enterprises with a race whose genius itself lies in that particular direction. Wherever money may be made or gold found, nothing will prevent the Anglo-Saxon race from emigrating to any part of the globe. The rapid means of communication we now possess precipitate events which, but for the advent of electricity and steam, might not have occurred for the next two or three centuries. Wherever a steamer can take them, if there is any chance of making money Europeans will go, and it is useless hoping to preserve even one spot on earth free from their intrusions.

But humanity has its rights, which, unfortunately, have not always been respected in the past, and this the present generation has to atone for. It is the duty of the future governing power in New Guinea to see that no harm should befall the natives in their intercourse with Europeans. Attempts at exploration and settlement will be made, and past experience in the islands of the Pacific has shown, that in dealing with the black races the first settlers have in many instances acted in a most unscrupulous manner towards them. It is to be hoped that the Government will enforce a law prohibiting the sale of fire-arms, powder, or dynamite to the natives, under the most stringent penalties. At the same time no necessary expense should be spared that will help in affording us reliable information as to the geographical features, the capabilities, and the actual state of the native races in a country which is likely to be colonized from Australian shores. New Guinea will have to be explored, and these questions settled, before any attempt at colonization is likely to be successful. As for the means which will have to be taken to meet the expenses of future expeditions, it is evident that the Geographical Society of Australasia is yet too young to be in a position to contribute in any other manner than in seeing that the funds subscribed by the public, or the Australian Governments, are properly used. Wilfrid Powell lately stated that a sum of £6,000 would be sufficient to cover the expenses of an expedition to New Guinea, and the Geographical Society of Australasia, besides appealing to the public to subscribe, might make an effort to obtain the financial aid of the Governments interested. In any case, £6,000 is a small sum when the exploration of such a country as New Guinea is the object, and the future of millions of our black fellow creatures is at stake.

I will terminate this long paper by making a fervent appeal, in the name of humanity, to those who may first have to deal with the New Guinea natives. Let the first care of the governing power be to prohibit, under the heaviest penalty, the introduction of spirituous liquors in any part of the country; and let future colonists bear well in mind that they will bring upon the native races, and upon themselves and those that will follow them, nothing but desolation and ruin, should they, in their desire of excessive gain, introduce among them fire-arms and spirituous liquors. In European communities, much of the misery which we observe is due to the

abuse of spirits; but with natives of hot climates, such as New Guinea, spirits are the most terrible poison that could be introduced, as their use fatally tends to procure the wholesale deterioration and ultimate destruction of the race.

M. La Meslée was warmly applauded at the conclusion of the paper.

The CHAIRMAN then introduced to the meeting Mr. Du Faur, who had drawn up a series of suggestions which had been endorsed by the Society, as to the means to be adopted to obtain the necessary funds for carrying out the future exploring and scientific expeditions to New Guinea.

M. DU FAUR, after complimenting Mr. La Meslée on his excellent paper, said:—The business immediately assigned to me is that of laying before the meeting a minute which has been adopted by our Administrative Council on the subject of the institution of a "New Guinea Exploration Fund," which is as follows:—

*"1. The Administrative Council of the Geographical Society of Australasia, having determined to take steps to at once direct the attention of its members to what they consider a practical path towards establishing its utility, propose to organize means for the systematic exploration of New Guinea; and recognizing the interest which that grand territory has excited for some years past, and especially during the last few months, not only in these Colonies but in Europe, they resolve to spare no efforts to enlist the sympathies and support of the Governments and public of the Colonies, of the Imperial Government, and of geographers and Geographical Societies throughout the world, in the furtherance of the object.*

*"2. The Council therefore propose that the Society should devote its special attention at present to the establishment of a special fund to be called the 'New Guinea Exploration Fund,' and that it should be guided, as far as the cases are parallel, by the action and administration of the Royal Geographical Society in connection with the 'African Exploration Fund' established in 1877.*

*"3. This fund shall be appropriated to the scientific examination of New Guinea in a systematic manner, with a view to the exploration of this vast region at present so little known to Europeans, to the attainment of accurate information as to climate, the physical features and capabilities of the country, the character and habits of the inhabitants, the best routes of access to the interior, and all other matters conducive to preparing the way for opening up its resources by peaceful means."*

The confirmation of this minute, if approved, will rest with a future business meeting of our society, when the further details of the management of the fund will be submitted. It is gratifying to the originators of this movement to see so large an attendance here this evening. It will be in the power of almost every one here present to further it by his moral or material support. It is further gratifying to find that some Members of our Legislature are present, as in so national an undertaking we shall have largely to depend on the Government for support. If that is obtained in New South Wales it can hardly be withheld by those of the other Colonies, some of which are perhaps more immediately interested in the practical results of the undertaking. The federal basis of our Society must be almost a guarantee for such cooperation; and this being obtained, we may surely rely on the Imperial Government for substantial aid, or at least for simultaneous action by its naval hydrographic staff on the hitherto unsurveyed portions of the southern coast, which would ensure *points d'appui* for the inland exploring parties. I am sincerely glad to see that M. La Meslée has given a prominent place in his paper to the subject of the character of our intercourse with the Papuan races. In common with many others, I have always held that the treatment of aboriginal races leaves a blot on the Anglo-Saxon race which cannot be varnished over by such pleas as "the law of nature decreeing the disappearance of the inferior race in the presence of a superior race." What a fearful indictment lies against us, the parent Colony of Australia, for the total extinction of the Tasmanian autochthones, and the similar fate, almost consummated, of those of our own continent. An opportunity occurs in these later days for proving our practical repentance by subsequent good works. Is it too much to hope that the British nation, in its proposed intercourse with the Papuan races, might sacrifice the interests of the few merchants and others connected with the distribution of crude rum and white spirits, by the absolute prohibition of such trade with New Guinea? One word more respecting our Society. We are apt to talk of luck and ill luck as largely influencing mundane affairs. The annexation of New Guinea, a few weeks subsequently to the establishment of the Geographical Society of Australasia being mooted, is surely as great a piece of luck as ever attended the cradle of an infant scientific Society, and it will be our fault if we do not "take the tide at the flood." The successful establishment of the New Guinea Exploration Fund by our infant Society must at once place it in a high position among the Geographical Societies of the world; and far from crippling, as has been hinted, the direction of its energies towards what is still wanting in the exploration of Australia proper, will, by the very vigour thus communicated to its constitution, render work nearer home comparatively easy. I appeal to you one and all, and to those of our well-wishers who are unavoidably absent this evening, to help us in pushing our project to a successful issue.

The CHAIRMAN said; I have been requested by the Council to introduce to the meeting a gentleman whose name is closely connected with New Guinea exploration, Baron Maclay, who is the first gentleman who has been elected by the Society to the position of honorary member, the highest distinction it is within its power to

bestow.

Baron MACLAY, who was received with applause, expressed his sincere thanks to the Council for the honor it had done him in electing him to the high position of its first honorary member. He would be very happy indeed to place at any time all his knowledge and experience concerning New Guinea at the disposal of the Society, and would be very glad to assist with his advice and experience any expedition that might be sent to that island. He was sorry that he could not take part in the proposed expedition, as during the next two years it was his intention to devote his time to the preparation for publication of an account of his travels, throughout about twelve years, in the Pacific.

Sir EDWARD STRICKLAND proposed a vote of thanks to M. La Meslée for the interesting paper he had read that evening. This gentleman had been the promoter and founder of the Geographical Society of Australasia, a Society which he hoped would benefit not only the colonists but the cause of science and learning in the Colonies. He referred to the great amount of good which had been done by the Royal Geographical Society of England, to which Society that of Australia hoped in time to be affiliated. That great Society had fostered and nursed, indeed he might almost say produced, some of the greatest men of the day, men who had explored the north and the south, from the polar regions to Southern and Central Africa, China, and the rivers of South America. Such men as Parry and Franklin, Burton, Speke, Baker, and others, who had given us an immense amount of learning concerning remote and little known countries. It was through the Royal Geographical Society that they had been able to advance commerce and aid colonization, as well as advance scientific inquiry. Their talented Hon. Secretary had that evening in his paper given them not only an earnest of his ability, but also an earnest of what he would do in the future in promoting the Society. He pointed out what immense benefits were likely to arise from the establishment of this body in our midst. The writer of the paper had, he thought, fairly thrown down the gauntlet to Australians, when he told them that they at present stood in relation to New Guinea in the same position as England formerly did to Australia when she inhabited this great continent. He had challenged them as Anglo-Saxons, men of the same race that had colonized so much of the world, to go out in the footsteps of their fathers, and colonize still further lands, and they would thus show that they were worthy children of the great mother land.

The vote was carried with loud applause.

M. LA MESLEE, in returning thanks for the compliment bestowed upon him, said that since he had first become a resident in Australia it had been his desire to further the interests of our Colonies to the best of his ability. We were not sufficiently well known in the old country, and especially was little known of us on the Continent. He had last year made a voyage home, and had returned impressed with the belief that great benefit might be done by the establishment in our midst of a Geographical Society. He had no hesitation in saying that, had such a Society been started here twenty years ago, the Colonies would be very much better known than they now are in the old world. At present there were Geographical Societies in existence in such a country as Japan, and even in the out-of-the-way colony of Mozambique. A Geographical Society had this great advantage, that its action was constant. It was not like, for instance, such a means of advertisement as an Exhibition, which was but temporary, but its influence was continuous, and it was also extended over a very much larger field. The members of most of the Geographical Societies of Europe belonged to the higher manufacturing industrial circles, and were men who joined the Societies for the purpose of learning more about the world, so that as they acquired means they might have the opportunity of entering into new enterprises where the chance presented itself. He returned his thanks for the vote accorded him, and also desired to acknowledge the obligation he was under to Baron Maclay, Mr. Law. Hargrave, and Mr. Alexander Morton, who had greatly helped him in giving to him information concerning New Guinea that he could not otherwise have obtained.

The meeting was closed by three cheers given for Her Majesty the Queen.

The following letter was received from Mr. Law. Hargrave on the subject of the exploration of New Guinea:—

Gibson's-terrace, Milson's Point,

14 May, 1883.

The Secretary of the Geographical Society of Australasia.  
Sir,

I gather from the newspaper reports of one of your meetings that we shall probably hear soon of an expedition traversing New Guinea from end to end. It gives me great pleasure to present to your Society my survey and some of my notes on the Fly River. I had no means of finding the longitude, but the difference of latitude by traverse and by astronomical observation agree within a few miles, so I think the departure cannot

be very much astray.

The Royal Geographical Society of England has a tracing of this plan without the notes, and the editor of the *Town and Country Journal* has the finished drawing, of which this is only the rough copy.

If your expedition elect to traverse the south-west slopes of the dividing range, this river will be an easy way to send by canoe to Marwater ana Thursday Island any of the party who may knock up.

I have no hesitation in stating my conviction that a river as large as, or larger than the Fly, will be discovered draining the area between that and the Outernata River, and I strongly suspect it will be found to empty itself into Dourga Straits. Any one familiar with mangrove-skirted shores will readily understand how easily an opening two or even three miles wide may be passed and never noticed, especially as the Dutch lieutenant who made the survey of Dourga Straits had a vessel of some considerable draught to keep afloat.

Wishing your Society prosperity,—  
I am, &c.,

Law. Hargrave.

## **Map of the Fly River New Guinea**

Sketch of artifacts  
Sketch of artifacts

## **Koitapu Tree Dwelling.**

## **Village of Kappa-Kappa, 15 miles S.E. Port Moresby, New Guinea.**

## **Stone Clubs.**

**a—Bowl of pipe, of green leaf, twisted in the form of a cone.**

**b—Bamboo pipe stem.**

**c—Small hole in which bowl is inserted.**

## **Meeting of the 16TH August, 1883.**

AT the general monthly meeting of the Geographical Society of Australasia, held at the Rooms of the Free Public Library, on the 16 August, 1883, under the presidency of Professor W. J. Stephens, M. A, the following paper was read by Mr. JOHN F. MANN:—

## **Notes on the Aborigines of Australia.**

By JOHN F. MANN.

### **I.**

MY object in compiling these notes on the "Aborigines of Australia" is for the purpose of placing on record such of their manners and customs as have from time to time come under my personal observation. They include, amongst other things, a detailed account of their mode of constructing and using their implements of war and of chase.

The subject of their origin, as to whether they are descended from Shem, Ham, or Japhet, has been so ably discussed in the paper which obtained the premium of £25 presented by the Royal Society, Sydney, that I shall not touch upon that matter here.

My acquaintance with these natives commenced more than forty years ago, at a time when they were comparatively numerous. Since then I have had many opportunities of noticing their habits in this as well as in the neighbouring Colonies.

The habits and general appearance of the aborigines who occupy the whole of this vast country differ very little from each other, and this difference may be attributed to the nature and position of the particular tract of country they occupy. Thus, it may be readily supposed that the inhabitants of the coast districts, which consist principally of high, precipitous, heavily timbered ranges intersected by deep ravines, and which include extensive salt-water rivers, lakes, and inlets, abounding in all kinds of game and fish, would be afforded greater opportunities for the exhibition of their skill and ingenuity in obtaining supplies than their brethren who occupy the vast level, arid, and often scantily timbered country of the interior.

Though in many instances separated hundreds of miles from each other, several of the customs of these tribes are almost identical, and I therefore conclude that these aborigines sprang from one common source or tribe, and have descended through a course of many years to their present low standard.

I am inclined to believe that the original stock was much superior to the present race, for I have noticed that, low as these blacks are supposed to be in the social scale, there are instances where a superior intelligence and good feeling occasionally crops out.

In their native state their wants are few. Their shelter consists of a few hastily constructed "gunyahs" or huts, and their covering of rugs or cloaks made of the skins of the opossum or native bear. Their usual state is perfectly nude. They readily accept any old clothing, any single article of which they consider as full dress. The first time I saw Queen Gooseberry, the widow of King Bungaree, she had little on beyond an old straw bonnet. Three men, who had been engaged on a farm, arrived to fulfil their contract, having one boot, an old cravat, and a waistcoat between them. This clothing, whatever it may be, is worn in turn by each one of the tribe, and soon becomes, as may be supposed, unwearable. The Government supply all those within the police districts with blankets once a year.

### ***Gumyahs or huts.***

The huts are put together only on the approach of rain or during cold, windy weather. They are readily constructed. A sapling is cut half through at the height of 3 or 4 feet and the top bent over so as to rest on the ground, or in a forked stick, or against a tree, according to circumstances; thus it forms a ridge pole along which boughs or sheets of bark are ranged; a shelter for the night or protection from a storm is provided in a few minutes. When shelter of a more permanent character is required greater care is taken. The ridge pole is often supported on forked sticks, or the gunyah partakes of a semicircular form. A fire always occupies the lee side of the hut, which is never completely enclosed. When lined with dried grass and the crevices stopped up to keep out the cold wind they appear comfortable enough. They never keep up very large fires, so it often happens on a cold night when a black is too lazy to replenish it that he eventually coils himself up upon the warm ground where the fire had been. A sudden change of wind will destroy a whole encampment in a few minutes.

### ***Obtaining fire.***

My first desire on making their acquaintance was to be shown the way to obtain fire by the friction of two sticks. Although lucifer matches had greatly superseded this primitive method, the art was not lost and was frequently practised by them. I was particularly anxious on this point, as at a series of lectures delivered by the late Professor Faraday, I heard that great philosopher say that he had never succeeded in the attempt, nor had he ever heard of a white man being successful. My blackfellow procured two pieces of grass-tree (*Xanthorrhæa*) about 18 inches long; then cutting a notch about the size of a shilling in the side of one piece, and laying it firmly on the ground, he inserted the end of the other piece in this notch, and by giving it a drilling motion between his hands, bored a hole completely through it, the spark being caught upon some dry inflammable bark previously placed to receive it.

This operation requires much care. The friction must be constant, as the slightest cessation causes the charcoal to become cold. Pressure also is necessary whilst drilling, and in order to prevent the hands from slipping and thus breaking the contact whilst replacing them, they should be supported in the ends of a loop of string passed over the top of the stick.

In those parts of the country where the grass-tree does not grow other woods supply the place.

In removing from camp to camp a firestick is generally carried by one or more of the women. Many woods, such as the ironbark, apple-tree, and others, will, when dry, smoulder away, retaining fire for a length of time. A large description of fungus which grows on many of the large trees, has similar properties. I have seen blacks use the old-fashioned tinder-box, as well as a burning glass, to obtain a light; these of course were obtained from the settlers.

## ***Tree-climbing.***

The trees near the coast are gigantic in comparison with those of the interior, and many of these have to be ascended for the purpose of obtaining much of their supplies. I took an early opportunity of witnessing the ascent of one of these. I had little difficulty by the offer of 6d. in obtaining a volunteer. He was a very old man, his hair and beard white with age. He appeared very unconcerned about the bargain, which was made by my companion, an old settler, muttering a few words which, of course, I could not understand. I noticed the movement of what I had hitherto taken as a pile of filthy blankets, either thrown away as useless or put aside for the washerwoman. This proved to be the old man's wife, who was lying with her head on a still more filthy bundle about the size of a football. This bundle, or net, as it really was, she opened and drew forth a still more dirty rag. This rag when stretched out was supposed to represent a shirt, which the old man, assisted by his wife, proceeded to put on. On standing up this old man presented a most extraordinary appearance. His legs and arms were long, thin, and sinewy, his feet large and well spread out, whilst his stomach, in consequence of abundance of kangaroo meat in the camp, was round like a globe. His shirt did not quite reach to his waist.

The tree which he was about to ascend was a very large one, a blue gum, with a perfectly smooth barrel, and was estimated at 70 feet to the lowest limb, and measured 20 feet at about 4 feet from the ground. This old man had been accustomed to the use of a stone tomahawk, and even now seemed indifferent as to whether he would use an iron one. He at once fixed upon the proper side for ascending, then standing close to the tree he cut two notches about 1 inch or 1½ inch deep, one at about the height of his waist and the other at about the height of his head, not immediately in line with the first notch, but a little to the right or left, according to circumstances. These notches were cut by a few taps of the tomahawk given alternately in a horizontal direction, and then at an angle of about 45°. This notch was sufficient to place his great toe in. Standing with the ball of his right or left foot according to circumstances in the lowest notch he had cut, having previously cut a small piece out from the side of the tree, so that he could place the tips of his fingers in to give him a hold, he cut a third notch at the height of his head; then standing with his other foot in the second notch he had cut before leaving the ground he cut a fourth notch at the same height, and so on until he arrived at the top.

It will be observed that two notches were cut before he left the ground, and that he only ascended by one at a time. It is absolutely necessary that the body be kept close to the tree, as there is little or nothing to hold on by, and the notch affords but little standing-room, admitting of no bending of the body. By making the cut about the height of his head, and immediately in front of him, the climber, by raising his eyes, can see whether it is properly cut, and at the same time keep his body close to the tree, for it is necessary that the bottom of the nick be horizontal and evenly cut. It will be seen that these notches are in two parallel lines at alternate distances. In descending, the foot is slid down the side of the tree until the notch is found. The man generally wears a 'possum-belt, into which he thrusts his tomahawk, otherwise he holds it in his mouth; this enables him to use both hands whilst ascending.

I have witnessed this tree-climbing in many parts of the country. Some blacks use a long rope of vine, which is obtained in the dense brushes, passing it round the tree, and holding on by it as they ascend. In other parts, where the timber is smaller, slight indentions only of the bark are made.

I cannot call to mind that I ever noticed a black make use of his knees whilst climbing; they invariably place the sole of the foot at once on the landing-place, and use their feet like monkeys in ascending an upright tree or limb. In ascending a tree a second time fresh cuts are always made, and some trees show four or five different marks.

On measuring the distance between these cuts or notches on a tree which had been felled by sawyers, I found that they did not vary the fourth part of an inch.

## ***Canoes.***

The management of a bark canoe is perhaps as remarkable a feat as that of tree-climbing.

In constructing a canoe a suitable tree is selected, generally a stringy-bark. Two horizontal rings are cut round the tree through the bark, at a distance apart of 8, 10, or 12 feet, and a perpendicular cut down one side enables the whole sheet to be carefully removed. The rough exterior is pared off, leaving the thin, hard inside shell. It is then placed over a fire; this enables the ends to be gathered up and folded. Sharp sticks like skewers are passed through these folds, and secured by cords or bands of bark. The opening of the canoe is preserved by stretchers or sticks placed across.

Whilst stripping the bark from the tree, the black makes use of a ladder, formed by cutting notches in a strong forked sapling, which is leant against the tree.

These canoes support a very considerable load. With a black-fellow alone they draw but a few inches of water. Being perfectly round at bottom, having no keel, they overturn with the slightest movement; yet in these

frail canoes I have known blacks to make wonderful journeys. A settler on the Clyde, many years ago, engaged a black and his canoe to remove all his effects from one side of the river to the other. I saw him with a heavy bullock plough in his canoe. After removing farm implements and furniture, he removed several tons of potatoes, his canoe being but an inch or two above the water on each trip. One old man, white with age when I knew him, seemed to have passed his life in one. He would traverse Lake Macquarie and go out into the open sea; from this lake he would carry his canoe across the neck of land separating it from Tuggerah Beach Lake, thence to Brisbane Water, and cross Broken Bay to Pittwater, and made periodical visits up the Hawkesbury River. He was never without fish in his canoe, which was often so laden as to be only a few inches above the water. This old man, "Jew-fish" by name, eventually became so cramped that when on shore he could retain no other position than that which sitting in a canoe compelled him to adopt. I have also known the blacks at Bateman's Bay to go out as far as the Tollgate Islands. They are often pursued by sharks, when they paddle away for the nearest shore, throwing over as they go along any fish they may happen to have.

The blackfellow, whilst fishing from his canoe, which he does by means of a spear, sits on his haunches, his right leg doubled under him, his left knee drawn up to his shoulder. In his right hand he carries his "wammerah" or throwing-stick, formed to serve as a paddle; in his left a small piece of flat wood, also as a paddle, whilst his fishing spear lies across in front of him, ready for use. On spearing a fish he paddles up to his spear, and instead of pulling it out at once gives it another thrust in, so as to ensure its capture. As refraction causes a difference between the true and apparent position of the fish, great practice is necessary. They seldom miss their object.

Women also fish from canoes, but with a hook and line; they never use a spear. They fix the canoe in position along the edge of a bank by driving the long pointed stick, which they invariably carry, into the sand or mud. They then pass one of their arms round the pole, or tie the canoe to it, so as to steady it. By means of a flat stone and clay for a hearth, they can light a fire and cook fish. They are often accompanied by one or more children, who have to remain very quiet.

A fishing-spear consists of a grass-tree shaft with four long prongs of hardwood inserted at one end of it. Sometimes the stem of the gigantic lily is used, but this is not so strong or so durable as the grass-tree. The test as to the fitness of the grass-tree for this purpose is the manner in which it breaks off from the stem of the tree. It is never cut with a tomahawk, and must not be either too green or too dry.

In constructing a spear, two splits are made at one end of the stick, at right angles, and the pith extracted to the depth of 3 or 4 inches. This end is then bound round with ribbon-like strips of bark, obtained from a small shrub or from the kurryjong tree. The aperture is then filled with grass-tree gum, a resin having much the appearance of gamboge in its pure state, but as generally used it is not unlike pitch, in consequence of the effects of exposure to the smoke of bush fires. Into this, whilst in a soft state, the four prongs, slightly tapered at the end, are pressed. This has the effect of forcing much of the gum through the splits and through the band of bark, when, by holding it near the fire, the gum is neatly spread over the joints. These prongs, which are from 15 to 18 inches long, are scraped to a fine point, and barbed by means of a small splinter of bone fastened to the end. The four points of this spear form a square about 1 inch or more apart, and are kept in position by small wedges of wood passed between the prongs and fastened by bands of ribbon bark. The pith from the other end of the spear is extracted to the depth of about an inch, the end is bound with twine, and the whole stopped with the fine scrapings of hardwood, which serves as a pad for the hook of the "wammerah," or throwing-stick, to press against. Other grass-tree spears are made in a similar manner, but with only one prong. In those parts where the grass-tree does not exist, the spear is made of one long straight piece of wood, which is cut from the side of a standing tree.

The "wammerah," a stick by means of which the spear is thrown, is about 3 feet long, in shape something like a long-handled spoon; the spoon, a rather flat part, being used as a paddle.

## **A Blackfellow's Ascent of a Tree.**

Sketch of male warrior

Sketch of animals

## **Aboriginal Implements.**

Egyptian sketch of man and woman near forest

At Thorntons Hill, Manly

On rock at Berry's Bay

when fishing from a canoe; at the opposite end a short piece of stick is fastened so as to form a hook. In throwing a spear, the broad end of the wammerah is held across the palm of the hand, with the point of the hook pressing against the pad in the end of the spear, the spear at the same time being held firmly between the

forefinger and thumb. By the use of this stick, great force and impetus is given to it, and makes it a much more formidable weapon than those spears which are made from one piece of wood and are thrown by the hand as darts. Occasionally these spears have sharp splinters of quartz or of glass fastened along one side. Solid spears are frequently made with one or more barbs. In those parts of the country where the wammerah is not required as a paddle, they are formed from one stick, the hook being the natural fork of the branch.

### ***Boomerang.***

The boomerang, in the throwing of which these blacks excel, is a weapon which from its peculiar motion when thrown, has excited and astonished every one who has witnessed the operation.

It consists of a flat curved piece of wood, and varies in size from 18 inches to 3 feet or more. It is cut from the natural bend of a tree, either from the root or branch. A curved block is first cut from the tree, and then split and scraped down to the required thickness, the edges being made sharp, and the ends or cusps rounded. In the hands of a black they are thrown with great ease. He holds it by one end, the other pointing outwards, then running a few paces forward to gain impetus, he throws the boomerang as though he aimed at an object a few degrees above his line of sight.

The boomerang at once assumes a rapid rotary motion and ascends to a great height, occasionally suddenly taking opposite directions, or forming a large circle in the air, at times appearing stationary. After a time it returns rapidly towards the thrower, who is now in a very dangerous position, and has to keep a sharp look-out so that he is not struck by it, when assuredly, if not killed, some of his limbs would be broken. The boomerang gradually descends to the ground some 30 or 40 yards behind the thrower, skimming along the surface for some distance. Sometimes the boomerang is made to ascend after having struck the ground 20 or more feet ahead. All boomerangs do not possess the quality of rising in the air—it is only the lighter ones of a particular make and curve which do so. The others are larger and heavier, and are used by being thrown so as to strike the ground, when they roll along something like a wheel, with great rapidity, and will knock over a kangaroo or emu. I once saw one of these penetrate completely through a kangaroo. Should a boomerang come in contact with an object, if not at once arrested in its progress, it often flies off at a tangent with undiminished force, and apparently with no loss of speed.

This remarkable implement has attracted the attention of many mathematicians. The late Sir T. Mitchell adapted it as a propeller for steam vessels, but unfortunately did not live to perfect his invention.

I have watched every movement most carefully of a blackfellow whilst throwing one of these weapons, and have received every explanation which a most intelligent man could afford, but was never able to master the art of throwing it.

I noticed that, before throwing, the thrower would give the boomerang a slight bend. It is evident that if the two points or cusps are not in the same plane, that the boomerang partakes of the nature of part of a screw, and acts as such in ascending through the air; gradually these points return to the same plane, and possibly pass it, when it becomes what may be termed a descending screw. Every change in the position of these cusps must affect its movements in the air, but this will not account for its rapid motion, or even the movements, for I have seen a boomerang thrown at random, on the spur of the moment, and act in a similar manner.

The boomerang throws better from one end than from the other. Every blackfellow knows the quality of his boomerang, and will practise with a new one for a length of time so as to become familiar with its peculiarities.

These weapons, as well as spears, are thrown with the greatest ease and grace by a black, and I may here add that all their movements are graceful and easy.

### ***Tomahawk.***

The manufacture of stone tomahawks is a work of considerable labour, and a good implement is of great value. The beds of rivers and creeks and other places are searched for suitable stones; these require the bestowal of much patience in grinding them down to a proper shape. I have seen in many parts of the country rocks scored in all directions by the deep grooves made by this grinding process; they work at it incessantly, men and women taking turn about. These grinding places are invariably sandstone rocks with plenty of water close at hand.

### ***Handle.***

Fixing a handle to the stone is a work of much trouble. This is done by bending around the stone a split stick of a particular description of wood, or by perhaps a dozen small tough twigs twisted together; this handle is secured by grass-tree gum and twine.

### ***String and twine.***

String or twine is beautifully and neatly made. This is generally the work of the women. It is made of the fine inner ribbon-like bark of a small shrub, or that of the kurryjong tree. It consists of two strands only. The twist is given by rolling the strands with the palm of the hand on the side of the leg, and then by a peculiar twist of the hand the two separate strands are allowed to twist together. About a couple of inches of line is made by each roll of the hand. This string is used for a variety of purposes, especially for the making of nets, in which all the worldly goods and chattels of the family are stowed away.

### ***Nets.***

The nets made of this string are of various descriptions and patterns. Some are very closely netted, others have the mesh much larger and knotted, whilst others are not knotted, and consequently are very elastic. The size of the mesh is formed solely by the finger, and are wonderfully regular. In many parts of the interior very strong nets are made. These are used for the purpose of securing game, kangaroos, &c. Stretched across a creek or river, ducks are caught.

### ***Opossum cloaks.***

In making opossum rugs or cloaks the skins, after having been stretched and dried, either before a fire or in the sun, are roughly trimmed up and sewed together by means of kangaroo sinew. The edges of the skins are pierced with a sharp-pointed bone for the sinew to pass through. When a sufficient number of skins have been sewed together, the next operation is to ornament the cloak. This is done by doubling a part of the skin a few inches at a time, and scraping the narrow edge so made with flint or the blade of a blunt knife. The designs partake of a zigzag or diamond-shaped pattern, according to the taste of the wearer, and when rubbed with a little ochre and worn for a time become very distinct. These cloaks, as well as the blankets, are worn by being passed under one arm and fastened on the opposite shoulder. This arrangement allows of freedom to both arms.

Independently of being used for cloaks, the fur, which at certain seasons readily comes away from the skin, is collected in large loose bundles and spun into cord or yarn. This is done principally by the men. A long stout twig with a hook at one end catches up a portion of the wool, and is then twisted between the thumb and fingers of the operator's right hand, whilst the thickness of the yarn is regulated by his left. The yarn is wound round the stick as fast as it is made until the stick has as much as it can carry, when another hook is provided.

Illustrations of a similar process may be seen on paintings of some 3,000 or more years old.

When a sufficient length of this yarn has been spun, it is doubled continually until a long thick loop is formed. This is worn by the men by passing it first round the waist, then alternately over each shoulder, and round the neck. In this manner it has the appearance of both a cross and a waist belt. They seldom wear more than a roll or two around the waist, in which they often hang a fringe made of the skins of the opossum, native cat, or black or white squirrel, cut in strips.

The wool is often spun to a fine even thread, which the settlers occasionally knit into socks or mittens. These last for a length of time. It is also netted by the gins into narrow bands, and worn by the men round their foreheads, coloured either white or red.

In these, as well as in all other manufactures, the blacks will work incessantly, and when finished will stand or sit in front of the camp, wearing them, as now described, for the purpose of attracting attention and of being admired. They possess as much conceit in regard to these adornments as do their European brethren; but criticism is silent, though it possibly exists to a great extent, but solely amongst the men—the women are not allowed to express any opinion.

### ***Kangaroo sinews.***

In order to obtain the sinew from the tail of a kangaroo, the skin around the second or third joint is cut through, and the bones disjointed by the teeth; these loosened joints are drawn out with all the sinews attached to them. These sinews appear much like a skein of white silk, and are of great strength.

### ***Hair.***

The blacks allow their hair to grow very long, and then tie it in large knots on the top of the head, or otherwise fix it up with long grass or feathers. One object in adopting this mode is that during a fight a black is often enabled to receive his opponent's blow on this knot, and so protect his skull; though I believe it to be a matter of impossibility to fracture a black man's skull with a waddy.

A strip of the skin of a native dog or other animal is sometimes worn around the head as a fillet, and serves to keep the hair out of their eyes. The tail of a native dog is often used for this purpose. It has much the appearance of a fur cap on the man's head. They seldom cut their hair, except, I believe, when mourning for some departed friend. Their beard and whiskers are often singed by a fire-stick, which is made to serve the

purpose of a razor. They occasionally rub their body with clay or beeswax, which tears out the hair by the roots. This custom has, I imagine, greatly fallen into disuse on account of the pain it causes. I have seen blacks without a particle of hair, but whether this denudation was caused by the above operation or by disease I cannot say. They are very fond of rubbing opossum fat on their heads, and then comb their hair out by means of a sharp-pointed bone formed like a skewer.

### ***Tribal fights.***

Before coming to blows two hostile tribes will encamp perhaps for a day or two within talking or shouting distance, generally on opposite sides of a watercourse. The women and children are kept in the background, but are ready to join in so far as the yelling and screaming is concerned. The men keep up an incessant talk during this time; many of them taking it in turn to walk up and down in an excited manner before their respective friends, apparently boasting of what they intend to do, or endeavouring to inspire them with courage, every now and then spitting and brandishing his spear towards their opponents. Occasionally they fasten a small piece of grass-tree gum to the end of a boomerang, and lighting it, throw it over the heads of their opponents. This is considered a great insult. When sufficiently excited, they rise simultaneously, and rush towards each other, throwing their spears. These for the most part are warded off. When the spears are exhausted they come to close quarters with their waddies; but the fight generally winds up by a good set-to between two warriors who, no doubt, were the originators of the quarrel. These come to close quarters, and with their waddies, deal each other fearful blows upon the head, occasionally varying the performance with a dig in the ribs. They manage to catch the blow upon the knot of hair, or ward it off with a stout piece of wood about 15 inches long, narrowed at each end, and pierced in the middle for a handle. The battle is considered over when one of these warriors falls.

These fights, owing to their extraordinary dexterity in warding off spears, are not so fatal as one would imagine; many wounds are given, some of them occasionally proving fatal. In some parts the blacks use a small knife formed by inserting a sharp piece of quartz or flint into a cleft stick. They use these in a backhanded manner, and inflict horrible-looking wounds with them. The shoulders of some of the men I saw looked like a scored leg of roast pork, though the cuts were not so regularly made. They seize each other by the left hand, mostly by the hair, and score each other's shoulders, the cuts often cutting deeply into the flesh of the arm. Flies and mosquitoes are ever troublesome, and these wounds attract the former in numbers, so that every black carries a wisp of grass which they use incessantly to drive these pests away.

### ***Punishment.***

It frequently happens that a blackfellow for transgressing some of the laws of the tribe is sentenced by the old men, who pronounce judgment upon him to undergo the "ordeal of spears." The culprit, who is in a perfectly nude state, is allowed a "heliman" or shield, which he holds in his left hand, and either a boomerang or a piece of wood in his right.

If grass-tree spears are used, he stands perhaps 50 yards away, but much closer for other kind of spears. He may perhaps be sentenced to receive twenty to fifty or more spears, according to the magnitude of his crime. The spears should, I believe, be thrown one at a time. There may possibly be a dozen men throwing, but as these spears follow so quickly after each other, little respite is given to the unfortunate man. The manner in which he dodges these spears is something marvellous. Many he receives on his shield, whilst, by jumping and contorting his body, others pass by him harmlessly. Occasionally they are severely wounded. On one occasion I saw where the spear had entered a man's breast and had come out under his right arm. These punishments occupy but a short time; but, short as it is, it is quite long enough to nearly exhaust the culprit, who appears at the end in a state of profuse perspiration. A blackfellow who has safely undergone one of these ordeals is greatly raised in the estimation of his companions. From his crime, though it be murder, he is considered absolved.

A "nullah nullah" is a sort of club, and is made or cut from the root of a tree; they vary very much in shape. The handle is the upright stem. A "waddy" is cut from a standing tree, and is a most formidable weapon. A blow by one is very severe. They are often thrown at animals when hunting. The "heliman," or shield, is an oval-shaped piece of wood about 3 feet long and perhaps 18 inches broad; but they vary greatly in size. They are cut from the standing tree, and are when trimmed down about three-quarters of an inch thick. They retain the natural curve of the tree. Two holes are bored in them for the purpose of inserting a handle. Should the shield split when struck by a spear of course the man would be wounded, therefore a heliman which has stood the test of spears is a very valuable acquisition. A shield with five spears in it was presented to me after one of these affairs, with a request that I would take great care of it, as it might be wanted again. After keeping it for some time, and as it was not called for, I presented it to the Sydney Museum; having foolishly cut the points of the spears off, these looked like so many plugs. I am sorry to say that no trace of this shield can now be found.

## **Betrothal.**

From what I have been able to learn, verified by other evidence, I am led to believe that every woman is betrothed at a very early age. I could never understand the principle upon which this delicate matter was arranged; it is according to some mysterious law of their own. Anything approaching to incest is not for a moment thought of or tolerated; as every woman is supposed to marry, a husband is chosen for her either from her own or from some friendly tribe. I believe this is arranged by the old men, the women having nothing whatever to say in the matter. The age of the proposed husband is not taken into consideration, so that it often happens that by the time a girl is of a marriageable age her intended is an old man. In the meantime some other younger men have set their hearts upon her; this, as in all similar cases, means fighting, so that in claiming a wife a black-fellow has to encounter at least one rival. The unfortunate woman, whilst being dragged away, is certain to come in for a large share of the blows which the rival suitors deal out to each other. On these occasions there is great excitement in the camp, especially amongst the women, who join in with the bride in uttering loud screeches and yells.

In the coast districts the betrothal of a young woman to a man who follows the occupation of a fisherman compels her to lose the first joint of the little finger of her left hand. This operation is performed by winding around the joint several turns of the strong cobweb or gossamer which is so frequently met with in the bush. This is a slow and very painful operation.

On one occasion whilst travelling I saw a black carrying a woman away on horseback. They turned off the road and ascended a range when they perceived me. Some hours afterwards I met another black, and was enabled to give him some account of this couple so far as I had seen. He claimed the woman as his wife, and at once continued the pursuit. It appears that on coming up with the runaways the two men had a desperate fight; but in consequence, it would seem, that as no members of the tribe were present to decide the dispute, it was arranged by them to bring the matter before a Magistrate. Whilst proceeding to the Court-house a third black, who was encamped close by, saw and claimed the woman as his lawful wife according to all the laws of the tribe. In Court the woman acknowledged the truth of this claim—that she had been given to this man when quite a girl—but, now he was old and ugly, she could never like him; the only man she cared for was the man with whom she was eloping. The dilemma in which the Magistrate was placed by these admissions on the part of the woman was removed by a very ingenious arrangement suggested by the woman herself, the details of which I now forget, but papers were signed and duly witnessed on both sides, binding each other over to preserve peace, &c., for six months.

## **Religion.**

I could never detect the existence of any form of religion amongst these tribes—that is to say, a belief in the existence of a Supreme Being; and I am borne out in this by statements obtained by many others who have had the opportunity of earning their habits. They believe firmly in the existence of a spirit or being whom they call "devil-devil," but each tribe has a name of its own for it. This "devil-devil" is held in great dread by all, and bears a very bad character among them. He is thoroughly cruel and vindictive, sparing no one, young or old, who happen to come within his reach. He is ever on the watch to entrap any straggler, and whilst he haunts many lonely places during the day, he is everywhere at night. This devil has been variously described. He is supposed to have innumerable eyes and ears, so as to enable him to see and hear anything without the trouble of turning his head, &c.; he runs very fast, and having long sharp claws, few escape his grasp.

One reason given by the blacks for changing their camp so frequently is for the purpose of evading this amiable spirit. They think that the "devil-devil" is certain to discover their position after a few days, so that by moving off suddenly and making a rapid journey to a distant part of their domain he will be nonplussed for a time.

Some very old men have the credit of having had personal encounters with this fiend and of coming off victoriously. It is needless to say that these men are held in great reverence by the younger members of the tribe. Of course this belief is encouraged. These old men claim the power of controlling the elements, and will stamp, spit, and harangue some imaginary spirit during a squall of wind or rain.

Many persons try to persuade themselves that they can detect the existence amongst these natives of a true religion and a knowledge of a Supreme Being, but they forget that these blacks are extremely shrewd, so that when they perceive the object of the conversation they readily adapt all that they have been taught on this subject to their replies.

I have always found that the rigmarole stories which many of them have told me, and which are supposed to represent their religious belief, were founded upon the teachings of missionaries and others.

## **Mythology of the Aborigines.**

A most interesting paper was read before the Royal Society by Mr. James Manning on "The Mythology of the Blacks." The particulars were obtained from a "Koradgee" named Andy, of the Binalong tribe, near Yass, whose confidence Mr. Manning managed to secure. Mr. Manning's paper is a verbatim account as dictated by Andy, and is remarkable in every sense.

According to the statements made by this man, these blacks not only believe in a God, a Supreme Being, but a Son of God, and a spirit also. This God dispenses justice from an inaccessible throne, situated in a sea of crystal, and grants pardons and rewards hereafter to all who believe in him and try not to offend, &c.

If this is a *bona-fide* account, it shows that these blackfellows possess a religion which we cannot improve upon, and which it would be a pity to interfere with. It completely upsets all the assertions which missionaries and others have made to the contrary; but it appears strange that no similar account of this creed, almost that of a Christian, should never have been obtained from any other aboriginal in any part of the country—especially in those places where missionaries have dwelt for years.

If this statement of Andy prove to be an invention, compiled from the scraps of religious teaching which either himself or members of his tribe may from time to time have gathered together, it shows a wonderful amount of ingenuity on his part, and a certain amount of credit should be awarded him.

No argument will persuade them that their women can possibly enjoy happiness hereafter. Women are, according to their idea, certain game for the "Devil-devil," and the few men who escape his grasp are supposed to return to this world either as a white man or as some animal. White men who possess either a mark or a wound on their bodies, or some peculiarity similar to that of a deceased blackfellow, are credited with being that same black "jump up white fellow." Women are supposed to be wholly beyond redemption; they are not allowed to interfere or to express any opinion on any so-called religious subject. This is perhaps fortunate for them, as they avoid many a good beating by keeping aloof.

I heard a blackfellow, who had received a considerable amount of religious instruction, but who unfortunately did not live on very happy terms with his wife, declare that if he could only raise half-a-crown, so that he could purchase a clean shirt, he would go straight away to Heaven at once, where he would be out of reach of all women, especially of his—old wife, and so have peace and quietness, &c. He made a most amusing address, anything but complimentary to the women, his wife in particular, and kept a large audience in roars of laughter. He raised the half-crown, and passed the night in the lock-up.

## **Education.**

These blacks, when taken away at an early age from the tribe, are capable of receiving a good education, and in this respect many compare favourably with the whites; but it is a question whether educating them beyond a certain standard is advisable, for when they grow up no white person likes to place them on an equal footing, notwithstanding their learning. At the same time they have been taught to look upon their parents and relatives as a degraded lot. The tinge of wild blood which ever flows through their veins, and which can never be eradicated, crops up at times and leads their thoughts to their native forests, whilst their education has tended to made them look with abhorrence upon such a roving life. Under these circumstances the result has been unsatisfactory.

The inherent love and natural desire for a life in the bush prevents them from remaining any length of time in one employment, notwithstanding all the advantages of a civilized life. In their written agreements as servants, they often stipulate for a certain number of days in order to visit their tribe. The men are very useful as shepherds, stockmen, &c., or at shearing-time. The women are frequently employed in washing and scrubbing; many of them learn to do needlework very neatly. In the far interior, many settlers are wholly dependent on these blacks as domestic servants. When sent on messages they perform their duty faithfully. A letter secured in the end of a cleft stick enables a man to pass safely through adjoining tribes—he feels proud of his burden.

## **Corrobboree.**

The corrobboree or native dance is not, as some suppose, solely a religious performance; it really is a sort of play, though much of their religious teaching has resulted in setting many prayers to their so-called music. These performances embrace a variety of subjects. The movements of many animals are imitated; those dances which represent the movements of the emu and kangaroo being particularly good and amusing. These blacks are most observant, and being great mimics, many of the sayings and doings of the white people are introduced. Thus, men travelling with their bundles, otherwise "swagmen," settlers preparing dinner, making a damper, police taking a drunken man, &c., are represented; whilst in the midst of some songs English expressions may be detected, such as "Pussy cat—mew"; "Bit bread, Jack Donovan"; "One nobbier, please"; and others. Any

peculiarity in a person, either in manner or speech, is remarked and made a note of.

These corroborees take place on level ground, generally at night-time. Largo heaps of dried boughs and leaves are lit so as to throw a bright light on the dancers, who are arranged in one or more lines at a suitable distance, their bodies ornamented by designs in pipelay. They are fond of tracing a line along each rib and down the legs, rings round the knees and eyes, but the patterns vary much, according to the dance and taste of the dancer. They hold in their hands either a spear, boomerang, or waddy, according to the dance. In front, and facing them stands a man called the "fiddler," who acts as conductor or leader. He keeps the most admirable time by beating his boomerang with a piece of stick. In some of the dances the women are allowed to join, otherwise they sit around, having opossum rugs rolled up into bundles, which they beat; they also keep admirable time with the song. One favourite way of dancing is this: They stand erect, holding in front of them with both hands their spears or waddies, much in the same manner as soldiers do when they present arms; they then spring straight from the ground, extending their knees sideways, drawing up their legs so that the soles of their feet nearly meet; they all come to the ground together with a heavy thud; this has a most remarkable effect. This dance is very severe and fatiguing, but it is varied by brandishing their weapons and going through other performances. They commence and cease dancing simultaneously—no one man likes to give in before any of his companions.

### **Songs.**

Their songs consist of a few words constantly repeated, and, consequently, soon become monotonous. Their intonation is often very harmonious and agreeable, especially in the song known as "Koorinda Bria." This song, and several others, were set and arranged to music by the late eminent composer, Mr. Nathan. I obtained the words of many of these songs from the blacks, but not the translation, except for a few which had been composed to illustrate the doings of some of the white residents.

As an evidence of the wide spread of these songs and dances, whilst witnessing a corroboree by a large number of blacks of the Fitzroy Downs tribe, Queensland, the song was at once recognized by a Newcastle black who was with me at the time.

### **Bora.**

The ceremony known as "Bora" is universal. It is in operation all over the country. This ceremony is for the purpose of initiating young men into all the mysteries of art, war, and their so-called religion. Before arriving at puberty the life of a young man is not a happy one. Until initiated by undergoing this ordeal, he cannot associate freely with those who have; that is to say, he is snubbed by the older men, whilst he is old enough to look with contempt upon the women, who are only considered as slaves, and are treated accordingly. When the novice is considered old enough, he has to prove his competency by throwing a boomerang or spear, climb a tree, or in fact do anything he is required to do by the board of examiners, which consists of the old men of the tribe. The eldest young man of a family always follows the trade or occupation of his father, for it must be known that, although every blackfellow has a general knowledge of all the requirements for a life in the bush, each man has a specialty of his own. Thus, a man who spears fish from the bank of a river may be very awkward in a canoe. Again, a fisherman seldom climbs any but very small trees, whilst a tree-climber is an indifferent fisherman, consequently stress is laid upon the particular line of life the young man is about to follow. The novice has to abstain from food for some time; in fact, I believe that until initiated he cannot touch certain animal food, that is the male animal.

The place for holding this ceremony is selected so as to include a level piece of ground, on which at least two concentric circles are cut in the turf; but this is not always adhered to—various designs are made use of. On the Upper Murrumbidgee a narrow pathway was cut in the turf, which wound about in the most complicated manner, and terminated at a small round space. I was directed to this spot by a young man who, whilst looking for stray cattle, came suddenly upon this remarkable meeting of the blacks. He was in great terror at first, being under the apprehension that some murder was about to be committed. In the centre of these sinuosities, there stood the old man, ready to perform his part of the ceremony. The young man was led by two others, his eyes cast to the ground, along this pathway, up to the old man, who delivered an oration of considerable length. This appeared to be directed to some imaginary person, during which he exhibited much excitement by stamping on the ground, hissing, shouting, as though in a great rage with some one, brandishing his tomahawk and going through a lot of antics and gesticulations; then suddenly turning to the boy, he knocked out one of his front teeth with his tomahawk. The young man was then led away and allowed to sit with the other men, and could eat what he chose, or rather what he could get. On another occasion a young man who followed the occupation of a fisherman, told me that he was compelled to lie for two nights on the grave of one of his ancestors, who had also been a fisherman of some note; by this means he was supposed to inherit all the good qualities of his

predecessor. Meanwhile others of the tribe were making preparations by cutting these magic circles and performing other mysterious acts, the camp being during this time protected from the intrusion of the "devil-devil" by numerous small fires around it.

No translation of the oration given on these occasions has, so far as I can learn, ever been obtained, nor can I say as to whether the same words are used by each separate tribe.

The youth has still another ordeal to pass through before he can be pronounced eligible or capable of taking a wife. Much mystery is attached to this part of the ceremony, which no black will disclose.

### ***Koradgee.***

The Koradgee performs a prominent part in this, and has to certify as to the young man's competency. Europeans are allowed to see certain parts only of these ceremonies, and no satisfactory explanation can be obtained of the remainder. No two blacks will give the same account; they give the most evasive replies, or refuse at once to describe anything. I have often thought that this mystery is really all sham, and that their silence in these matters is because they have nothing whatever to explain. The same reserve exists amongst the tribes in all parts of the country. Possibly there may be some Masonic understanding amongst them.

The Koradgee is an important personage—a sort of medicine man. He appears to share the authority exercised over the tribe with the very old men, who are always looked up to with awe, if not with veneration. He acts as a sort of referee or umpire in cases of dispute. He professes to cure all diseases and to possess great influence over the "devil-devil." The possession of a rock-crystal, which he carries about with him, in some mysterious manner acts as a charm and enables him to perform miracles. This crystal is considered sacred—no woman must look upon it. It is usually carried in his armpit, rolled up in dirty rags. I ascertained that the stopper of a decanter had similar power. The author of the paper on "The Mythology of the Aborigines" stated that in his presence the Koradgee Andy ejected from his mouth a crystal which he had concealed in his stomach, and had the power of swallowing and bringing up again at his pleasure. A similar process is mentioned in the prize essay also referred to as being in practice by the blacks of the Hunter River districts. I have remarked that these men are usually more intelligent than the others—at least they associate more readily with the white people. They are held in great respect by the younger members of the tribe. Frequently, after questioning and receiving replies on many subjects from these blacks, I have been requested not to tell the Koradgee what I had heard, or from whom I had received my information. This led me to suppose that the information was genuine.

The names of children often partake of an abbreviation of that of the parent, unless something occurs immediately at their birth of sufficient importance to record by adopting it as a name. The sight of a bird, insect, or animal supplies a name during minority.

### ***Permanent names.***

At the ceremony of the Bora permanent names are given to the youths, and these are selected for various causes. Should a young man during his minority distinguish himself either whilst hunting or fighting, or meet with any accident either serious or ludicrous, a name in allusion to that circumstance is given at this time, probably at the moment of knocking out the tooth. There are few left-handed blacks to be found; one man whom I met possessing that peculiarity was expressively named in consequence. The Bora ceremonies occupy some days, and are often attended by blacks from friendly tribes. They invariably wind up with a corroboree. The surrounding trees are deeply marked by various patterns, and the tribe move off to some distant spot. In the Ulladulla district after one of these meetings the blacks left hanging to the surrounding trees numerous small bundles of sticks tightly bound with vines.

### ***Messengers.***

At certain seasons messengers are sent forth, not only to gain any information as to what is taking place beyond the limits of their tribe, but also to convey to others such information as they can afford. Their movements are guided by the blossoming of certain trees and plants, especially the mimosa. This is their only guide as to seasons; the moon affords them little data to work on, except from new to full; they are unable to keep a record of the number of moons. A messenger on this duty passes safely from one tribe to another, even though an unfriendly one; he, on these occasions, is treated with marked civility. His absence occupies a month or more, when he returns well laden with songs and all the scandal and gossip of the districts he has passed through. This messenger acts as fiddler to his companions at the following corroboree. The despatch of these messengers is regulated by an arrangement understood only by the blacks themselves. A tribe who despatch a messenger one year receive one the next. When a messenger is expected, the tribe assemble at some previously arranged spot; here they wait during the day, not at the camp, but two or three hundred yards away from it. On

the messenger's approach they suddenly cease talking and sit perfectly still. He approaches slowly and cautiously. When about 40 or 50 yards off, he sits down, and perhaps for ten minutes or more no movement takes place nor word is spoken. After this pause one of the tribe takes a lighted stick and makes a small fire in front of him. This act is always a sign of friendship and confidence. The conversation commences by degrees; one by one the blacks draw closer to their visitor, when it soon becomes general, all talking at the same time. A day or two after the arrival of one of these visitors, his chaperon brought him to the station where I happened to be, and, introducing him to the owner, asked permission to show his friend over the farm, which permission was at once granted. Everything was pointed out and explained to the visitor.

### ***Disposal of the dead.***

The mode of disposing of the dead varies considerably. Some tribes possess regular burial-places, others dig a grave at apparently any convenient spot, whilst others do not put the body in the ground at all, but dry it, either in the sun or over a fire, and make a sort of mummy of it, which they carry about with them for a time, when perhaps it is placed on a framework of sticks or in a hollow tree. In the western districts the body is placed in a hollow tree, which is then filled up with clay. Among some tribes, when the approach of death is imminent, the invalid is carried by his friends to some particular spot where he is to be buried. I have met these melancholy processions. On one occasion it consisted of about half-a-dozen men with their women; one man, a sturdy grey-headed old fellow, was carrying on his shoulders his son, a young man about twenty years of age, who was in the last stages of consumption. On this as upon all other occasions, the blacks showed much kindness, relieving the old man of his burden when he required rest, and handling the poor young fellow with great care and tenderness. They had, when I saw them, arrived nearly at the end of their journey, having travelled about 50 miles.

This young man died a few days afterwards, and I was enabled by the permission of the Koradgee and the old father to witness the burial ceremony. The Koradgee, by reason of a bribe, and no doubt also on account of my having supplied the invalid with nourishing food, informed me at once of his death. They scarcely wait for the last breath—they roll the body up instantly. When I arrived at the blacks' camp I found that the grave was nearly completed; it was circular, and about 5 feet deep. A man was busily at work loosening the soil by means of a long pointed stick, and throwing the earth out with a tin can. The body was already rolled up in a blanket with a boomerang and a waddy, and was placed close to the edge of the grave. The old father was crouching down with his hands over the body, tears running down his cheeks. The women had already covered their hair and faces with pipe-clay, and blood was streaming down the faces of some of them.

I found a number of blacks congregated here—men as well as women. They sat on opposite sides of the grave. This was dug by the men in turn, in all about 6 feet deep, the old father finishing it, jumping clown and smoothing the bottom and sides most carefully. He then lined it with soft grass. The body was then handed to the old man, and it was some time before he could arrange it to his satisfaction. When at last that was done more grass and light boughs were placed around it; and as the poor old man was assisted out of the grave and the others commenced throwing in earth to fill it up, a most mournful screeching and crying was set up by the women, who danced about, chopping their heads with tomahawks until the blood flowed in profusion and mixed with the pipeclay with which they had previously bedaubed themselves. As darkness had set in some time, this latter part of the ceremony was performed by the light of fires, which added much to the effect of a scene which I cannot attempt to describe. The light of these fires illuminating this ghastly collection of black women, covered as they were with pipeclay mixed with the blood which was now streaming plentifully from their heads, whilst they—screeching, crying, and moaning—were writhing, dancing, and contorting their bodies into all shapes and positions, conveyed an admirable representation of Pandemonium—a picture which Gustave Doré alone could depict or Dante describe. The men as yet had remained perfectly quiet. Suddenly a small light appeared in the distance, and the shrill voice of a black woman was heard commencing the funeral chant. This was taken up quickly by other women, who in succession lit a fire in advance of each other (nineteen in number) until they reached close up to the grave. Each woman as she lit a fire joined in the chant. Whilst watching this remarkable scene, I had not noticed that the men had retired and were taking up similar positions in a line parallel with the women. These men as they lit a fire also commenced to chant, until the whole number were singing at once. The chant was of a most plaintive description; it consisted, so far as I could make out, of two lines of words only, which were continually repeated, the singers rubbing the palms of their hands together and slightly bending their bodies backwards and forwards, keeping admirable time. By degrees they closed in around the grave, which was now nearly completed. A mound was raised over it, and fresh boughs and logs of wood placed on the top, and a trench dug all round, the rass being cleared away for some distance. Larger fires were now lit, and the singing became more vehement. I believe that this singing was kept up during the whole night; but having witnessed as much as I could expect to see, I gave the old man some tobacco and returned to my own rest.

It is difficult to account for the various modes adopted by these blacks as to the disposal of their dead. By what I could learn, it is considered proper by many tribes that a black should be buried at or near the spot where he or she was born, and for this reason, when a black becomes seriously ill, the invalid is carried a long distance to these certain spots to die, as in this case. They apparently object to place a body in strange ground.

On one occasion when at Bergalia, near Moruya, then the property of a Mr. Campbell, now I believe belonging to Mr. H. Clarke, a blackfellow commenced digging a grave close by the side of the kitchen door; when remonstrated with by Mr. Campbell he argued that he had no alternative, for the black who had just died had been born there on that spot. Mr. Campbell had much difficulty in inducing him to remove a short distance away.

I witnessed the burial of a black woman whose body was placed in a coffin by her relatives. This woman was taken from the tribe when quite a child and educated so as to be able to read and write. I believe that she had been christened. After remaining for some time with her white friends the tinge of wild blood got the better of her, and she again joined her tribe. After roaming about with her friends for a few years she caught cold and died of inflammation of the lungs. I saw her about an hour before her death, a most pitiable-looking object. In consequence of her education the blacks collected sufficient money to purchase a coffin, and took the body in a cart and buried it near some native graves, marking the surrounding trees deeply as usual.

### ***Tattoo marks.***

The custom of marking or ornamenting the body by means of cuts or gashes prevails over the whole country. The skin is drawn tight and is then cut either with a sharp splinter of glass or with a knife, the scores being two or three inches or more long. On the point of each shoulder they take a perpendicular direction; on the chest or back they are either horizontal or perpendicular. The object is to make a raised scar; the wounds are therefore kept open by blowing wood ashes into them. The bodies of some of these blacks are marked in the most regular manner by parallel scars from the shoulders to the heels. Some persons consider that each tribe has its own particular form for making these cuts, but I think that any irregularity or difference in the marking is due either to the awkwardness of the operator or the fancy of the black. Some men perforate the cartilage of the nose and thrust a long bone through. This bone is sharp-pointed like a skewer, and is used as a comb.

These blacks have great tenacity of life, and soon recover from wounds which would prove fatal to other men.

### ***Medical treatment.***

The medical treatment received by them is of a very primitive nature. It is out of the power of any of the old men, including the Kooradgee, to reset a broken limb; although they profess to be able to do it. Other ailments are treated by rubbing the body over with the sap extracted from the apple or the bloodwood tree, which being of a most astringent nature may have some effect. A counter irritation is often brought on by making the patient stand on an ant-bed for a few minutes. Sometimes an old man or the Kooradgee fills his mouth with water and spurts it over the painful part. I have seen this done by an old woman to her husband, who had a swelled eye. The mode of cure is supposed to be a great secret; a great deal is done, or supposed to be done, by the Kooradgee. Burying an arm or leg in the ground for a time is occasionally practised. On one occasion I called attention to the filthy state of a young child. The mother quietly scraped two or three handfuls of earth together, and threw it over the helpless brat.

### ***Red hands.***

The existence of the remarkable marks on rocks in many places, known as "red hands," has occasionally attracted much attention. They are supposed to record some mysterious ceremony. They are found on the face of sandstone rocks, mostly in sheltered places. On the face of the cliff at Greenwich, Parramatta River, seven fine impressions at one time existed; they have long since been quarried away. The most prolific places for them are at Cox's Creek, near the head of the Cudgegong River, about the Hawkesbury and Hunter rivers, and other places. Many years ago, when at the Shoalhaven River, a black undertook to show me something "very curious" as he termed it. On proceeding some distance up the river with him in a boat, we landed, and he then led me through a dense brush to a low cave or overhanging cliff, and pointed out two of these impressions. He told me that he found them accidentally, but could not account for their existence or how they were done.

These impressions are supposed to be made by dipping the hand in blood and then stamping it on the rock. They are often in relief, as the blood or pigment of which it is composed preserves the rock from the action of the atmosphere. I have never been able to obtain any account from the blacks as to their origin. It may be possible that they are the record of some religious or other ceremony, which the survivors were not allowed to speak about, and that the custom, in consequence, like many more in other parts of the world, has been

gradually lost; but, again, as these marks include the imprint of the hands of women and children, there remains some doubt on this point.

### ***Bock carvings.***

The so-called rock carvings are merely outline representations of men, fish, animals, &c. They may be frequently seen on the summit of flat-topped rocks. At Thornton's Hill, Manly, the remains of the representation of a man may be seen. A cart-track has obliterated the body, but the feet and a boomerang, which he held in his hand, are plainly visible. A few yards away from this two fish are represented. A flat rock at Middle Head was covered with the representations of whales, sharks, and other fish. One of the former measured 30 feet or more in length. A flat rock near the Association Ground, Sydney Common, was covered with the representations of kangaroo, opossum, fish, boomerangs, &c. At Berry's Bay some figures also exist. No mystery whatever may be attached to these marks. I have seen a young man lying on rock whilst others traced his outline and then picked out the line with a tomahawk.

### ***Necklaces.***

By way of outward adornment, the women make very pretty necklaces of reed beads. A small kind of reed grows plentifully in many swamps. These are cut into lengths of from 3 to 4 inches, and, being hollow, are easily threaded with fine twine. These lengths are then cut into small beads, by placing the reed on the hard, thick skin of the heel of the foot, and by giving it a turn under the edge of a thin knife. The reed is then easily broken into small beads. Teeth, either of sheep, kangaroo, or human, are often worn by the women as necklets, or around the head amongst the hair. Occasionally a bangle of opossum-skin is worn round the arm or below the knees; but their decorations, besides pipeclay or red ochre, are of a very innocent description.

The men often smear themselves over with opossum fat, and then rub their bodies and face with charcoal or red ochre. They say this serves to keep away the mosquitoes, as well as being ornamental. As a protection against mosquitoes they carry wisps of long grass, which they keep in perpetual motion.

### ***Food.***

Nothing comes amiss to them in the way of food. Every living thing in the shape of animals, birds, fish, or reptiles, as well as the roots of some plants and a sort of yam, serve to fill the game-bag. Obtaining roots, &c., is generally the duty of the women, who dig them up by means of long sharp-pointed sticks, hardened over the fire, one of which every woman carries about with her.

When not too old, the heart of the palm-tree forms an article of food. This is obtained by splitting each leaf up from the extreme, point, when it is readily detached from the stem. By this method the head of a palm tree can be stripped and opened out in a much shorter time than by means of a tomahawk.

Though they eat the flying fox, the bat is respected. The difference in size may be one reason. On one occasion, on looking behind a loose sheet of bark which was hanging from a dead tree, I saw an immense number of bats closely packed together. On calling the attention of a blackfellow to this, he seemed greatly dismayed at my discovery, and requested that I would not disturb them or mention the circumstance to any other blackfellow.

### ***Grubs.***

Amongst the delicacies the grub takes a prominent position. This is like a large caterpillar; it is found both in living and dead trees, principally the mimosa. Its location is not difficult to discover, owing to the refuse which is always to be seen at the outlet of the hole. A slice split off from a tree often discloses three or four of them; others out of sight are drawn from their homes, no doubt much to their astonishment, by means of a long barb-ended twig. These grubs are about the size of one's finger, and are often swallowed at once by the blacks. When roasted, the skin, together with the head and numerous legs, come off. It then looks like a roll of fresh butter, and is by no means bad eating.

The long transparent jelly-like-looking worm which penetrates dead logs on the margin of salt-water rivers, and known as cobra, is also much relished.

### ***White ants.***

White ants are occasionally eaten in quantities. They are prepared by the women, by being put through a sort of winnowing process in order to separate them from the dirt which surrounds them. The food has, I believe, a medicinal effect. They require no cooking.

Eggs of all descriptions are frequently obtained in quantities. These include the eggs of the iguana, lizard, and turtle; they are cooked by placing them in hot ashes, a small hole having been in the first instance made in

the upper end. They are by no means particular as to the freshness of the eggs. "Close up piccaninny set down" is the usual remark made when a young chick or reptile is about coming forth.

I have been informed that the blacks at one time would collect the heads of the long grass which grew on plains or open spaces, and which when ripe are blown in heaps against bushes or other obstruction, and after beating the seed out would grind it and make cakes of the flour. I never saw this operation, but I have seen flat stones which bore evidence of having been used as grinding stones for this purpose.

A black walked at least 2 miles for the carcass of a native dog I had shot. He and a few others enjoyed the meal.

## **Bees.**

Before the introduction of the English bee the blacks sought and obtained "native honey" in great quantities. The native bee is not much larger than a house-fly, and possesses no sting. They construct their nests in the hollows of trees. On account of their small size it is a difficult matter to discover this nest. Flies innumerable hover around these trees, and the practised eye alone of a blackfellow can detect the existence of the native bee. He closely examines every fallen leaf and blade of grass beneath the tree, so as to recognize, if possible, any spots or marks made by them, when, if satisfied as to the existence of a nest, he ascends the tree as already described, and either cuts off the limb or extracts the honey through a hole.

The honey and comb differ much from those of the English bee. The honey is a thin, watery syrup, very sweet, and possessing a wild, peculiar taste. It is stowed away in irregularly made pockets or cells, made of a dirty-looking sort of wax. They squeeze this honey in a "cooliman" or native bucket, and mix it with water. A ball of soft ribbon bark is then sopped in it and sucked by each blackfellow in turn.

## **Cooliman.**

A cooliman is formed by cutting the knob or excrescence from a tree and scooping out the decayed interior, so as to leave the outside shell only. These are of any shape and size—from the size of a teacup upwards.

Very neat water-tight baskets are made by the women from the broad part of the palm leaf; some of these will hold two or three gallons of water.

A very ingenious method of ascertaining the whereabouts of a native bees' nest was occasionally resorted to. A small piece of soft down from a feather was attached to a bee, by means of either gum from the mimosa or other tree, or wax from the ear. This would not only compel the bee to fly very slowly, which it at once did in the direction of its nest, but enabled the black to keep the insect in sight. The operation was a delicate one and not always successful, the insect being often crushed in the manipulation.

Native honey is now never sought for. The blacks say that the English bee has quite destroyed the native bees and taken possession of their nests.

## **Cooking.**

They invariably cook their food by roasting or grilling on the charcoal fire. Sometimes a kangaroo or emu is roasted whole. A large fire is made in a hole or hollow in the ground, in which large stones are heated. When sufficiently hot, some of these stones are placed inside the animal, and whilst it is being turned on the fire these stones are rolled about in its inside, the fore and hind legs of a kangaroo being held by two blacks. This is a favourite way of cooking; otherwise it is chopped into smaller pieces and grilled on the ashes.

In cooking, the outside of the meat is roasted or almost burnt to the depth of about a quarter of an inch. This outside is then eaten or gnawed off, and the meat is again placed on the fire.

Green grass is often placed on the ashes before putting on the food. This serves to keep it clean. The teeth of many of the old people are worn quite low to the gums in consequence of the grinding nature of the ashes eaten with the food.

When food is plentiful, such as after a successful battu, they eat to repletion, and will lie down in a helpless state, "too busy" to move for three or four days, their stomachs being greatly distended.

Kangaroos and emus are often "stalked," either by one black or by two or more acting in concert. When close enough a spear or boomerang is thrown with usually deadly effect. In level country, free from bush, the larger sort of boomerang is used, as before described; it rolls along the ground with great speed and force. Sometimes the women and a certain number of the men form an extended line along the ranges, and gradually close in, shouting the whole time. The kangaroos are driven to the valleys, where they are speared in numbers by blacks who are lying in wait for them.

The knowledge which these blackfellows possess of the habits of the various kinds of game they hunt is of material assistance to them. Kangaroos, when closely pursued, invariably make for a waterhole. Emus will make a considerable circuit so as to regain their starting point. The blacks are ready for these contingencies. A

waterhole is guarded, if necessary, and, instead of following an emu, a black will take a cut across the bush and intercept the bird in its flight.

Both kangaroos and emus will take to the water readily of their own accord. I have seen kangaroos swimming across the Clyde River, and I also saw two emus deliberately walk into the water and swim across Neutral Bay.

## **Opossum.**

The opossum generally makes its nest high up in the hollow of a tree, and to obtain it is the duty of the tree-climber. The existence of one of these animals in a tree is readily detected by the practised eye of the black, who closely examines the marks made on the bark by its claws. If the branch where the nest is is not too large, it is cut off, otherwise a hole is made immediately where the opossum is, when it is dragged out by the tail and at once hit on the head and thrown to the ground, as its bite is very severe and might endanger the man's safety on the tree. Frequently a fire is made in the hollow tree or limb, and so the unfortunate animal is driven out.

In exposed positions, such as low points of land, projecting into a lake or river, the blacks hide behind screens made of boughs for hours together, waiting the arrival of waterfowl. Ducks and other birds are usually knocked down by the boomerang or by a stick. The ancient Egyptians used the same means, as depicted by their paintings of 3,000 years ago.

Snakes they prefer to kill for themselves, as a snake when wounded or cannot escape will bite, and no doubt poison itself. Bandicoots, kangaroo rats, &c., are welcome.

Fish are not only caught by means of a spear, but are also secured in weirs. These weirs are made in suitable places, by means of a fence of the branches of trees being woven in with mangrove bushes. Many fish are entrapped and speared as the tide recedes. Fish are often speared at night-time. A black will wade out in shallow water, and the fish, attracted by the light of a fire-stick which he carries, are easily speared.

The root of the "minmoi" or gigantic lily, as well as the nuts of the zamia, are sometimes eaten. Both of these require preparation before being used. According to the blacks, the "minmoi" causes intense agony to the eater, if not properly prepared; the stomach swelling to an enormous extent, and eventually bursting, so that the bowels escape. The zamia nut is crushed, and then soaked in water for some days, by which means an essential oil is got rid of. Arrowroot of a fine quality can be made from these nuts.

These blacks cannot always depend upon having a breakfast before leaving their camp of a morning. When the dew is well off the ground, they may be seen starting off in different directions to seek whatever they can obtain in the way of food. The married men are always accompanied by their wives and numerous mangy dogs. Their breakfast consists of the first game obtained, and may be anything. These separate parties often meet during the day, when they cook much of the game, have a rest, a talk, a smoke, and then start off again on their catering expeditions. As evening approaches they return towards the camp, slackening their pace and approaching it cautiously as though some "devil-devil" might possibly be in possession. When all have arrived, the gins leisurely open their nets or bags and draw forth the result of the day's sport, for they are compelled to carry everything obtained during the day, with the exception perhaps of a kangaroo or emu. This they immediately proceed to divide, apparently in the most liberal manner. Perhaps a whole opossum is thrown across to some one, or it may be cut in halves or quarters and then divided, whilst snakes, iguanas, birds, fish, in fact everything is thrown from one to the other, no doubt in repayment for similar loans on previous occasions. There is no grumbling; each one seems perfectly satisfied with what he or she receives.

Mr. Edward Lamb stated in explanation of this apparently complicated mode of dividing food, that independently of a child being named after the first thing edible, either birds, animal, fish, &c., seen after its birth, that this article of food is "taboo" to the youngster, who cannot partake of it; consequently an exchange of food is necessary. This statement, however, only partly explains the arrangement, for the "taboo" is removed at the age of puberty, when the youngster receives another or rather a second name. I have seen this division of food made amongst full-grown blacks who were allowed to eat anything.

By the kindness of Commander Sadleir, I have been favoured with the perusal of a paper entitled "Notes on the Australian Class Systems," by Mr. A. W. Howitt, being a reprint from the journal of the Anthropological Institute, May, 1883. From this I have no doubt that the name given to the infant at its birth is the "Totem" or distinguishing name, and enables the elders or wise men to classify the young members of a tribe, and make marital or betrothal arrangements.

Most of the game obtained throughout the day is wholly or partially cooked before it comes to camp; by this means it keeps better, especially during hot weather.

## **Bathing.**

In hot weather these people are very fond of bathing. They are all, even the little children, able to swim.

Although at times they plunge into the water, they often walk in quietly and sink below the surface so gently as to hardly leave a ripple. They can remain under water for a length of time.

On one occasion a young man with whom I was out shooting vanished quietly below the surface of a deep waterhole. In reply to my question as to his reason for so doing, he informed me that he "went below to obtain a drink of cold water, as it was too hot on the surface." This man also showed me how, by lying down under water, with one end of a hollow reed in his mouth, the other end above the surface, he was enabled to remain under for a length of time, and so possibly evade any pursuers.

The fresh water creeks and ponds abound in mussels and crayfish, these also form an important item of food. Many of the former are obtained by the blacks by standing in the water and with their toes extracting the mussels from the mud. The crayfish are easily caught by means of a piece of meat tied to a string; as soon as their long antennæ appear above the surface of the water they are cautiously seized and thrown on shore.

### ***In camp.***

In camp these people, to all appearance, are most social. They talk, laugh, sing, and tell stories. Nothing escapes their observation; every incident is recounted, and many a good joke is enjoyed at the expense of some white person. In the day-time many of the men, who are too lazy to go out, may be often seen giving a lesson to the small boys in throwing the boomerang or spear, &c.; this is a very amusing sight to witness. Theft amongst the members of a tribe is wholly unknown. A black can leave his spear or boomerang, in fact his worldly goods, anywhere in the bush—they remain untouched by his own or a friendly tribe; of course they are prizes if found by an enemy. The women and children keep much to themselves, a short distance from the men. The children do much as they like, and exhibit the most violent temper at times. I saw a little fellow, about four years of age, in a fit of anger after throwing a fire-stick at his mother, run to another fire and deliberately knock over three pots of tea which were standing there; it is difficult to say what other mischief he would have done had not a black hurled a stick at him, barely missing him. The young savage ran back to his mother and hid in her opossum cloak. She took no notice whatever of the occurrence.

### ***Language.***

Their language, abounding in vowels, enables it to be spoken with fluency, and has by no means a harsh sound. Every tribe has its own dialect; this is greatly caused by ill-feeling on the part of many of the tribes towards each other, so that they will not condescend to use the same words for many things. One tribe is acquainted with the dialects of those tribes adjoining, and use the same dialect when speaking to a friendly tribe, but they speak most contemptuously of those with whom they are upon bad terms, and ridicule the expressions used by them. This makes the task of the philologist a difficult one, though I understand that similar terms for many places and things remain intact, and can be traced throughout the country. The late Rev. Mr. Threlkeld compiled a very complete vocabulary of the language of the tribes inhabiting the Wollombi, Lake Macquarie, Newcastle, Port Stephens, and adjacent country. This energetic missionary was known at lake Macquarie as Mr. "Kowhow." "Kowhow" is the negative, and is never used by the men, who only condescend to give a sort of grunt. Women alone use it, consequently, for that reason, it has a degrading meaning; but as Mr. Threlkeld, who wished to set a good example to the men, made a point of using it, it was soon attached to him as a nickname, whilst his influence among them was not increased thereby.

### ***Names of places.***

The names of places and things are very expressive, and in most instances euphonious, though in many cases greatly distorted by European pronunciation. Thus the proper name of Bodalla is Eurobodella, known for many years as "Boat Alley." Larella, near Molong, is better known as "Larry's Lake," and many others. ("Gabo" Island is altogether a misnomer; it is a blackfellow's pronunciation for "Cape Howe." Woolloomooloo, I was informed by an old resident, is the result of a blackfellow trying to say windmill), &c., &c., &c.

Every tree, plant, rock, animal, and insect has a name, and localities are named accordingly. About Yass, for instance, or, I believe, more properly Yarra, such names as Yarra-lumla, Yarra-minya, Yarra-don. Yarra-laurila, &c., are to be found. Yarra I believe to be the name of a species of gum tree. The termination denotes the locality.

### ***Cannibalism.***

Although authentic instances of cannibalism have from time to time been brought to light, these blacks cannot be placed in the same category with the natives of the South Sea Islands. They one and all indignantly deny such an accusation, but invariably accuse the tribes to the far north-west of following this practice. Notwithstanding this denial, during the continuance of cold wet weather, when they cannot procure food, I do

not think that they would hesitate in adopting a fat piccanniny for a meal.

### ***Daily movements.***

Their daily movements are arranged by the old men each night, and are strictly adhered to. This enables them when scattered about during the day to know where to find each other if necessary. Occasionally these arrangements are upset, and fresh orders are suddenly issued. This may be caused by various reasons. It may be in consequence of a dream which some of them have had. Under these circumstances an immediate stampede is considered necessary. No time is lost in packing up all their worldly goods; these consist of old dirty clothes and blankets, tin pots, and all sorts of rubbish, which are crammed into their nets with puppy dogs, occasionally cats and kittens, half-cooked food, &c. These loads are carried by the women, who, surrounded by numbers of half-starved, mangy dogs, of all sizes and ages, stagger along under their burden. On these occasions, to facilitate their movements, young children are frequently destroyed by being dashed against a tree and then thrown away. The men carry a spear or tomahawk only. These women would rather sacrifice a child than a dog. I have seen them suckling puppies in turn with their infants.

Should any blackfellow be absent and consequently not aware of this stampede, marks are made on a tree, or a branch is broken, so as to attract attention, and the impression of a foot is made in some soft part of the ground close by, the toes being deeply impressed in the soil, and pointing in the direction the others have taken. These blacks can identify the tracks of any of their companions, and recognise a stranger's footprint at once.

### ***Gooley.***

Their "cooley," or call is often required. It is extremely loud and shrill, and can be heard at a long distance. It is uttered entirely from the throat; they press the sides of their face with their hands and place a finger in each ear, which they say is a great assistance. According as the last note either rises or falls, they understand which one shall wait for the other. At closer distances a low whistle is made with a similar understanding. They often signalize to the adjoining tribes by means of fires or smoke on the top of hills, and know by this means the approach of a messenger or a visit from a friendly tribe, or other movements.

### ***Shell mounds.***

The existence at one time of large mounds on the banks of many salt-water bays and inlets, which on being dug into, were found to consist entirely of shells of various descriptions, principally oysters and mussels, plainly indicated that these spots were favourite resorts of the blackfellow. These mounds were covered with turf, and I imagine were of great age. They have now all vanished, having been carted away for the purpose of using the shells for lime.

### ***Physique.***

Opinions as to their physique and general appearance must not be formed by the wretched-looking objects who may be occasionally seen at the present day hanging about the old established inland towns and public-houses. In their natural state the young members are particularly well formed—lithe and active. Some are perfect models, their limbs well shaped and muscular, hands and feet small, especially those of the women. They have at this time a pleasing expression of countenance, but as they get old they soon lose even these charms, the old women being perfectly hideous.

The colour of their skin is a dark dusky brown, hair black and curly, wavy, altogether unlike the negro. Their movements are easy and natural. In searching for game they walk along with body erect, slowly and cautiously, taking care to make as little noise as possible. Their eyes and ears "all about them," occasionally stopping to give a searching look at some tree which they think may possibly shelter an opossum or native bear, or else to listen for the movements of a kangaroo or wallaby. They watch their game as a cat does a mouse, without even winking the eye, and will remain motionless for a length of time, until an opportunity is given for them to strike a blow.

Savages as they are, they are not without some sense of good feeling, as in the case of the death of Mr. Kennedy, the rescue of King, the sole survivor of Burke and Wills's expedition, and other instances. I was a witness to the following:—A blackfellow who had fallen from a tree and had dislocated his ankle, was lying on the ground, under his blanket, when his brother accidentally stood upon the injured limb; this caused the poor fellow to shriek with pain. His brother at once threw himself beside the wounded man, and hugged him, kissed him, caressed him, and did all in his power to comfort him. It was genuine sorrow, and a most touching scene between these two half-naked savages. They never neglect the old and infirm. The blind and cripples are led about and carefully attended to.

They are particular in all points of etiquette, consequently many a man has lost his life by unconsciously

infringing their rules—such as walking into a camp without first obtaining leave. This may be considered equivalent to a person walking into a stranger's house and sitting down without being asked. In the one case the intruder gets a knock on the head which settles him at once, in the other he is kicked out.

Whilst their thoughts are by no means retrospective, they certainly do not look far ahead. So long as they have plenty to eat and drink for the time being they are happy; the future causes them no anxiety. They are thoroughly improvident. They cannot carry their minds back beyond the oldest man they may individually recollect, and whom they suppose to have been the first man. The dislike or objection they entertain of ever mentioning the name or of alluding in any way to a deceased person naturally encourages the obliteration from their memories of the existence of any great ancestors.

A koradgee told me that he had a perfect recollection of the first man, who was a very old man when he was quite a boy. This first man, feeling lonely, paddled his canoe to the constellation Pleiades, the seven stars, which are inhabited solely by women, by their belief.

This is somewhat remarkable. The seven stars are, according to mythology, seven women.

There he secured a wife, but refusing to pay a fee to a large serpent who had charge of these stars the serpent endeavoured to arrest him, but failing in that he hurled a large rock after him and took away the canoe. The canoe is now represented by Orion's belt. The serpent can be traced in the milky way, and the rock, which was similar to the Magellan clouds, is to be seen in the middle of a swamp or open flat somewhere. The old black was credited with having got the best of the squabble, for he retained his wife and built another canoe for himself.

### ***Astronomy.***

All the principal stars are named, and many queer stories or legends are told of them, as well as of the sun and moon. Unfortunately I have lost all memoranda on this subject. The Rev. Mr. M'Donald read a most elaborate paper on the astronomy of the blacks before the Royal Society, which is well worthy of persusal.

I once had a man in my employment who had been three years with the blacks at Moreton Bay. He was a "ticket-of-leave man," and had at one time escaped from Moreton Island, in company with two other men. These men, after wandering about for some days, and being in a starving condition, came in sight of a black-fellows' camp. One of them, with the object of obtaining something to eat, walked straight into the camp, and was knocked on the head and killed immediately. The two other men, seeing the fate of their companion, remained quite still, with the intention of escaping during the night. But the blacks had seen them, and attributing their quietness to etiquette (that is, waiting for an invitation), after some delay advanced towards them, lighted a fire, and gave them something to eat. These two men remained some time with the blacks, until one day one of them noticing a bundle of what he at first supposed to be sticks hanging up, but were in reality bones, took the bundle up to examine it, when he also was immediately killed. These severe lessons taught the survivor not to be too inquisitive. He managed to make his escape after a residence of three years with them.

This man, who was a printer and compositor by trade, was most intelligent and well informed. He told me that he could never obtain an insight into their mysteries, and thought there was a great deal more importance attached to them than necessary, that there was really nothing in them, but that the old men purposely mystified many of their doings so as to raise themselves in the opinion of the younger men. They know nothing whatever of a religion.

A similar account was given to me by a man who had been thirteen years amongst them; and, of the many instances where white men have resided for a lengthened period with these blacks, no information or explanation of their supposed mysterious ceremonies has ever been obtained from them; and the question again occurs—is there any real mystery, or is it only a sham?

These savages are not sufficiently refined so as to torture their prisoners as the New Zealanders and other savages are accustomed to do: if they desire to kill a person it is done at once, and effectually.

### ***Barter.***

A considerable trade or exchange of goods is carried on between the various tribes. I have seen boomerangs, waddies, and other implements in the hands of natives on the coast, made of the wood of the sweet-scented myall localities, where this tree does not grow; and again, I have seen the grass-tree spear in the hands of natives of the interior. These are always much prized.

Other articles of barter are grass-tree gum, kurrajong, and ribbon bark and other things.

### ***Acute senses.***

Their senses are wonderfully acute, especially that of sight, and these qualities can only be appreciated or comprehended by actually witnessing the exercise of them. On a shooting excursion one need not be troubled

with sporting dogs if accompanied by one of these blacks. They either see, hear, or smell the presence of game as quickly as a dog does. Their use as trackers in following up either men or animals is valuable, and when occasionally at fault, they are, from their wonderful knowledge of bush lore, able to exert great reasoning power.

Their "locality," in a phrenological point of view, is marvellous. They can travel in a straight line from one point to another across miles of country. In company with some friends, we tested many of them very severely by blindfolding them, then turning them round several times, and asking them to point in the direction of certain places. Some of them were very exact, but they were not each of them equally correct, though none of them were very wide of the mark.

I am not aware whether any complete phrenological examination has ever been made. "Veneration" is no doubt altogether wanting, as well as "number" and "comparison." They cannot enumerate beyond a very limited number. Two is the highest number for which they have a name. When they wish to express a higher number, the word is repeated two or more times, and the fingers of one or both hands are held up at the same time. Thus on the Lower Hunter and Coast "bolworra" means two; this is shortened to "bulla," "bulla-bulla," means more than two, perhaps half-a-dozen, &c. When this word is repeated often, and at the same time, the fingers of both hands are opened and closed rapidly, it means that the number is incalculable. They have another word, "cowal," which means plenty; "cowal cowal" great abundance; but this refers to quantity, and the fingers are not brought into use whilst using it.

A man in describing a great crowd he had seen at some races, expressed himself as follows:—"Ka bon cowal cowal bulla karam-bla (whitefellow) plenty too many thousand, close up a hundred."

I do not suppose that "destructiveness" is over large, for these people do not destroy or kill solely for the sake of destroying or killing; they kill a man for having infringed some of their laws, and consider that he deserves to be killed; they kill sheep and cattle for food, &c. But this matter (phrenology) cannot be discussed here. I should like to hear a phrenological paper on this subject.

Unfortunately many of those who first come in contact with these aborigines are rough uneducated men, who think they are justified in treating them without any consideration whatever, as though they were mere animals. We often see notices in the papers headed "Outrage by the Blacks," &c. I think that the police records can show greater outrages, with less reason for their perpetration, as having been committed by their Christian brethren.

These blacks have ground for a good case against their Governments. They are unable to plead their own cause, and comparatively few persons of influence have exerted themselves on their behalf. Their hunting-grounds are occupied by sheep and other stock, and no corresponding compensation has been awarded in return.

I must, however, admit that so long as they can obtain intoxicating spirits their case is hopeless.

Like all savages, they vanish as the white settler approaches and permanently occupies the country. Many of the tribes from whom, years ago, I obtained much of the information now placed before you are quite extinct. They readily become familiar with the vices of their European brethren, and soon fall victims to drink and disease, and at once succumb to pulmonary complaints brought on by neglect and exposure.

By a recent computation these natives number, in this Colony, about 5,000, but this number is rapidly decreasing. Near a township on the Murray River, where I happened to be a few years ago, no less than five men and women died in one camp within a fortnight.

Though late in the day, this Government are acting wisely in endeavouring to preserve the remnants of these tribes; and it is to be hoped that the experience of the treatment of these blacks, as well as of the Tasmanian aborigines, of whom not a soul now remains, will serve as a lesson and a caution to those who may be called upon to act as pioneers in colonizing any further territory which the Crown may choose to annex.

## Appendices.

Wilkinson, in his "Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians," vol. iii, p. 39, says:—

*They do not seem to have used the bow very generally to shoot birds, nor was the sling adopted, except by gardeners and peasants, to frighten them from the vineyards and fields. The use of the throw-stick was very general, every amateur chasseur priding himself on the dexterity he displayed with this missile, and being made of heavy wood, flat, and offering little surface to the air in the direction of the flight, the distance to which an expert could throw it was considerable; though they always endeavoured to approach the birds as near as possible under cover of bushes or reeds. It was from one foot and a quarter to two feet in length, and about an inch and a half in breadth, slightly curved at the upper end, and its general form may be inferred from one found at Thebes by Mr. Burton, from those of the Berlin Museum, and from the sculptures.*

[Sketches.]

## Meeting of the 20TH September, 1883.

AT the general monthly meeting of the Geographical Society of Australasia, held on Thursday, the 20th September, 1883, at the rooms of the Free Public Library, under the presidency of Professor W. J. Stephens, M.A., the following paper was read by Mr. ALEX. MORTON:—

### Notes of a Trip to the Islands of Torres Straits and the South-east Coast of New Guinea.

By ALEXANDER MORTON, Curator's Assistant, Australian Museum, Sydney, N.S.W.

ABOUT the middle of May, 1877, a party left Sydney in the E. and A. Co.'s mail steamer "Normanby," for Somerset—at that time the central station of the Torres Straits pearl-shell fisheries—with the intention of there purchasing a suitable craft, and in her proceeding to the south-eastern extremity of New Guinea, having in view the several purposes of forming botanical and ethnological collections, and securing such specimens of the varied branches of natural history as we might meet with during our travels.

Four Europeans and an equal number of Kanakas comprised this little expedition, viz., Mr. A. Goldie, a botanical collector commissioned by Messrs. B. S. Williams and Sons, Holloway-place, London; accompanied by Mr. William Blunden, a collecting taxidermist, and Mr. James Henry Shaw, who officiated as draftsman, and rendered valuable services in the varied capacities for which a roving life afloat and ashore had rendered him specially qualified; and lastly Mr. A. Morton, who the Trustees of the Australian Museum had specially arranged should accompany Mr. Goldie as a collector in the interests of that Institution.

Three Loyalty Islanders, and a New Caledonian native, named Jemmy Caledonia, reputed to have been at one time the most successful coloured digger on the gold-fields of Victoria, New Zealand, and Northern Queensland, and who had considerable experience in almost every maritime occupation carried on in tropical waters, completed the muster-roll.

In due course the party arrived at Somerset, without experiencing any incident worthy of relation. There Mr. Goldie succeeded in purchasing a small lugger of about 8 tons, a good sea-boat, which being of light draught and easily handled, was specially adapted for our purpose; we christened her without the usual ceremonies, rather bombastically, "The Explorer."

We spent a few pleasant weeks cruising among the picturesque islands of both coral and volcanic formation that are dotted over the surface of the shallow and almost land-locked waters of the Straits, visiting the various fishing stations, and occasionally securing a few specimens of both flora and fauna, among which was an interesting and valuable orchid (*Dendrobium sp.*) of an entirely new species; and an addition to the Ethnological Department of the Museum, in the shape of a collection of skulls and skeletons, among which were represented many of the varied races inhabiting the island groups of the Pacific.

Our preparations being at length completed, on the 4th of July, early on a lovely morning, we weighed anchor, and in company with the "Mayri," a little craft of very similar construction and proportions to the "Explorer," in the service of the London Missionary Society, set sail for the mysterious islands.

Both vessels being bound for the same destination, Port Moresby, they kept company in the beat to windward and dropped anchor an hour or two before sunset in a snug berth under the lee of a coral islet, which owed its name to a grove of graceful palms, which waved their feathery fronds high above the tangled and somewhat stunted vegetation that covered its surface.

Two days after we made Darnley Island, one of the largest and most fertile in this fruitful Archipelago. An undulating sea of tropical verdure clothes lofty hills and tranquil valleys, broken only by rugged cliffs and crags of somber-tinted rock, and here and there a scanty patch of bright-foliaged bananas, paw-paws, and sugarcane, flourishing freely among the yams and taro in the rudely cultivated plantations of the miserable remnant of a once powerful tribe, whose silent and deserted villages may yet be seen nestling under the evergreen canopy of the cocoa-nut groves which fringe the small snow-white beaches dotted at frequent intervals along the reef-encircled foreshore of the island.

Since the value of the large deposits of pearl shell in the shallow waters of the Straits has brought the white man upon the scene, eager to gather the submarine treasure, civilization, in the usual shape of rum, rifles, disease, and abduction, has so well accomplished its wonted task, that of the many hundreds of healthy and prosperous islanders that Flinders found there, there now remain but sixty or seventy, many of whom are enervated cripples, and still more, aged people who, useless to the usurping and unprincipled traders, have lived to see their children wither and perish from among them, and the rapid decay of their race.

Many of the neighbouring islands, and even sparsely wooded sandbanks, a few brief years ago supported in proportion a still denser population, deriving their subsistence principally from the wonderfully fertile soil, and

waters teeming with innumerable fish, their diet being varied with turtles, shell fish, and sea birds obtained from the reefs and sandbanks, and occasionally eked out with a canoe-load of crudely manufactured sago, procured in barter by these enterprising voyagers from the kindred races inhabiting the low-lying coast line of the great Papuan Bight of these smiling islets. The sole evidences of previous occupations that now meet the eye are a few worn-out canoes washed up beyond high-watermark, and half buried in the sand drifts and grassy hillocks, or scattered among the waving palms, and half hidden by the rapidly encroaching jungle of flowering vines and creepers; with here and there a broken gourd or bleaching bone.

A dead beat, in the teeth of a stiff south-easter, brought the little vessels on the following evening to an anchorage under the lee of Murray, an island smaller, but in other respects very similar to Darnley. Here we renewed our supplies of wood and water, and also obtained some fruits and vegetables from the natives, of whom there still remain some two hundred on the island.

The head-quarters of the London Mission in Torres Straits have been established here for some years; but yet it must be acknowledged that the uncongenial atmosphere of the neighbouring pearl shell fisheries has militated severely against the Society's efforts in promulgating the precepts of Christianity, and as a natural consequence, vice is in the ascendant. Four or five days being occupied in completing final arrangements, early one fine morning the boats weighed together and sailed for Port Moresby, the south-east monsoon enabling them to lie well up "full and bye" for that part of the New Guinea coast.

An unfortunate mishap delaying us in making sail, and the light breeze favouring the mission boat, the "Explorer" soon dropped astern of her consort, and the last we saw of the "Mayri," until we had almost arrived at our destination, was the glint of the setting sun on her distant sail,—the only object that met the eye on the wide expanse of the seething waste of water.

Just before dawn of the third day after leaving Murray, one of the black boys sighted, wide on our port bow, the bold outline of Mount Yule's lofty peak, one of the principal eminences of the great Owen Stanley range; and at daylight we found ourselves close in with the coast, in the immediate vicinity of Yule Island.

The beams of the rising sun rapidly dispersing the veiling mists that hung over hill and valley, we were at last rewarded by a fair view of the "Promised Land."

Unfortunately, it falling calm, we took two days to beat only about 20 miles up the picturesque coast.

On the morning of the third day, to our surprise, we again sighted the little "Mayri" close in under the land, and being presently favoured with a light breeze, late in the evening both boats entered the well-defined entrance of Port Moresby, and shortly after dropped anchor within a mile or two of the Mission settlement at Hanua-pata.

Although too late to land that evening, we were interviewed by a few natives who, returning to their villages from the fishing grounds in their canoes, and perceiving the strange sail, paddled alongside with a view of levying the customary harbour dues in the shape of tobacco, keeping up a constant clamour for "*ko-ko*." They appeared to be on the whole of fair physical proportions, prepossessing in appearance, and rather above medium stature, varying considerably in both the contour of their features and the colour of their skins. A bright copper tint, and other leading characteristics of the Malay race predominated in the majority of our visitors, while others were of widely opposed and apparently rather mixed origin; many of these latter being of a dusker hue and heavier in build, with heads exhibiting, more or less strongly, a type allied to the Ethiopian.

Next morning, at daybreak, we shifted our boat to a safer and more convenient anchorage near the margin of the reef fringing the shore, opposite the principal native village, and, launching our dingy, went ashore.

On landing we were hospitably welcomed by the Rev. W. G. Lawes, the resident missionary, and his assistant teacher, Rua-Toka, a fine example of a Raratonga native, who had been stationed here since the London Missionary Society had, in 1872, first commenced at this spot its labours in New Guinea; at the time of our visit their head-quarters were established here.

On ascertaining the nature of our errand, Mr. Lawes kindly placed at our disposal an unoccupied house. It was built on piles, and of somewhat similar construction to the native dwellings afterwards described. Our first steps were to unload and dismantle the boat, which being done we occupied ourselves for a few weeks in exploring the neighbourhood for specimens of natural history, and other objects of our visit, not omitting to obtain what information could be procured respecting ethnological and other interesting details that were accessible to us.

Port Moresby, named after the commander of H.M.S. "Basilisk," who first planted the Union Jack on Papuan soil, is a spacious and well sheltered haven, and although in many places obstructed by extensive shoals and patches of coral reef uncovered at neap tides, offers a good and secure anchorage to vessels of considerable burthen. The mission station and principal native villages are situated at the head of what might be termed the outer harbour, about a league in a northerly direction from the entrance, which is rather less than half a mile in width, and is marked by two lofty and rugged prominences of a very barren and uninviting appearance, scantily clothed with a coarse and wiry grass, with here and there a few stunted and straggling trees. Just beyond the

settlement, where extensive reefs, and a hilly islet connected with the mainland by a neck of shingle, had considerably contracted the fairway, it again widens out for several miles in a westerly direction, till it becomes a sheet of water more spacious than the first. This is named Fairfax Harbour; no river, nor even a creek of any magnitude, empties itself into this important harbour, and although in many places the hills rise abruptly from the margin of the waters, the foreshore is almost everywhere fringed with encircling reefs and mangrove swamps; deep water frontages are unobtainable.

The country in the immediate vicinity of Port Moresby is rugged and barren, and, with the exception of a few sheltered valleys, is too arid and stony to repay even the most assiduous cultivation. On the northern shore, within a mile or two of the settlement, a deposit of plumbago exists, but it is of an inferior character, and probably valueless, except to the natives, who occasionally use it as a pigment.

The Motu and Koitapu, two distinct races, inhabit the Port Moresby district, residing in comparative harmony together, although it has been ascertained beyond doubt that the latter tribe were the original lords of the soil, and that the former, who occupy the coast line for about 40 miles, are merely usurping interlopers. Whether, however, these dusky annexers were actuated by premeditated design or force of circumstances, when or whence they came, are matters still, and perhaps will remain, shrouded in mystery, more especially as native legends, attributing the gift of speech to dogs, and determined chronologically by moons, beyond a score of which the Motu dialect fails to express a definite number, are hardly satisfactory data to convince even the most credulous ethnological or antiquarian enthusiast. Perhaps, however, the most important clue to their origin that has yet been adduced are ocular and tangible physiognomical and physical evidences of Malayan extraction.

As might be naturally inferred, the Motu are a maritime race, and depend mainly upon piscatorial pursuits for a livelihood. The labour of cultivating the plantations devolves on the females, but the sterile and stony soil in the vicinity of Port Moresby rewards their efforts with but scanty and uncertain crops of yams and bananas. Among the other duties they have to perform is carrying wood and water, which latter is carried in large spherical earthenware vessels, of which a great number are made by the women, for trading purposes. Their mode of manufacture is very ingenious, and worthy of description. The clay, which is of a peculiar nature, and only to be obtained at a considerable distance from the village, is first pounded to a powder in a wooden trough, made from a worn-out canoe; water is then added, and the mass worked to the required consistence; it is then moulded over the lower half of a pot already completed, and fashioned with the hands and a small flat stick into a hemispherical form. This shape is used principally to contain food. If, however, it is desired to manufacture the globular kind, two of the bowls are placed while still soft with their edges in contact; these are united by merely patting the joint with the wooden spatula before mentioned, until it disappears and a complete junction is effected; an aperture is then made at the top, a rim being moulded from the material extracted. The diameter of this mouth varies according to the objects for which the vessel is intended to be used, being considerably larger for cooking purposes than merely to contain water. After the required shape is obtained a fire of grass and light sticks is built round the pots; when sufficiently baked they are glazed by being dressed while hot with a decoction prepared from the bark of the mangroves.

With the exception of fishing, hunting is the only occupation that a Motu warrior does not consider it beneath his dignity to follow. Kangaroos and wild pigs are the principal objects of pursuit. Their usual method of securing the former, which are very numerous, is to surround them while feeding, stalking stealthily as near as practicable; as soon as they perceive that the game is on the alert they rush towards them on every side, uttering loud guttural cries, which frequently have the effect of arresting the flight of the alarmed and confused quarry, or driving it within easy spear-throw of one of the hunters. At certain seasons, however, when the grass is long and dry, war is waged against the kangaroo on a more extensive scale. Across the mouth of a long valley down which the prevailing monsoon is blowing, strong and large-meshed nets, about 6 or 7 feet deep, neatly made of cordage manufactured from a fibrous bark, are stretched upon stakes driven firmly into the ground, the grass being first cleared away for some distance around them. Small intervals are usually left between each of the nets, which run from 20 to 30 fathoms in length, at which are stationed expert spearsmen; the surrounding country is then beaten up by a general muster of all men, women, children, and dogs capable of taking part in the hunt, who, after driving the kangaroos into the valley, at the mouth of which the trap is situated, take up position on the surrounding hills, in order to prevent the game from breaking back; the grass is then lighted to windward with fire sticks, carried for the purpose, at several points simultaneously, and a sheet of flame rapidly sweeps down the gully, driving every living thing before it, the natives following as close as possible in the rear, shouting and yelling like fiends. In their frantic endeavours to escape, many of the kangaroos entangle themselves inextricably in the nets, and few who succeed in passing through the only exits of the barricade escape the spears of the ambush hunters. In this manner large numbers are frequently obtained.

After the battue is finished, the bodies of the slain are thrown on a large fire, and turned over and over, until the hair is scorched off; they are then rapidly disjointed and cut up with splinters of flint or quartz, in the use of which primitive knives these natives are very dexterous. The meat is then stacked on a light and hastily

constructed framework, elevated about 4 feet from the ground, under which a slow fire is kept burning, until the joints are partially smoked and cooked, which process tends to avert the rapid decomposition that would otherwise take place in such a tropical climate.

The produce of the chase is carried back to the villages on poles, in the manner usually practised by the Chinese.

In hunting the wild pigs, which are rather formidable antagonists, a peculiar appliance is used which may be described as follows:—A stout frame 18 inches in diameter, formed somewhat like a horseshoe, is covered with a strong netting about 2 inches in the mesh; the pig is approached and surrounded while feeding and rooting in the tangled scrub, or sleeping in its haunts among the dense osier beds or reedy swamps; on being disturbed, finding himself hemmed in on every side, and saluted with a shower of spears and arrows, he often rushes furiously at his nearest tormentor, who boldly standing his ground receives the enraged animal's impetuous charge on this appliance, grasping it firmly in both hands by strong grips provided for the purpose on either edge of the frame. In delivering his ripping upward stroke, the boar generally entangles his long and strongly curved tusks in the meshes of the net, and while endeavouring to rid himself of this encumbrance, is set upon on every side and soon placed *hors de combat*.

The spear is the national weapon both for the chase and for war of the people residing in the Port Moresby district, the kind reserved for the latter purpose being of black palm wood, heavier and more highly finished than those used in hunting. Nothing answering the purpose of the womerah used by Australian natives is to be met with among them, and consequently they cannot at a long range deliver their weapons so effectually; while with the bow and arrow, which they obtain in large quantities from natives residing further to the eastward, near the head of the great Papuan Bight, they are by no means expert. The Koitapu, and occasionally the Motu, make use of curiously curved stone clubs, the heads of which resemble sharp-edged discs or stars, and are generally fashioned from serpentine or diorite, but quartz and a kind of limestone thickly studded with minute fossil shells are occasionally used.

The Koiari, a finely developed and warlike race, inhabiting the mountainous regions to the northward of Port Moresby (who, in times of peace, occasionally visit the coast tribes to obtain salt, which they prize highly, carrying back on their return journey large sections of bamboo full of sea-water) invariably use a club head much resembling in form, size, and colour, an emu's egg; a perforation through its longest diameter receives the handle, which is about 4 feet long; the small end is grasped in the hand, and the head is fastened in its place by a neatly worked mousing of strong fibre. Both the Motu and Koitapu recognize polygamy, but its practice is rather the exception than the rule, and it is very seldom that a man has more than three wives. There are no recognized chiefs among any of the various tribes that we met with during our sojourn in New Guinea, but in times of war and on other important occasions, the heads of large families and men of proved prowess and experience were invested with a certain amount of temporary authority in action and in council.

The women are, when young, rather prepossessing in form and feature, but hard labour and maternity age them very rapidly; they tattoo themselves all over the bodies and limbs with quaint hieroglyphical figures, which probably have some symbolical significance, the operation not being completed at one time.

The women are very reserved in their manner toward strangers, and differ widely from their dusky sisters inhabiting the majority of the groups of Polynesia, in being strictly virtuous. This characteristic was particularly observable among each and every of the numerous tribes or races that we became acquainted with in the course of our rambles afloat and ashore, and apparently in many instances their communities were governed by stringent, if unwritten, moral and social statutes. A short heavy skirt composed of strips of pandanus leaves or long flexible fibres, stained in stripes of different shades of red, yellow, and black, is the only garment worn by the females; both sexes have the lobes of their ears and septum of the nose pierced, generally carrying in the latter a straight or curved ornament of shell, varying in length from 2 to 8 inches, and about the thickness of a stout quill, tapering to a point at either extremity; necklaces of reed, shell, seeds, and dogs' teeth, from which hang pendants of boars' tusks and pearl shell crescents, obtained in trade from the westward, are very common; armlets of plaited fibre and human hair, strips of cane, and shell, are worn over the biceps; the armlets, cut from a species of "Trochus," are greatly prized, as specimens are rarely obtained large enough for this purpose; these, with a narrow tight girdle, and a head-dress of cassowary or other feathers, constitute the full dress costume of a "Motu beau."

The Port Moresby canoes, compared with those of natives occupying the seaboard to the eastward and westward, are rather primitive examples of naval architecture, being merely logs hollowed out with stone tomahawks and fire. The smaller ones, used for fishing, are rather lighter in construction and more shapely than the others described below; they are fitted with an outrigger of buoyant wood, to impart the requisite stability, on the poles connecting which with the dug-out is a light framework, which serves to carry such articles as would be injured by water. One or two narrow grass mat sails bent between parallel poles, which act as masts, are often set, but unless the wind is fair, they are not of much service. The paddles are very roughly fashioned,

their blades being generally of an oval elongated form. When under sail the outrigger, as in all crafts so constructed, is invariably carried on the weather side, tacking being effected by altering the trim of their sails so as to reverse their action and propel the other extremity of the canoe in the desired direction.

Towards the close of the dry season, the natives of this part of the coast prepare for their annual trading voyage to the Elemma district, where they barter their earthenware pottery and surplus supplies of hoop-iron, beads, and other trade obtained from the missionaries and casual visitors, for canoes and, last but not least, large supplies of rather crudely prepared sago, which is the staple product of the low-lying, swampy region at the head of the great Papuan Bight. They also obtain a stock of native-grown tobacco. Although the leaf is of excellent quality, their method of curing it is so indifferent, the leaves being merely withered in the sun, that the natives prefer the lowest classes of American or Colonial manufacture. All the men and women, and even very young children, are confirmed smokers; so tobacco is here the principal trade, and you cannot walk through a village in the vicinity of Port Moresby without being continually pestered, even by infants scarcely able to crawl, for "bacsheesh" in the form of "ko-ko." Smoking was an honoured institution among the native races of New Guinea ages before the advent of white men. Their method of consuming the precious weed differs in many respects from that adopted by Europeans and those races to whom it has been by them introduced. It is worthy of description. The pipe, if such a term may be used, consists of a section of bamboo about 2 or 3 inches in diameter and a yard in length, closed at one extremity with the natural division. About half of an ordinary pipeful of highly dried tobacco is broken up finely and placed in a small cone, twisted out of a green leaf carried with the smoking apparatus for that purpose. The point of this funnel-shaped bowl is then inserted in a small hole bored near the closed end. The operator then places the open mouth of the tube to his lips, and applying a fire-stick to the tobacco, exhausts the air and fills the cavity with smoke; then removing with his left hand the cone of burning tobacco, he applies the small aperture to his mouth and inhales the contents of the pipe. The smoke is apparently swallowed and retained as long as possible before it is exhaled from his mouth and nostrils with a deep sigh of satisfaction. The pipe is then recharged by the same operator, and is usually handed to another member of the party, the same process being continued until the precious weed is entirely consumed.

The large canoes, used only on these expeditions, run from 40 to 50 feet long, and are a yard or so in depth and beam. Their extremities, from either of which projects a strong snout about 2 feet in length, are very bluff. Often as many as twelve or fifteen of these uncouth dugouts are lashed securely, side by side, with strong cables of rattans, *Calamis Australis*. Almost the entire surface of the gigantic raft thus formed, which is further extended by a light and encircling platform, is enclosed by a 7-foot wall of neatly but strongly constructed palm-leaf thatchwork. The ends of this enclosure nearest the extremities of the supporting canoes are covered in by a slightly pitched skillion roof of similar construction, under shelter of which are the stores and quarters for the numerous crew, which comprise both sexes, and several children. A small pen for live stock, in the form of pigs, occupies the centre of the court. Two masts, stepped abreast, about 18 or 20 feet high, support the large and heavy mat sails, which in general outline resemble a huge crab's claws.

The ground tackle is equally primitive, consisting of heavy stones attached to long rattan cables, which, when not in use, are coiled round the outside of the wall enclosure.

When all is ready for sailing "Westward Ho," a grand festival is held by the natives, who, on these occasions, manœuvre their unwieldy argosies about the harbour, handling them with a skill and adroitness that their unshipshape appearance little suggests, tacking backwards and forwards abreast of the principal villages, with long streamers of stained cloth manufactured from a fibrous bark, floating from the mast-heads and lofty peaks of the grotesque-shaped sails, and steered with long paddles, by men situated at the rear end of each of the several canoes that support the quaintly picturesque floating village. On the platform extending over the water, groups of young girls, attired in their gayest native dress and adorned with the bright scarlet blossoms of the "Hibiscus," dance merrily to the sound of the iguana skin covered, hourglass shaped drums, and the monotonous but not unmusical chant of the dusky warriors. As with all native fetes, a feast, for which vast requisitions have been levied on both land and water for the necessary supplies, closes the entertainment.

Before the close of the rainy season, the trading canoes return, if successful, laden with the fruits of their owners' simple commerce; the voyagers are welcomed with great rejoicings, and for some time subsequently sago is plentiful in the land; but it not unfrequently happens that serious disasters both afloat and ashore overtake the adventurous mariners, and their ranks are thinned by pestilence, or conflicts with hostile and warlike tribes, whose villages, at the mouths of the numerous rivers emptying themselves on the shores of the gulf, they are compelled to pass, as they drift before the light and uncertain breeze that prevails at this season along the low-lying mangrove-fringed mud flats that characterize the coast-line of the gulf country to the westward of Mount Yule, and the dispirited survivors returning empty-handed, are greeted with waitings and woe in place of the usual rejoicings, and fasting rather than feasting is for some time the order of the day.

The villages inhabited by the Motus are situated invariably in the vicinity of salt water, their dwellings

being generally elevated about breast-high on numerous rather slender crooked piles, driven into the shingly beach a little below high-water-mark, the tide, assisted by a numerous pack of mangy half-starved curs peculiar to the island, and a few domesticated pigs, also of an indigenous species, being the principal sanitary institution.

The houses are roomy and neatly constructed, the walls and roofs being thatched with the fronds of the cocoa-nut or pandanus, the floor being composed of rough slabs, cut from the sides of worn-out unseaworthy canoes. Strips of bamboo, when procurable, are sometimes used for this purpose.

The villages, which consist as a rule of from one to three score of these dwellings, are sheltered by a dense and gloomy grove of cocoa-nut palms, under the cool shade of whose closely interwoven feathery fronds, they inter their dead in shallow graves, often marked by large shells and variegated crotons, or the broken weapons and cooking utensils of the deceased, but which emit effluvia detracting materially from the charm of their surroundings.

The communities of the Motu race, occupying the coast-line to the eastward of Point Moresby, build their villages on piles driven into sand-banks or mud-flats, at a considerable distance from the shore, selecting places well sheltered by shoal patches and the Barrier reef from the action of the waves. A too well-founded dread of the numerous hostile tribes inhabiting the fertile slopes of the Astrolabe range, which rises precipitously in their rear, renders this custom imperative, so that, returning at sunset from the chase or labour in their plantations, the natives paddle off to their Venetian residences, where they can sleep secured by an impassable natural barrier from the unwelcome nocturnal visits of their bellicose neighbours.

The dwellings of the Koitapi people are usually situated on the crests of the moderately elevated ridges in the vicinity of the sea; they are rather larger than those already described, but are similar in construction and design, which might be described as belonging to the dog-kennel order of architecture.

About a week after our arrival at Port Moresby, Mr. Blunden and myself proceeded about 12 miles inland, selecting a camp on the bank of the River Laloki, a swift-running stream of some magnitude; a few natives carried scanty impedimenta and were found excellent carriers. After traversing the long valley at the rear of the mission station, the route crosses a steep and lofty ridge dividing it from a stretch of open undulating country, sparsely timbered with a species of Eucalyptus, shut in by barren bills of flinty and altered slate formation, and intersected here and there with veins of rather hungry-looking quartz; the grass in these hollows was so very long and coarse as to render progress except by the narrow native foot-tracks almost impossible. Two or three unimportant creeks and gullies containing very fair water were passed on the way, and early in the evening we reached our destination, and pitched the tent on the summit of a grassy knoll overlooking the river, along each bank of which extended a narrow belt of dense jungle which promised to be, although rather limited in extent, a very fair collecting ground. Leaving us at this spot the rest of the party re-embarked in the "Explorer" and sailed to the eastward, anchoring in Bootless Inlet, a shallow harbour about 20 miles from Port Moresby, close to Tupuselai, one of the semi-marine Motu villages previously described. Leaving Jemmy Caledonia (one of the Kanakas) in charge of the boat, they pushed inland as far as the numerous body of well-armed natives engaged as porters could be induced to go; these shortly after entering the territory of the dreaded mountaineers dumped their packs in a rather unsuitable spot for a camp, on the bank of a swiftly running brook, whose waters falling in a series of gigantic leaps from the summit of the lofty and precipitous range, and shaded throughout their whole course by the overhanging foliage from the fierce rays of the tropical sun, were cool and bright as crystal. Mr. Goldie's party remained at this camp about a fortnight, but the fertile and highly picturesque district at the foot of the Astrolabe mountains did not prove a very remunerative field for their operations, and save in a few particulars the ornithological specimens obtained were neither numerous nor rare; one or two skeletons of the Koitapu tribe, and some other interesting ethnological curiosities, were purchased from the natives, in exchange for tomahawks, beads, tobacco, and pieces of stout hoop iron cut into lengths of about 6 or 8 inches, which the natives in every part of the island, directly or indirectly in communication with Europeans, sharpen at one end with a single bevel as in a chisel, and insert in their tomahawks, in place of the stone blades hitherto in use among them. Shortly before the party returned to the coast, Mr. Shaw, accompanied by one of the Loyalty islanders, a very experienced bushman, succeeded in ascending the highest point of the range. He describes the ascent as follows:—

*"Starting at earliest dawn from the foot of one of the spurs leading towards the summit, our route at first lay along a steep grassy ridge, broken occasionally by gigantic outcrops of volcanic rocks, from a pile of which, at an altitude of about 2,000 feet above the level of the sea, a magnificent panoramic view was obtained of the whole extent of fertile country between the mountains and the ocean, extending right and left, uninterrupted by any intervening object, until fading away into obscurity among the filmy hazes that hung around the far distant horizon. So clear was the atmosphere that even our little craft lying at anchor off the village of Tupuselai could be plainly distinguished, and the Barrier reef, whose irregular but seldom broken outline skirts the coast at a distance varying from 1 to 5 miles appeared like a delicate tinted green ribbon separated from the deep blue expanse of the Pacific Ocean only by a light fringe of snow-white foam. Leaving*

*this spot, the ascending route lay through a dense jungle of tropical vegetation; rattan and flowering creepers being interwoven so closely among the heads of the lofty trees as to in a great measure exclude the light of day; and the ascent was rendered the more arduous in consequence of the obvious necessity for avoiding the various foot-tracks frequented by the natives dwelling in the numerous little hamlets scattered along the mountain side, who would doubtless have resented in an unpleasant manner an intrusion on their domains. The utmost caution was observed in every movement, and although on at least two occasions we passed within ear-shot of hunting parties, favoured by the concealment afforded by the dense undergrowth, we succeeded in escaping an embarrassing rencontre. An hour or two's hard climbing brought us, about noon, to the foot of a precipitous and lofty cliff, which extending for many miles along the crest of the range appeared to bar further upward progress; however, after skirting the base of this obstacle for some considerable distance to the westward, a narrow cleft worn by a mountain torrent was perceived, which Jack the Kanaka pronounced to be a practicable breach. Slinging both guns over his shoulder he led the way, and after a severe tooth and nail struggle, during which numerous large boulders, dislodged from their temporary resting-places, thundered impetuously down the face of the precipice, crashing on until lost to sight and hearing, through the tangled undergrowth of ferns and creepers, we succeeded in scaling the natural fortification, and reached the summit of the range, which was merely a narrow ridge crowned with lofty and densely foliated trees. Continuing the ascent along the ridge in a westerly direction for a mile or two, the highest peak of the range, 3,860 feet above the sea, was at last reached, and for the first time to speak of a rest was taken. Unfortunately at this elevation misty clouds almost completely obscured our view of the magnificent scene that lay far down beneath us; but Jack climbing a tree that hung in a very threatening manner over the gulf below, perceived the smoke from several native fires, and roughly determined the best route for our descent, in order to give them as wide a berth as possible. He brought with him an orchid which he found growing near the head of the tree, and which was the only memento of our visit with which we encumbered ourselves. Animal life above the region inhabited by the natives seemed as scanty as vegetable was prolific, as a single species of jungle fowl was the only living thing we met with near the summit. The descent at this spot, like that of Avernus, was comparatively easy and rapid, on the way passing through a small cluster of deserted habitations, one of which was built in the fork of a tree at a considerable elevation from the ground, access thereto being only obtained by means of a rather flimsy-looking rattan ladder. Two and even three of these aerial dwellings are sometimes constructed by the mountain natives in one large tree at different altitudes; and large quantities of heavy stones being generally stored in them to be dropped on the heads of unwelcome visitors, they serve as almost impregnable places of retreat for their owners in time of danger. Close by, exposed to the action of the weather on a low bamboo frame was a human skeleton, apparently that of an adult male, wrapped in a cloth of rough fibrous texture; hanging under one of the houses, wrapped in a piece of coarse native cloth manufactured from the bark of the paper mulberry, were the disarticulated bones of a child; no signs of recent habitation were seen about the place, and a few banana trees growing near the dwellings bore ripe fruit, upon which a requisition was levied. Continuing the descent, towards evening we arrived at a small cluster of cocoa-nut palms. Jack, whose agility in climbing rendered him quite independent of foot bands as used by all the New Guinea natives that we came across, soon secured a supply of green nuts, whose contents we found very refreshing. After a brief rest the retreat was again resumed, and about 9 p.m. we reached the camp, thoroughly worn out with fatigue, but without having met with any serious misadventure."*

Leaving Bootless Inlet the "Explorer" steered towards Port Moresby, and running with a free sheet before the steady south-easter arrived off that place early in the day. Continuing her westerly course about six or seven leagues, the anchor was dropped towards nightfall in a sheltered bight off Boiona, a small village inhabited by a branch of the Motu community, which in no characteristics worth mentioning differed from those at Port Moresby; a mission station under the charge of a Raratongar native teacher named "Peri," who like his fellow teacher Ruatoka at the mission head quarters, rendered the party every assistance in communicating with the natives and carrying out their collecting operations. After remaining at this place for two or three days, a few natives were engaged as porters, and a start was made inland, Jemmy Caledonia being left behind in charge of the boat as before. For 10 or 12 miles in a north-westerly direction the route lay through rather arid and barren country, sparsely timbered and indifferently watered, but shortly after a large shallow lagoon was arrived at, on the margin of which a spot was selected for the camp.

Encircling this lake, which extended over four or five hundred acres, and two lesser sheets of water in its vicinity, was a large stretch of fertile country which proved a rich field for collectors. Among the specimens obtained here was a new species of Parra (*P. novægunica*) (Ramsay), a little stilt wader, whose slender legs terminate in delicate and wide-spreading toes, which enable it to walk on the leaves of water lilies and other aquatic plants without submerging them.

An unfortunate gun accident, by which Mr. Shaw lost the first joint of his right thumb, rendered it necessary for the party to retrace their steps to the coast, without further prosecuting their researches, and return

to their head-quarters at Port Moresby. On arriving there Mr. Goldie, with two of the black boys and a few natives, proceeded to our camp on the Laloki River. He found us in good health, and already in possession of a considerable collection. We reported that during our sojourn at this place we had been visited on two or three occasions by hunting parties from Port Moresby, and once by some natives of a tribe occupying a district further inland, with whom, some time previously, the Rev. Mr. Lawes had already established friendly relations. We had not, however, been molested by them in any form, and in fact the only hostile or predatory visit we received was from a crocodile which, in broad daylight, was discovered appropriating a fresh kangaroo skin that was hanging up at the rear of the tent. As soon, however, as his burglarious designs were detected, he made very rapid tracks down the little grassy hillocks on the crest of which our camp was situated, and plunging into a reedy swamp connected with the river at its base, placed himself beyond the reach of reprisals.

The following morning we struck the camp at which we had resided about a month, and packing the natives with our collections and other impedimenta, returned to Port Moresby.

After Mr. Shaw had sufficiently recovered from his accident the united party again started inland, pitching their camp at a point about 6 or 7 miles higher up the Laloki River, near the junction of an important tributary. For a considerable time this was the scene of our operations, which were fairly rewarded with a varied and interesting collection of both fauna and flora. The magnificent family of Paradise-birds was not numerously represented here, but a complete series of a species recently obtained by Signor D'Albertis (*P. raggiana*), and some fine examples of the King Bird of Paradise were secured. Perhaps the most remarkable of the feathered tribe was a ground pigeon (*Goura D'Albertis*) which was frequently met with in dense scrubs that fringe the river bank. This species, commonly called the Crown Pigeon, is the largest and perhaps the handsomest of its kind at present in existence, often attaining a weight of from 10 to 12 pounds. The flesh is very delicate, and furnished a welcome acquisition to our larder. At this camp Jemmy Caledonia, whose old mining experiences induced him to investigate the auriferous indications that existed everywhere throughout the district, obtained flaky colours of gold from the drift and gravelly deposits in the banks of the river, and also quartz specimens among the boulders with which its bed was thickly strewn. This is beyond doubt the first instance in which the precious metal had been obtained in New Guinea. Samples of quartz and black sand containing gold were forwarded to C. S. Wilkinson, Esq., Government Geologist, Sydney, the result of whose assay placed the truth of the discovery beyond question. Before the commencement of the rainy season in November, it was determined to push further inland. However, the rugged nature of the country, the dense jungle through which in many places it was necessary to cut a track, coupled with the difficulty of inducing natives to act as carriers beyond the boundaries of their own district, rendered progress very tedious and slow.

At the furthest point attained, a race of natives differing in many characteristics from those dwelling on the coast was met with, being taller and darker, but, generally speaking, having a less intelligent cast of features. They had evidently never seen white men before, and friendly relations were not established without some difficulty.

Our first introduction to these people was while *en route*. On rounding a bend of the river, we came suddenly upon a small party of them engaged in fishing. On perceiving us they rapidly got under cover of the dense undergrowth that fringed the river's banks. After waiting patiently for some time, two aged warriors, bolder than the rest, approached within 40 or 50 yards and spoke to us, at the same time with one hand touching their shins and abdomens alternately. Thinking that this was a sign of peace we followed suit, and by means of that and other gestures intended to express goodwill, we succeeded in dispelling the fear and distrust which had evidently been inspired among these children of nature by their first meeting with palefaces. Almost the first sentence of which we were able to interpret the meaning was from one of the old men who had evidently at one time travelled as far as the coast. In a few broken words of the Motu dialect he inquired whether we were friends of Mr. Lawes. On replying in the affirmative, they seemed very pleased, apparently accepting this statement as a guarantee of our goodwill towards them. This was the more remarkable, as we afterwards ascertained they had never seen Mr. Lawes or any other white man, and demonstrated how far the good fame of his name had penetrated, and that even among those who knew him not his mission work had not been entirely valueless. A present of a few red beads, a piece of Turkey red calico, two or three short lengths of hoop iron, and a stick of tobacco (for we found them as inveterate smokers as the coast natives) cemented the friendship; and after a brief rest, during which we were offered in return for our tobacco, which they evidently relished, refreshment in the shape of a chew of betel nut and chunam, they led us to their village, which consisted of about a dozen houses, similar in construction to those of the Koitapu. The little settlement, from which a beautiful view was obtained, was situated on the slope of a steep and lofty hill, at the foot of which ran a stream of delicious water, along whose banks were scattered the little neatly-fenced gardens of the natives, and beyond an undulating deep sea-green foliage shut in in the distance by lofty hills crowned with beetling crags. At the rear of the village immense boulders of volcanic rocks extended to the crest of the hill, which sombre background contrasted strongly with the flowering creepers and the bright scarlet blossoms of the hibiscus

bushes that flourished among them. After partaking of some roasted yams we again pushed onwards, expecting to arrive before nightfall at a large village that we understood from these people was not very far ahead. However we did not come across it before it was necessary to camp. Selecting the bank of a considerable stream over which we discharged our fire-arms, naming it the Goldie River, we had barely time to broil a few pigeons and make a welcome billy of tea, before a storm which had long been brewing broke, and the conflict of the elements, as only witnessed in the region of the tropics, raged all around us, and all night long we sat huddled up together, seeking in vain the scanty shelter afforded by the overhanging trunks of trees, while the rain came down in a deluge. The further we proceeded the denser was the jungle, and the scarcer all varieties of animal life seemed to be, a result so discouraging from a collector's point of view that it was decided to return to the coast and seek a more suitable locality in which to spend the rainy season.

All along the beds of the rivers which we had yet traversed Jemmy had obtained the colour of gold, but had not obtained prospects sufficiently encouraging to make it worth our while attempting anything like systematic work in the auriferous deposits.

On arriving at Port Moresby we at once made preparations for sailing to the eastward, expecting to find at South Cape, Soo-oo, Stacey Island, where a branch of the mission had recently been established, a more suitable locality than that which we had just left. After completing our preparations and packing up securely the collections already formed, we again lifted the emblem of hope and commenced a long beat against the light monsoon. Towards nightfall we let go our anchor in an open roadstead off Kappa-Kappa (see diagram), one of the villages built on piles, at a distance from the shore already described; and the following day, after passing the large village of Hulla, whose inhabitants occupy themselves almost exclusively in fishing, found a snug anchorage in the sheltered entrance to a spacious sheet of water named Hood Lagoon, about 60 miles to the eastward of Port Moresby. At this place Kerepulín was the largest and most interesting village we had yet met with; its inhabitants number about thousand, and were beyond question the most industrious and cleanly race that had come under our notice. Their houses, the posts of which are often ornamented with flowering orchids, were larger but very similar in form and construction to those at Port Moresby, but were situated at some distance from the water's edge. That of the principal chief, who appeared to exercise rather more authority than is generally the case along the coast, was ornamented at one end with a peculiar structure somewhat in the form of a steeple. The streets were swept every morning, and were laid out with some attempt at regularity. Carefully tilled gardens, containing crotons, dracænas, and other ornamental plants and shrubs, as well as all the fruit-bearing trees and vegetables that are to be found on the island, intersected at right angles with narrow paths and fenced-in lanes, divided the main village from a portion devoted exclusively to that section of the community (probably a branch of the Hula people) who follow the occupation of fishing, in which, exposed on frames to dry, are nets of native manufacture, varying in length from a few feet to upwards of a hundred fathoms, some being large and strong enough in the mesh to catch sharks, dugong, or turtle, and others again, for use on the reefs, being only adapted for the capture of the smallest varieties of the finny tribe. Floats of light wood take the place of the corks commonly used in more civilized countries, and the lower edge of the seines are weighted with shells and lumps of coral. This portion of the people, viz., the fishermen, do not cultivate, their time being occupied altogether in fishing and mending their nets; they barter their fishes to their neighbours, getting in return yams, taro, and other produce grown by their neighbours. Another portion of the men are constantly employed cutting out canoes with the rude stone tomahawk (as per diagram), bartering their canoes to their neighbours the fishermen and other tribes along the coast. The other section attends most assiduously to cultivating the land. Laziness is unknown among them. A great number of cockatoos and the larger-sized parrots are tamed by this tribe, but the unfortunate birds have anything but a pleasant existence, being merely kept to supply the natives with head-dresses of feathers; periodically they are stripped of any feathers that their owners think may be of any use to adorn them. Without exception the people at this village appeared to be the happiest and jolliest lot of natives we had as yet met with. Love, peace, and harmony seemed to be the order of the day. The country round this district did not offer us any inducement to stay; so after spending Christmas-day at this place we proceeded on our trip to Stacey Island, passing along the coast miles of cocoa-nut groves and many large villages. When within a clay or two's sail from South Cape a sail was sighted close in under the land. Altering our course, as soon as we were sufficiently near, we made out the stranger to be the mission lugger "Mayri." Her master, Captain Charles Dudfield (afterwards captain of the mission steamer "Ellangowan") was on board, seriously wounded in four or five places. A treacherous attack had been made upon the little vessel by the natives of Soo-oo, Stacey Island, while lying at anchor, and near the newly-formed mission station. The determined resistance of Captain Dudfield and a Darnley islander, the only member of his crew on board at the time, compelled, however, the pirates to beat a retreat, coming decidedly second best out of the encounter, leaving behind them the body of one of their stoutest warriors. In consequence of the unsettled state of affairs that existed at that place, and the impossibility of deserting the "Mayri" while Mr. Dudfield was in such a critical state, the two boats returned to Port Moresby in company, arriving there two

or three days subsequently.

As soon as Captain Dudfield had sufficiently recovered from his severe injuries he made preparations for sailing to Torres Straits, in order to renew necessary stores and provisions.

As I had no further occasion to remain at Port Moresby, where there was little more to be collected than had already been obtained, I decided to accompany him; so after bidding farewell to my companions, who purposed to give the south-east coast a further trial after the rainy season, I sailed in the "Mayri." It being the season for N.W. monsoons, for sixteen days, with alternate storms and calms, we were knocked about in the Gulf of Papua. The little boat being only of about 5 tons, and our provisions running low, we had anything but a pleasant time of it; but at last we succeeded in safely reaching our destination, Thursday Island, which had lately been officially gazetted as the Government settlement, and consequently the head-quarters of the pearl-shelling industry in the Straits. After a short stay I transhipped myself and collection on board the mail steamer, bound south, and in due course arrived in Sydney without any-serious misadventure, save an attack of fever and ague.

In conclusion, I desire to express my thanks to Messrs. G. H. Barron, William Blunden, and J. H. Shaw: to the former for the diagrams which illustrate so lucidly what without their aid would otherwise doubtless seem vague and devoid of interest, and to the latter for notes and memoranda connected with those portions of this, I fear, rather rambling and crude narrative, of which, being absent from the main party at the time, I was not actually a witness.

Before concluding this paper, I might state that shortly after my return to Sydney, the members of the party who remained in New Guinea made another voyage to the south-eastward, collecting at many points along the coast. On this occasion they spent two or three weeks among the net-work of reefs and islands that comprise the Louisiade Archipelago. While there they suffered great distress for want of water, being becalmed for many days without that necessary element. However, after encountering many hardships and privations they returned to Port Moresby, not very much the worse for their seven or eight weeks' cruise, and about two months subsequently sailed for the Straits. After a rapid although boisterous passage, the old "Explorer" once more anchored in Queensland waters; there the party disbanded; the members, with the exception of Mr. Goldie and two of the black boys, returning to Sydney.

## **Annual Meeting of the Society.**

AT the annual meeting of the Geographical Society of Australasia, which took place at the Free Public Library on 30th May, 1884, the following address was read by the Vice-president, Professor Stephens, M.A.:—

It is generally recognized as part of the duties which the President of a learned Society has to discharge, that he should make a report to the Society, at their annual general meeting, of the progress which has during the preceding year been made in the matters which fall within the scope of its operations. He has first to give some account of the doings of that particular Society, and is then expected to make some observations upon the general advance of the science to which they are devoted. The first of these duties will not occupy so much time to-day as might be wished. The second is in better hands than mine, as Mr. La Meslée has undertaken, I believe, to draw up an exhaustive account of all that has been done in the way of Australian exploration during the preceding year. I propose therefore, after brief mention of the operations of the Society in the last twelvemonth, and an account of the formation of the Melbourne Branch, to enter into a short narrative of the circumstances under which the Society was brought into existence, to explain and develop some points which seem hardly to have been made as yet sufficiently prominent, to indicate certain amendments and alterations which appear to require serious consideration, to state the present position of the Society with regard to the proposed exploration of New Guinea, and to direct your attention to the election of members of Council and matters concerned therewith. Much of what follows has been written with reluctance, and all with some diffidence, only overpowered by a sense of duty.

The foundations of this Society, which is now completing the first year of its existence, were laid on April 3, 1883, at a meeting held in the house of Dr. Belgrave, and presided over by Mr. Du Faur, a gentleman who had made persevering though unavailing efforts to establish an effective Geographical Section in connection with the Royal Society of New South Wales. There were present at this meeting: Mr. Gerard, formerly Hon. Secretary of the aforesaid Section; Mr. E. Macfarlane, Mr. E. Marin La Meslée, the Hon. W. Brodribb, M.L.C., Mr. P. A. S. Kennedy (N.-W. Australia), Mr. Harrie Wood, the Rev. J. Jefferis, Mr. J. B. Donkin, Mr. James Garvan, M.L.A., and other gentlemen whose names, I regret to say, are not upon record. In the course of the proceedings the Chairman drew a pathetic picture of the repeated collapse of the starveling Geographical Section from sheer inanition, the painful attempts at establishing its convalescence, and the final relinquishment of the task in despair. He expressed his hope that the present movement might turn out more successful, and his conviction that the field which a Geographical Society should properly occupy was too vast to be covered by

the operations of any mere Section of a more comprehensive Society. Mr. Edmond Marin La Meslée, our enthusiastic Honorary Secretary, whom I may almost call the mainspring of the Society's activity, then stated that he had been led to feel how much such an Association was required from his own experience, and from the statements of the best-informed persons in Europe as to the extreme scantiness and inaccuracy of the information at present attainable, even in England, with respect to the Australasian region. Entering at some length into the purposes which the proposed Society would serve, he concludes as follows: "Among ourselves no work can be productive of more practical good than one which has for its object the perfecting of the knowledge which we already possess of this great land; the existence and the distribution of its natural resources; the natural advantages for the settlement on Australian shores of numbers of the white race, and the preservation and civilization of the various indigenous races. Abroad, on the other hand, it will have the effect of making the Colonies more widely known, and it would be difficult to find better means of sound advertisement. The first precaution of a man who is entering into a new home is, to make himself thoroughly acquainted with the house he has to occupy, to convince himself that everything which is wanted is there, and to make such alterations as may be necessary for his comfort and that of his family. In like manner the first care of a young nation must likewise be to obtain a thorough knowledge of its new home, the land it has peacefully conquered, and which is destined to become the home of countless generations of its descendants." After a lively discussion, in which many of those present took part, a Provisional Committee, consisting of Dr. Belgrave, Mr. Gerard, and Mr. M. La Meslée, was appointed to draw up a definite scheme for the constitution of our Society. This was done without loss of time, and laid before a general meeting of promoters on April 20. At this meeting, which was of a somewhat irregular character, many subjects of great general interest were discussed. I select some observations of Mr. Marin La Meslée's as worthy of special notice:—"A few days ago I had occasion to see the text of a letter addressed by the Curator of the Map Department of the Royal Geographical Society of London to the authorities here, requesting that certain maps of the Colony of New South Wales, published years ago by the Survey Department, be forwarded to the Society,—the knowledge of the existence of those documents having come to that gentleman through the medium of a celebrated German publication, *Petermanns Mittheilungen*. This fact shows how very little attention seems to have been paid to the geography of the Colonies; and there is not the slightest doubt that in the British Isles, as well as in the Continents of Europe and America, a great deal more is known about Timbuctoo, the Congo, and the negro lands of central Africa, than about Australasia. Those countries have been brought prominently before the public of late years through the remarkable discoveries of Burton, Speke, Grant, Cameron, Stanley, Livingstone, De Brazza, &c., &c. Very often the reports of the most atrocious barbarities perpetrated upon human beings that the annals of the world have recorded have directed the attention of the civilized world towards the dark continent, while peaceful plodding Australia is left comparatively in the cold, and little attention is ever directed by the Press of the old world to the growing importance of its settlements, the immensity of its natural resources, and the great field which it opens to European colonization. Why is this? Simply because, despite the enormous amount of money that the Colonies have lavished on Exhibitions and other means of advertisement, people at home do not realize the fact that another America is in process of formation at the antipodes. The names of the great cities of Melbourne and Sydney are in everybody's mouth, but that is all, and people have no more notion as to what the interior is like than we have about the internal structure of the planet Jupiter. The average educated Englishman will tell you that the interior of Australia is a desert, and that the present prosperity of the Colonies is due to the fact that the gold mines are not all worked out yet. Would such notions not have been dispelled long ago had a Geographical Society been in existence, whose object would have been to correspond with the seventy or eighty already existing Geographical Societies, and keep them constantly posted up in Australian geographical information, giving them from time to time accurate descriptions of the natural resources which are being brought to light day by day, and also, as a most important duty, to show them the various advantages which the Colonies offer to almost every branch of industry? The first object of the Society must therefore be to dispel the ignorance prevailing abroad, and, at home, educate our people to a better knowledge of the world we live in, and the advantages of commercial intercourse with other nations. Further, besides the essentially scientific Societies that are established in the principal European centres of commerce, commercial Geographical Societies, whose object is especially to obtain the best and most reliable information on the natural and artificial products, local industries of every country, and their members belong to the higher manufacturing and industrial classes. We are not in a position here to divide commercial from physical geography; but the work is not too great for a single Society to undertake." Again: "We must look to the practical side of the question, and our first care must be to collect the most complete records of past explorations in Australasia. . . A great deal has been done by the Survey Departments of the various Colonies, and a vast amount of geographical information lies buried in their records, mixed up with an equally large amount of departmental and technical information; and there is little doubt that the Society may rely on the help of the eminent officers who are at the head of those Departments in

the various Australian Colonies." The original Provisional Committee was now reinforced by the addition of Mr. Parrott, C.E., and Mr. Harrie Wood, and directed to revise the constitution as originally drawn up by them, in order that it should be printed and distributed among members for their consideration. At the next meeting of promoters, held May 7, 1883, considerable progress was made with the articles of constitution, and by adjournment till a later date, the whole were passed with slight amendments. At a subsequent meeting, May 18, arrangements were made for the first general meeting, and inauguration of the Society.

The first general meeting was duly held, May 31, 1883, in the Chamber of Commerce. As it was upon this occasion that the Society really commenced its existence, which we trust may be marked by the celebration of many birthdays, each distinguished by growth both of scientific acquirement and administrative energy, I have thought it desirable to extract from the minutes of the meeting the more interesting portion of the introductory proceedings, since they are prior to the constitution of the Society, and therefore do not appear upon its ordinary records. There were about seventy gentlemen present, and Mr. Du Faur was elected to the Chair. In an introductory address he remarked that up to this time geography had been almost the only science which had received no organized support from nor been prominently brought before the notice of the community. Although in all parts of the world except this Geographical Societies had existed for years, numbering at present about eighty, yet neither this nor any other Australian Colony had placed itself in a position to correspond with these recognized centres. Australians, with their own continent but roughly explored, with the countless islands of the Pacific in the pathways of their trade, with New Guinea (probably the least known tract for its size in the world) adjacent to their shores, and with the vast Antarctic Ocean awaiting the enterprise of hardy spirits, had as yet not only clone nothing, in their collective capacity, for the exploration of these regions, but had not even formed a recognized body that could confer with and welcome those who from time to time had visited their shores in the cause of geographical science. The Chairman gave an account of the previous efforts to establish a Geographical Section of the Royal Society, and gave a curious account of our failure to obtain our due recognition in the Geographical Congress at Venice, with which we, in common with all civilized countries, had been invited to co-operate, and for which much valuable information was collected for the Government relative to the geography of New South Wales. It seemed, however, to have been assumed that there was no one in this community who was sufficiently interested in the subject, or capable of representing us on the occasion, and a commission of so important a character, requiring almost essentially the services of an Australian, was put into the hands of a foreigner, who was, as a matter of fact, quite unacquainted with the country. He trusted that such an absurdity would not happen again. Mr. La Meslée, pointing out that Japan, Mozambique, and the Congo, as possessing Geographical Societies, were very much better known among Europeans than Australia, and showing how even the geographies used in British and European schools were full of absurd blunders and oversights, urged further that, as we were placed in the very centre of the unexplored portions of the globe, it would be to our everlasting shame if we allowed others to continue and perfect the work of exploration in Australia, and that with this object in view, the Society would be invited to give its support towards a thorough and scientific exploration of New Guinea, and the completion of the work of exploration in Australia. The provisions of the draft constitution of the Society were now put to the meeting *seriatim*, and passed. The Chairman then declared the Society duly constituted. All subsequent business appears, therefore, in the ordinary records of the Society. The labours of your Council during the past year have been very considerable, though without conspicuous results. Regulations of various kinds for the conduct of business have been drawn up, a large correspondence initiated, and much time spent in deliberations upon the project for the exploration of New Guinea, though without much progress towards its realization. Arrangements have been made for the printing and publishing of the Society's Transactions, which, through the kindness of the Ministry, we are privileged to have done for us free of charge in the Government Printing Office. We have also obtained permission to use for the Society's purposes certain rooms now in the occupation of Government, by both which concessions the Society is relieved of a heavy expenditure. Besides the large correspondence which has been carried on in Australia, mainly with a view to extend the field of our operations, letters have been written to most of the principal Societies of a similar character throughout the world, notifying the establishment of this Society, and desiring their co-operation and assistance. In answer to these, numerous promises of support and of assistance in spreading the movement have been received both from individuals and from the following public bodies:—The Smithsonian Institution, Washington; the Imperial Geographical Society of Russia, St. Petersburg; the Geographical Society of Amsterdam, the Commercial Geographical Society of Paris, the Italian Geographical Society, the National Astronomical Observatory of Tacubaya, the Royal Geographical Society of London, with expressions of goodwill and promises of assistance. The papers read before the Society have been—1. Mr. La Meslée's essay upon the exploration of New Guinea, which was received with many expressions of satisfaction by a large public meeting assembled in the Protestant Hall. 2. A paper by Mr. J. F. Mann, upon the Australian Aborigines, describing at length their customs and habits, their arms and ornaments, modes of hunting, fishing, &c. This paper was illustrated with many sketches by the

author, representing various scenes of the Aborigines' life, the arms, and other implements. 3. A paper by Mr. A. Morton, upon a visit to New Guinea, and explorations of some portion of the country. The first of these papers has already been published and circulated by the Society, the others being still in the printer's hands, together with the proceedings.

After long perseverance in an active canvass, Mr. A. C. Macdonald, of Melbourne, acting as Hon. Secretary for that province, has succeeded in launching the sister branch in Melbourne; Baron von Mueller, who is always foremost in assisting the progress of science, having accepted the position of Vice-president. The inaugural meeting took place in the hall of the Royal Society, April 18th, Dr. Birch occupying the Chair. The inaugural address of Baron von Mueller, who was unable to preside owing to indisposition, was read by Mr. A. C. Macdonald, the Hon. Secretary. It stated that the object of the Society was to unite all who were interested in geographical research and willing to give it substantial aid. Its efforts would be mainly concentrated on giving new impetus to explorations in the Australian Continent and those adjacent islands which, from the extensive territory of New Guinea to the smallest inlet of the Fijian group, belong commercially, if not also politically, to the great Australian portion of the British Empire. Within the territory of Australia proper but scanty room was left for the discovery of great geographical features, such as extensive rivers, large lakes, or high mountain ranges; but very many important details had yet to be inserted between the lines of exploration, and many years must elapse before the chart of the Australian continent could possibly be completed. Even within Victoria some little geographical work, which had the charm of absolute novelty, yet remained to be done, especially in the eastern part of Gippsland, where there are wide spaces still unexplored. The country towards the north-east and north-west of the Gulf of Carpentaria was but scantily known, and altogether it might be assumed that one-half of the area of Australia had yet to be explored. But it was not alone in the untraversed regions of Australia that the Society should aid in the achievement of geographic discoveries. The Antarctic region, the southern polar lands, the South Sea Islands, promised to yield some of the grandest results for geographic science as well as for commerce. It was to the exploration of Polynesia that Australian discoverers would more especially direct their efforts. Foremost among the multitude of islands and islets, New Guinea engaged attention. All praise, he would say, to the far-seeing statesmen of Australia who so eagerly insisted that Papua, interjacent between her Majesty's Australian, Indian, and Polynesian possessions, should become an integral part of the great empire of Britain; and those sentiments were reechoed wherever the English language was spoken. Lord Aberdare, in opening the 1883-4 session of the Royal Geographical Society in November, laid special stress on the exploration of New Guinea. The animal and vegetable world of New Guinea was of very great interest to Australian investigators, and of the richness of its mineral resources we could form no conception. Here was a noble work which the Geographical Society of Australasia might take up—a work which did not need very extensive means, a work promising perfect success, a work by which the Society would at once establish a reputation for itself, a work which would not only promote the cause of geography, but would also serve the cause of humanity. The keen mercantile competition, the increasing rivalry in technology, the falling short of many kinds of raw materials for industries, the changes of abodes for the sake of health from one climatic region to another, the search for new rural fields, and the practical calls of the day, brought questions connected with geography more and more into the foreground. The ordinary navigator could not reach his destination without the aid of nautical geography; the traveller in new regions was almost helpless without it; and the tourist had in maps his best guides. The sacred duties of Christian missions had become emphatically connected with geography, principally so in one country of Europe. Sound and comprehensive geographical research could immeasurably support the great strides of the railway system over all inhabitable portions of the globe. The leisurely study of geography could be rendered one of the most interesting subjects of social and intellectual life. It tended to wear away national antipathies and prejudices, and aided powerfully to bring man nearer to man, and to render men worthier of their earthly destination, and in their worldly career more just and happy. This was followed by a most interesting and important paper upon the Kimberley district, N.-W. Australia, by Mr. J. A. Panton, P.M., and Mr. Macdonald concluded with a vigorous argument in favour of an Australian Geographical Society. The objects of the Society are declared in the articles of our constitution to be threefold: scientific, commercial, and educational. It has been frequently urged against the second of the three that the objects of a scientific Society cannot possibly be commercial; that industry and commerce may indeed often profit to prodigious extent by the results of scientific investigation, but that the questions of commerce, its profit and loss, are quite outside the sphere of geographical science. There can be no doubt as to the propriety of these remarks from a philosophical point of view, and we must therefore acknowledge that our phraseology is not strictly correct. I have, however, with a view to this objection, already quoted from Mr. La Meslée an explanation of that portion of our programme which fully interprets the meaning of the expression "commercial objects," and seems quite to justify its use as practically intelligible and convenient, even though it may be, to some extent, open to adverse criticism. On the third head, the educational functions of the Society have been, I think, somewhat inadequately stated in our constitution. For the promotion of geographical

knowledge "among all classes by means of illustrated public lectures, and various publications," is really like ploughing and sowing a desert land. Unless a lecture appeals to an already cultivated audience, its effect is transient and unimportant. What we all desire is that all that information which is at present locked up in books, mostly of an expensive character, and in the minds of those who have a fancy for the subject, should be made common property of the people, and that every one who is not bent upon ignorance should have the opportunity—nay, more, should be tempted and urged, to make himself acquainted and familiar with the various capabilities of the various parts of Australasia, and with the openings for enterprise in this, that, and the other direction; and so generally to adapt himself, with the quickness of the true colonist, to that region and that pursuit which may from time to time offer him the best reward for his labour; while at the same time no encouragement should be offered to that wasteful and useless prolongation of unsatisfactory "prospecting" which is at the bottom of most of our industrial difficulties. Now this work cannot be done on the adult. The helter-skelter habit is too strong in some, the indolence which is always on the look-out for a billet or work under the Government or Corporation stroke, too inveterate in others. The only place where the requisite information can be obtained by the people for the general advantage is the school, including under that term all places of general education. Here alone, while the mind is fresh and unsophisticated, can the knowledge be obtained which is essential to the due circulation of our race. There can be no chicanery in the information which is given by impartial teachers—impartial since they can have no conceivable interest in any intentional misstatement—while there is often reason to doubt whether even the authorized agents of Colonial Governments have always confined themselves strictly to matters of fact. If this be admitted, it will follow that under our declaration of the objects of the Society we are bound to exert ourselves for an improvement in the geographical work of the schools of the Colony, not so much with regard to the northern hemisphere, or Southern Africa and America, as with a view to the solidarity of all the Australasian peoples, and their freer and profitable intercourse with each other. Regarding this, then, as one of our most important functions, I trust that we may be found to exercise it with diligence and energy in the future. The diffusion, extension, and application of the information which has been already acquired, if not so exciting or so honored an office as that of the discoverer, is nevertheless a matter of equal importance to society in general, and indeed but the planting of the seed-beds from which future explorers will spring and multiply. Rational methods of teaching geography are far better understood even in the primary schools of this country than even in the very highest in the England of my young days. Yet there is ample room for improvements on the lines which I venture here to summarize.—First, there shall be no manuals put into the pupils' hands, or any allowed to remain there. Those with seductive titles as "Mamma's Lessons," "Pleasant Half-hours," are the more specially to be shunned as wolves in sheep's clothing. The plain wolf is the more honest. But such books are like all others of their kind, really the offspring of kind hearts which revolt against the dismal tyranny of the "lesson learning" system, but do not see that if a child—say child, because no one grown up will submit to such stupid imposition—is forced to learn by heart out of a geography book, under compulsion by penalties or pressure from rewards, the style in which the book is written is not of the slightest consequence. Taught without book, by pictures, maps, models, and lively illustration, the subject becomes one of the most enlivening portions of school work, and one which forms an admirable training for all scientific culture. The youngster no longer driven to his lesson book will fly to books of travel, of history, and even to the volumes of the once abhorred geography. I think that this Society might justly and successfully exert its influence in this reform.

In the second place, we may help by careful consideration as to what kind of diagrams, maps, models, and blank projections will be most useful in this Colony—by getting these drafted or constructed under close inspection in Sydney itself, and perhaps also by forwarding, revising, and recommending, under our guarantee, a manual for teachers. It is impossible for these things to be properly done at a distance from the place where they are to be used. Insufficient knowledge and perfect immunity from criticism are certain to result in that free and perfunctory treatment which we all notice with ridicule or resentment in the remarkable pictures which our visitors from the old country often draw of Australia. And this is far worse, of course, when an author's misapprehensions are made the foundation of instruction.

In the third place, this Society might assist in introducing that higher geography, which Huxley has called physiography, into all our public and private teaching. I must not dwell upon this subject, as it ramifies in so many different directions, in fact into all branches of natural history, that it might be considered to lie outside our particular province. The federation of Australia, only a year ago, was a name to conjure with, so fair were the projects, so sanguine the projectors. And, indeed, a revolution such as was then contemplated, and such as was then outlined in airy sketches by orators of practised skill, bringing about the consolidation of an empire without a war, and the establishment of equal independence without separation, cannot but captivate the imagination and fire the enthusiasm of an Australian. The great and, probably for the present, insuperable difficulties which stand in the way of such an organization of our forces are naturally disregarded, and the tentative approaches towards federation, which for the present are alone feasible, are looked upon askance, as

diverting us from our true object, or with contempt, as the result of timid and selfish counsels.

"While these noble aspirations (for they are noble, only too noble for immediate application) were thrilling the political atmosphere, our Society was conceived and born. It would have been very strange if its form should not have betrayed some evidence of the astrological influences which dominated over its nativity. Successful founders of Societies, as also the pioneers of any other adventure, business, or industry, must be men of that sanguine temperament which are so dazzled by the greatness and splendour of the goal that they are blinded to the dangers and difficulties of the road; and yet though only such spirits can lead to success, they often lead to disaster. Timidity will certainly fail, but courage does not invariably succeed. It is my misfortune not to belong to the vanguard. It is more suitable for me to follow than to lead; and it therefore may sometimes happen that I pull up at dangers in front, which are none the less real, because bolder riders have already taken the like and overshot them with impunity. And thus I imagine myself to detect some element of risk and instability arising from this very loyalty and enthusiasm, even in the constitution of our Society, which indeed had very nearly been styled, "The Federal Geographical Society of Australasia," a title which, sesquipedalian as it is, would in reality have been more modest in its implication than that which we have adopted. For our Society, although it enjoys the support of many distinguished friends in our Colonies, was, nevertheless, until the foundation of the Melbourne branch, essentially a New South Wales organization, as will be shown hereafter. It has its headquarters in Sydney, its archives are kept here, and its elections are held here. It is unwise then to assume a title which will either prevent the growth of similar Societies in other parts of Australasia, or place us in the ridiculous position of pretenders to the sovereignty over independent kingdoms. And no evasion of the true nature of this claim will serve. It will be to no purpose that we urge that ultimately the Society of Australasia will be the federation of the branches. Though we may shut our own eyes, we cannot blindfold our neighbours. Even if such an attempt were for a time successful, it could not but be in the highest degree invidious and undesirable; and the very smallest disagreement would lead to disruption. But there is no chance of its being even for a time successful among proud and jealous communities like those of Australia, and consequently any symptom of the existence of such an ambition can only tend to frustrate the noble purposes with which it has entangled itself. What we all desire, though we disagree about the means, is the establishment of a centre of geographical information and research in each capital of the Australasian Colonies. The only question at issue is whether they shall be all subordinate to a central body out of which they are to spring, or whether, having, by whatever means obtained an independent existence, they shall voluntarily and on equal terms enter into an association for the common advantage and benefit to all.

Although one would not, in the position of Vice-president, attempt to shirk a due share of responsibility for the draft of the constitution as proposed and adopted at the meeting of May 3, 1883, it may be allowable to mention that it was not until this draft had been in all essential points completed by the Provisional Committee that I became a member of that body. It is not decorous for a recruit to discuss the principles which have been already adopted by his older comrades; the more so in my case, as there was then no idea, so far as appears, of my ever holding any office in the administration of the Society. Certainly no such notion had entered my own imagination. It seemed the right thing, therefore, at that time to confine one's self to matters of detail and verbal alterations, accepting as an accomplished fact the outlines which had been already laid down. I think that was a fair course to pursue under those circumstances, even though, as things have turned out, it has proved a great source of embarrassment and annoyance to myself. For, somehow or other, I slid quite unintentionally into office, and that, too, an office which of all others requires of its holder the most sincere loyalty to the Society which has placed him at their head. Loyalty, however, does not necessarily imply an unreasoning maintenance of such conditions and stipulations as—however well intended—may probably endanger the very existence of the Society; and if to be faithful to the prescription is to kill the patient, it is surely better to rebel against the one and loyally save the life of the other. In the present instance, I feel the position to be one of those in which one can neither act with effect nor retire with graceful descent. On such slippery ground it is doubly hard to risk the hazard of your disapprobation, which must I fear attend upon the course which I feel bound to pursue, in pointing out to the best of my judgment the error into which we have fallen, and the best method of retracing our steps to the right road, since it will be impossible for me to prove by actual demonstration the correctness of my views, and because it is probable that many members hold a diametrically opposite opinion.

Have we not acted with some haste, not to say presumption, in forming ourselves into a Geographical Society of Australasia, with head-quarters in Sydney, then inviting the sister Colonies to form auxiliary branches, tributary to our central authority? We may disclaim any such intention, but an impartial reading of the articles of our constitution proves that this is what has been, for all practical purposes, directly proposed. In order to put the question in the clearest possible light, I should think one ought to suppose that the organization of several branches has been completed, and that they are working harmoniously under our constitution. But as there are two in actual, though not yet in full, operation, I shall confine myself to these, and only introduce so much hypothetical matter as may be necessary. I suppose, then, that a general Council of the Society is already

in existence, composed of a President, whom for the sake of argument I shall further suppose to belong to Victoria; two Vice-presidents, one the head of the Melbourne, the other the head of the Sydney branch; one Honorary Secretary, and one Honorary Treasurer, besides three members of Council from Victoria, and three from New South Wales. (Art. 7.) I cannot find any record as to the place of meeting of this General Council, but as it is stated (Art. 15) that the archives of the Society shall be kept in Sydney, and that reports of all meetings held outside Sydney shall be transmitted to the Honorary Secretaries of the Society, so as to admit of their insertion in the Annual Report of Transactions (Art. 17), I conclude that it is located constitutionally and permanently in Sydney as metropolis. By a simple substitution of Melbourne for Sydney in the foregoing account, and *vice versâ*, we shall see how very likely such an arrangement would be to work without hitch or misunderstanding.

It is too customary among Australians of all Colonies to declare ourselves perfectly free of any jealousy, envy, or ill-will to our neighbours, while we regret that we have not found them to be actuated by equally disinterested motives. When two respectable persons, falling into a quarrel, make the same complaint, each against the other, and both defend themselves on the same grounds, an impartial bystander will probably conclude that neither is clear of blame, and neither very guilty. Such a conversion of terms in our case will place us in the bystanders' position, and show us that the favours which we blandly and affectionately extend to our neighbour we should reject with surprise and amazement if offered to ourselves. For suppose that the Geographical Society of Australasia had been roughhewed into working order in Melbourne instead of in Sydney, then the General Council would be permanently located in Melbourne, the archives of the Society would be kept there, and the proceedings of all the branches published there, the said branches forwarding to head-quarters in order to meet the expenses of publication a full moiety of all their local subscriptions. And how many Sydney subscribers would we find among the members of that Society? It must, then, be admitted, as it seems to me, that the place of meeting of the General Council ought not to be permanently located in Sydney, or Melbourne, or any other place. How this can be reconciled with our existing constitution is not only a difficult question, but one which will involve radical alterations in our laws before we can see any road to its solution. Let us suppose, however, that the matter has been amicably settled, and proceed with our hypothetical record. The General Council, whatever may be the place of its abode, has been elected at the end of the preceding session by means of ballot papers (Art. 10), and holds office for a year, one-third of the members of the Council retiring compulsorily (by ballot, I presume) at the end of it, and not being eligible for re-election for the year following. The President, however, Vice-presidents, Honorary Secretaries, and Honorary Treasurer are elected for three years each, and are eligible for re-election (Art. 9), the election of members of the General Council taking place at the end of every session for the ensuing year, through the medium of ballot papers. 10. The general meeting of the Society is held at the commencement of every annual session, in the capital of some associated province. 11. The session begins in the month of May, and lasts eight calendar months. 13. In these regulations an unnecessary amount of complication is introduced. Why should the election of officers and councillors take place in December and the annual meeting in May? Would it not be much simpler and in accordance with the practice of all Societies, so far as I am aware, that both the election of Council and office-bearers, and the President's address, together with any other general business which happens to be on hand, should be got through on the same day? The arrangement constitutionally in force, but not acted upon for the present year, as will be explained hereafter, would practically reduce the number of monthly (*i.e.*, working) meetings to six in the year. Moreover, the difficulty of getting a good representative meeting together, which is a constant trouble with our Societies, is hereby doubled. Again, if the elections are not to take place at an ordinary, but at a special general meeting, it would be well to determine beforehand the time of meeting, the mode of summoning, the right to the Chair in the absence of the President, and the system of ballot intended to be used. If it be assumed that under our constitution the election will take place in Sydney, and this seems to follow from Articles 15-17 as quoted above, the situation from a "federal" point of view becomes still more perplexing, more especially if it should be held that, in the absence of the President (who may unfortunately be unable to leave Melbourne at this particular conjuncture), the Sydney Vice-president will *ex officio* take his place. It is clear that a point like this requires definite settlement beforehand. In like manner, if an election is to be made by "ballot papers" under such circumstances, where one-half of the voters are in another Colony, and in the absence of the President, some system of voting by written papers must of course be adopted. Such systems are very liable to abuse, and demand very careful preparation as well as management. A precise plan must have been elaborated at least six months previously, and its details made familiar to the voters for some considerable time before the elections, if they are to be fairly determined by written votes, whether produced by proxies, or forwarded by letter to the proper office. I think it will be clear that there are many questions to be answered, and great difficulties to be removed, before the principles upon which the General Council is organized will command general assent, and also before the mechanism, even then, be brought into working order. I now proceed to the not less thorny question of the Administrative Council. Pursuing the same

hypothesis we find two Societies in happy co-operation—one in Melbourne, the other in Sydney. Now, as to the latter, there are satisfactory arrangements already in existence. The Sydney Society (Article 8), has an Administrative Council elected from among the members of the Society residing in Sydney, and its President is Vice-president for the province of New South Wales. But about the other Society: The only space which I can find allotted for its operations is defined as follows (Article 12):—"The members of the Society in any associated province may elect a local Committee, the local members of the said Council being *ex officio* members of the said Committee." It must be assumed on the hypothesis that the Society with its two branches is in harmonious operation, that this position has proved satisfactory to the members of the Melbourne branch, otherwise they would not have been acting in comfortable co-operation with us; but how prodigious the humility—how noble the enthusiasm which can accept such conditions with joy, and labour under them with devotion! Such self-abnegation is more than human, greater even than geographical. Surely there is cause for apprehension that when our constitution comes to be examined in other quarters with the attention which one of us at least had never devoted to it until it became his duty to administer it, we shall not only not have succeeded in forming one great and homogeneous Society, begetting, and in its turn begotten by, a large number of branches, all equal and all auxiliary; but shall, on the contrary, lay a great obstacle in the way of all future union, by demands for a pre-eminence which, if it were ever so well deserved, will never be conceded. Is it to be supposed for one moment that any Branch Society will tolerate the stipulations that the administration of the whole system shall be centralized in Sydney, that the archives of the Society shall be kept in Sydney, that the reports of its own meetings shall be transmitted to Sydney for publication; that a moiety of their own subscriptions should also be forwarded to the Sydney centre, and that the Sydney branch should be recognized as an essential factor of the General Society, while the Melbourne branch is regarded as only a local and accidental Committee? It might be, and has been at first sight supposed that the Administrative Council of Article 8 was only the Sydney Committee exactly like the local Committee of Article 12; or otherwise that the local Committee in each province would form in itself an Administrative Council on equal and similar terms with that one which happens to have been the first in the field. But this is clearly not the letter nor the spirit of the law. There is but one remedy. Let us surrender all claims to pre-eminence, recognize ourselves as a New South Wales Society, and no more; receiving gladly, of course, members from other Colonies, especially where no sister Society has been established; and by correspondence and conference agree upon rules which shall be acceptable to all, shall stimulate the formation more and more of several ramifications, each of which, while sovereign and independent in its own province, shall meet in General Council or "Federal" assembly with that cordiality which only equality of rights can secure.

Some notice has been taken in the Sydney journals of our delay or failure in carrying out the scheme for the exploration of New Guinea, which, nearly a year ago, was brought very prominently before the public, and was very warmly taken up by some of our members. In order to prevent any misapprehension upon this point, I propose to give a brief narrative of the steps which have actually been taken, and the causes of our present hesitation. At a meeting of the Administrative Council, June 18, 1883, it was resolved that a special fund should be established, under the name of the New Guinea Exploration Fund, and that it should be administered upon principles similar to those recognized by the Royal Geographical Society in their establishment of the African Exploration Fund, 1877. August 11: A circular was accordingly prepared soliciting contributions for this special purpose, and was largely circulated (2,500 copies printed). The first answer received was one of excellent augury, such as might raise still higher the hopes of the sanguine, and encourage even the doubters. The name alone of Baron von Mueller would have seemed no small gain in the starting of such an enterprise, while his liberal offers both of money and of that assistance which he of all living men is best able to give, were additional and extraordinary items of advantage. But we have good reason to know that there are not many with their hearts so entirely in their work as the Baron shows his to be. The Government of New South Wales had agreed to assist by placing the amount of £1,000 upon the Estimates to be appropriated according to the discretion of the Minister. The Government of South Australia had also given a favourable answer to an application for similar assistance, and that of Victoria followed in an equally encouraging manner. Assistance of this kind, however, never means more than the supplementing of the funds which have been privately collected for some public purpose by proportional donations from the public purse. And as we had only received one favourable answer to over 2,500 circulars, and had therefore only one subscription (outside the Council), it was clear that the matter must of necessity rest in abeyance. Moreover, the ferment occasioned by the annexation of New Guinea by Queensland, and the several attempts at exploration of the island, purchase of land, and establishment of trade which followed, led the Council to the conclusion that in that conjuncture of public affairs it was not for the general advantage that any further explorations in New Guinea should be made by individuals or private Societies, and consequently that all further proceedings towards the equipment and despatch of an expedition by this Society should be stayed for the present. And so the matter rests. We have no funds available for the purpose; and even if we had abundance we should be doing the State an ill service by

taking any steps in the matter until an authority has been established in New Guinea, as well as in other islands, which shall have power to control and to punish not only kidnappers and pirates, but also such persons as under the pretext of exploration make war upon the aborigines. The mischief that such persons do is not always at once apparent, and the memory of a wrong may have long died out of the minds of the perpetrators, while it is still fresh in the hearts of the victims, and waits only its opportunity for revenge. With respect to the telegrams which have from time to time announced, directly or indirectly, that the Royal Geographical Society was organizing an exploring expedition under the direction of Mr. W. Powell, it is only necessary here to state, as I do upon the best authority, that these telegrams were "erroneous and misleading," and that the Royal Geographical Society did not propose to undertake, either themselves or in conjunction with other bodies, any expedition to New Guinea. I see, indeed, in the telegraphic news of to-day that a sum of money has been at last granted by the Society towards the exploration of the Owen Stanley Range by Mr. Forbes. This may very probably be true, or it may turn out to have been, like its predecessors on the same subject, "erroneous and misleading." We are bound to elect, as has been mentioned above, the members of the General Council and of the Administrative Council at the end of every session—that is to say, in the month of December. And the Council had to the last some hopes that it might be possible to proceed to such election in due time, as the progress of the Melbourne branch towards an assured and regular existence rendered it not unlikely that it might by that time have been in a position to co-operate with us in that election. Without such co-operation it does not seem legally within our power to proceed to the election of a General Council, and no steps have therefore been taken in that matter as yet; but since the election of members of the Administrative Council is to take place at the same time, the delay caused by the desire to avoid illegal action in the one case has landed us in a similar illegality in the other, for this meeting is not the last of the session (which seems to be the meaning of the phrase—"at the end of every session") but the first, or annual general meeting, held (Art. 11) at the commencement of every annual session, which begins in May, and lasts eight months (Art. 13). It is not, therefore, strictly within the letter of our rules that we proceed to election of officers on the present occasion, although it is not inconsistent with their spirit, which clearly contemplates the retention of their places by members of Council for a twelvemonth. This twelvemonth since the first election has not as yet elapsed, although to-morrow is the last day of its existence. However, it is competent to any member to object to the course of action which we propose to adopt, and if such objection is supported by a majority of the meeting, it will be the duty of the present Council to take into consideration what measures may best meet the existing difficulty, and lay the result before an adjourned meeting. For myself, I have to add that circumstances oblige me to resign the post of honor in which you placed me a year ago. The lamented death of Professor Badham falling so unexpectedly on the University as it did, made also a sudden and unforeseen alteration in my engagements. It became my duty, in accordance with his frequently expressed desire, to take up for a time, with however, inferior powers, the duties which he had for so many years discharged in the University. It is not necessary to say that these duties, combined with my own, occupy the whole of my time and demand the exercise of all my powers. It is impossible for me, therefore, both to retain the honor of this Chair and to perform my positive duties to the University. In such a case no reasonable person can doubt what steps I am bound to take, or will consider that I ought to allow the main business of my life to be counterpoised even for a moment by the attraction and distinction of your Vice-presidency. I shall be happy to assist, as a member of the Council, if the Society should require my service, and I am, of course, ready to continue the discharge of my present duties until my successor is elected—provided, of course, that such election is not unnecessarily deferred.

Accept, gentlemen, the expression of my thanks for the patience with which you have heard me, and which has been, I feel, sorely tried by much which I have felt it incumbent upon me to say. You will, I am sure, give me credit for an honest appreciation of the services of those gentlemen who are in reality the fathers of our body, and for an earnest desire for the prosperity of this Society, the multiplication of its sisters, and the successful promotion of geographical science.

On the motion of the Rev. James Jefferis, LL.B., seconded by the Hon. W. A. Brodrigg, M.L.C., a vote of thanks was passed to the Vice-President for his address, the latter gentleman expressing his deep regret that circumstances compelled Professor Stephens to resign.

## **Financial Statement.**

The Honorary Treasurer, Mr. Francis Gerard, read the following statement of accounts for the year ending 30th May, 1884:—

On the motion of Mr. Du Faur, seconded by the Hon. W. A. Brodrigg, the balance sheet was received and adopted.

## Election of Two Members of Council.

The meeting then proceeded to the election of two members of the Council, in place of Mr. Ranken and the Rev. J. Jefferis, retiring. The ballot resulted in the election of Mr. J. B. Donkin, J.P., and Mr. Harrie Wood.

The meeting adjourned for a fortnight, to proceed to the election of a Vice-President

## Adjourned Annual Meeting.

At the adjourned annual meeting, held on 13th June, in the Free Public Library, Mr. Du Faur was voted to the chair.

The Hon. W. A. Brodribb, in complimentary terms, moved that Sir Edward Strickland, K.C.B., F.R.G.S., be Vice-president for the ensuing year. Dr. Belgrave seconded the motion, which was carried unanimously.

Mr. J. H. Maiden, Curator of the Technological Museum, having been elected associate Honorary Secretary, in consequence of the illness of Mr. E. Marin La Meslée, the senior Honorary Secretary, and on the motion of Dr. Belgrave, seconded by Mr. Harrie Wood, the proceedings terminated.

Proceedings of the Geographical Society of Australasia.

1st Session, 1883-84

Victorian Branch.

# Geographical Society of Australasia.

## Victorian Branch.

ABOUT the middle of the year 1883, the Administrative Council of the Society in Sydney communicated with several gentlemen in Victoria, with a view to organizing a branch of the Society in that Colony. In response to a request made by the Secretary of the Society, Mr. A. C. Macdonald, the present Secretary of the Victorian branch placed himself in communication with a number of gentlemen who were favourable to the project, with the result that, on the 13th August, 1883, a meeting was held at the Melbourne Exchange, to consider the subject. There were present—Mr. Shillinglaw, F.R.G.S. (in the Chair), Messrs H. Rosales, F.G.S., James Chapman, C.E., John Young, C.E., H. J. G. Cattenach, A. C. Macdonald, Captain Pasco, R.N., Professor McCoy, J. Cosmo Newberry, C.M.G., and others. Letters were read from Baron von Mueller, K.C.M.G., F.R.S., &c., from Ernest Giles, F.R.G.S., and several other prominent men, promising their co-operation with the movement. In consequence of the day being a particular busy one in the city, the meeting was adjourned without transacting any business, beyond appointing Messrs. A. C. Macdonald and John Young, C.E., joint Hon. Secretaries, with instructions to arrange for the next meeting, which was held on 21st September, 1883. Present—T. F. Bride, LL.D., in the Chair, and a number of other gentlemen. A number of letters were read from various gentlemen apologizing for non-attendance, also some correspondence with the Premier—the Hon. James Service, M.L.A., with reference to the grant of £1,000 which had been asked for to aid the scientific exploration of New Guinea. The Premier's letter seemed to express a suspicion that the Society was being formed merely on the strength of this grant, but it was conclusively shown by the meeting that the body was established before the grant, which was only a part of the general programme of the Geographical Society of Australasia, was thought of. Some discussion then ensued as to the constitution of the Society. Mr. J. Cosmo Newberry said there was a Geographical Section of the Royal Society of Victoria, and it might be better to join that Society, and still maintain the relation to the Geographical Society of Australasia.

The Chairman thought it was too late for such a suggestion, as it had already been decided to form an independent Society. Mr. Newberry thought a great saving would result were the two bodies united. After some discussion it was moved by Mr. J. Cosmo Newberry—seconded by Mr. H. Rosales, and carried,—"That a Committee, consisting of Messrs. J. A. Pan ton, P.M., H. Rosales, F.G.S., J. Mc'D. Larnach, G. Gordon, C.E., T. F. Bride, LL.D., and A. C. Macdonald, be appointed to confer with the Council of the Royal Society of Victoria as to the practicability of such amalgamation, and the terms upon which it could be arranged. That such Committee be requested to report upon the whole question of the amalgamation of the Geographical Society with the Royal Society of Victoria, and other kindred Societies in other Colonies." Pending the report of this Committee all other business was allowed to stand over to the next meeting, including a motion by Mr. R. L. J. Ellery, F.R.G.S.,—"That it is expedient to form a branch in Victoria of the Geographical Society of Australasia, and that members be now enrolled, subject to a satisfactory arrangement of founders' list, and payment of entrance fees."

The third preliminary meeting was held on the 22nd October, 1883, T. F. Bride, LL.D., in the Chair. The Chairman submitted the report of the Committee appointed at the last meeting, as follows:—"A conference was held at the Royal Society's rooms on the 15th current, when it was found, after a lively discussion, that the difficulties in the way of amalgamation were insuperable. It therefore now only remains to carry out the original intention to form in Victoria a branch of the Geographical Society of Australasia, or that the gentlemen now assembled, not being committed to any course, join the Geographical Section of the Royal Society."

After some discussion, Mr. J. Mc'D. Larnach moved, and Mr. F. Scarr, seconded,— "That it is expedient to form in Victoria a branch of the Geographical Society of Australasia, and that members be now enrolled under the constitution of the said Society."

As an amendment, Mr. H. Rosales, F.G.S., moved, and the Hon. J. J. Casey, C.M.G., seconded,— "That the gentlemen present cast in their lot with the Royal Society, with a view to becoming members under division E."

The votes being equally divided, the Chairman gave his casting vote in favour of the original motion, which was accordingly adopted. After appointing office-bearers and Committee, the meeting adjourned.

On the 1st April, 1884, the Committee held a meeting, when it being considered that the movement had made sufficient progress, it was decided to hold a conversazione, and inaugural meeting of the Society on the 18th April, 1884. The Vice-president, Baron von Mueller, promised to prepare an inaugural address, and papers were also promised by several other gentlemen. The Hon. Secretary was instructed to apply to the Royal Society for the use of their hall, which on this and many other occasions was cheerfully granted.

The Committee having completed their arrangements, the inaugural meeting took place on the appointed date, and was very successful, and largely attended; T. F. Bride, LL.D., in the Chair. The Vice-president, Baron von Mueller, was unfortunately prevented by illness from attending, but he forwarded the manuscript of his address, which was read by the Hon. Secretary. Mr. Pan ton next read a paper on "The Kimberley District," Western Australia, which proved of great interest. The Hon. Secretary then read a short paper on the "Utility of, and necessity for, a Geographical Society." After a vote of thanks had been passed to the Royal Society, on the motion of H. G. Turner, F.R.G.S., for granting the use of their hall, the meeting closed.

## **Baron Von Mueller's Address.**

THE following address by Baron von Mueller, K.C.M.G., M. and Ph. D., F.R.S., F.R.G.S., was read at the inaugural meeting of the Victorian branch of the Geographical Society of Australasia:—

When some months ago the Geographic Society of Australasia was instituted in the elder sister Colony, the thought must have arisen in many whether sufficient scope existed for such an Association, and what fair prospect it might have to advance from here the great cause of geography. It might be assumed that the originators of this movement entertained a hope of uniting all those who were really interested in geographic research or were willing to give it substantial support into one great local organization, which could exercise a far more powerful influence for its special objects than any isolated individual effort, however enthusiastic such might be. It may further be supposed that the aim of an Australian Geographic Society would mainly be concentrated on giving new impetus to explorations in the Australian continent and in those adjacent islands which, from the expansive territory of New Guinea to the smallest islet of the Fijian group, belong commercially, if not indeed also politically, to the great Australian portion of the British empire. When we glance on the map of Australia merely cursorily, it might appear as if the spaces interjacent to the many exploration lines had become ennarrowed to comparative insignificance; and really we must concede, that within the territory of Australia proper but scanty room is left now for the discovery of great geographic features, such as extensive rivers or large lakes or high mountain ranges. Nevertheless, simple exploration lines through comparatively level country, though making such a prominent show on the map, command but a view over a narrow belt of country along the horizon, and a day's ride suffices to open up an unseen region. Thus very numerous details, doubtless of much importance, will have to be inserted between many of the geographic tracks, such as now-a-days exist on the Australian map; indeed, many a decennium must yet elapse before the chart of our continent could possibly be completed, and even then the geographer's work will not have ceased. Observations on terrestrial magnetism and on temperatures, as well as hypsometric measurements, belong as much to the geographer as to the physicist and climatologist. In tracing the distribution of organic beings over their natural regions, we see geography brought into contact with zoology and phytology. Again, geology has become everywhere inseparably connected with geography; and even in the great science of medicine we have a special and highly important doctrine—that of pathologic geography.

In further support of these considerations, I may call to your mind that even within the boundary of our Colony (Victoria) some little geographic work, which has the charm of absolute novelty, needs yet to be done, that is to say, in the eastern part of Gipps Land. East and west of the overland telegraph line are some wide spaces as yet wholly unexplored. The country towards the north-east and north-west of the Gulf of Carpentaria

is but scantily known; and altogether we may assume that we are yet unacquainted with nearly half of the extent of Australia. The distance from Eyrie's track along the Great Bight to that of Gregory's, south of Arnheim's Land, is, in a straight line, nearly 1,000 miles, and between these only four lines pass from the overland telegraph line to the west coast, two being formed by a goldmedallist of the Royal Geographic Society amidst us here; who, in first instance, was drawn into the field of actual exploration by myself, but subsequently travelled under Sir Thos. Elder's auspices, and who has won his honors most bravely. Moreover, we cannot estimate the importance of geographic work by mere distances recorded on the map. Counting the days of arduous travelling is a better criterion. Thus I found more danger, toil, and hardship to triangulate early through half a hundred miles of the pathless Australian Alps, than in sharing to traverse half a thousand miles of the mostly open stretches of the Kimberley country nearly thirty years ago, at the time of its discovery. The splendid detail surveys, carried on to quite recent times by the Hon. John Forrest, in West Australia, show also how much yet has to be done geographically in even tracts of country supposed to be fairly explored. But not alone to untraversed regions of Australia itself should we look, in this new organization for aiding in the achievement of geographic discoveries. It is the antarctic region, it is the extensive complex of the South Sea Islands, which promise to yield from here some of the grandest results for geographic science. The south polar lands under Australian and Polynesian meridians come more readily within our reach than that of any other nation, if, as I trust, we consider ourselves as merely the furthest southern occupants of the great British Empire. The antarctic continent and islands at or towards Graham's Land could most conveniently be explored from the extreme of South America, though the courageous Captain Bové has latterly sought in vain there adequate support for his plans of advancing on South American longitudes further towards the pole, Graham's Land, so far as known, barely entering the antarctic circle. For us here the way towards the south pole is much farther indicated already by Sir James Ross's famous expedition, when Mount Erebus was discovered, an active volcano not much less in height than Mount Blanc or the culminating points of the Caucasus, a mountain of whose grandeur we can form some ideal picture when we remember its height to be fully that of Mount Cook in New Zealand. Mount Erebus and Mount Terror, historic monuments of one of the most glorious and one of the saddest of grand geographic exploits, are not further from Hobart than that city is from Cape York, and from these wondrous mountains the distance to the geographic south pole does not exceed 725 nautical miles. Whether an antarctic continent connects Graham's Land with Victoria Land we have no means to surmise, but what enormous strides will yet have to be made to penetrate and map the southern polar regions can be grasped by our mind when we recollect that the distance from Graham's Land to Victoria Land is as great as from the latter to North Queensland. But just as through successive naval explorations, extending over several centuries, and most keenly followed up during the present secular era, portion by portion of the northern arctic regions were rendered known, so also will it only be by long continuity of efforts, by great skill, bravery, and perseverance, and by watching for a combination of lucky chances, that extensive charts of the southern polar lands can be furnished—perhaps some time in the next century. But a federal Society like ours can foster this object locally in all the Colonies, and can guide public influence towards its gradual accomplishment. Nevertheless, we should be cognizant that the south polar regions seem the most formidable to traverse anywhere on the whole face of the globe; much girded by barricades of glaciers; largely unapproachable through icy fortresses, seemingly destitute of terrestrial vegetation of any kind—not even a landing has ever been effected there. Still, we are as yet too imperfectly acquainted with the climatology of that forbidden region to comprehend all the problems of antarctic geography to be solved, and to devise means for the purpose. If Mount Erebus were fuming from a lesser height than 12,000 feet, its volcanic heat would exercise great influence in warming the surrounding country. Possibly other volcanoes remain to be discovered in high antarctic latitudes, by which, perhaps, the rigour of the clime may be mitigated locally. As in the northern arctic regions, so also possibly in the southern, the temperature of the sea in certain tracts may be modified, and thus some localities may be rendered more accessible than others. To detect coal on any approachable portion of the antarctic lands would be an immeasurable gain. The whole geology there is as yet wrapped in mystery. Since the last forty or fifty years, when naval explorers went boldly towards the remotest of all southern lands, and laid down on the map some of the shore lines, the facilities for polar explorations have largely increased. Ironclad vessels can now cut the thinner layers of ice more safely than when the indomitable Captain Ross was steering his luminous course; steam power has come into play, rendering it now possible to enter intricate passages; in exceptionally favourable hours short balloon reconnoitings could be made with comparative safety, and thus land might be detected which human feet can never reach; arctic and alpine plants of prominent utility, especially lichenous and glumaceous species, could perhaps be located as nuclei of vegetation on any approachable earthy portions of the shores; new spaces for whale fishing would unquestionably be opened up by far southern exploring navigation.

I will not dilate on this subject at present any further. Enough has been said to show its vast importance for science as well as commerce, and to no other people can research connected with the antarctic regions be of that

value which it must ever have for the Australian Colonies. I do designedly not say Australasian when including New Zealand in the fifth or sixth part of the globe. Australia, the great southern land of the eastern hemisphere, with its dependencies, is more than a mere southern Asian extension. We here have a distinct individuality as occupying a great country; our territory, as a whole, nearly equals that of Europe—moreover, our boundaries are maritime throughout, and, therefore, the most natural and defined.

But it is Polynesia to which Australian geographers still more readily will direct their views, when gradually our own great island continent shall have become more fully explored. The whole of the islands of the Pacific Ocean number approximately 640, and offer, with exclusion of New Guinea, an areal extent of about 100,000 square miles. Although largely through the Royal Navy of Britain the maritime survey of these island groups has been effected—for each of Her Majesty's ships may be regarded as a floating observatory—yet inland exploration is as a rule beyond the scope of even the most enterprising mariners; hence a multitude of islands and islets, many quite near to us, need yet geographic disclosing of their inland features. Foremost New Guinea engages our attention. Its eastern half, unclaimed by the Dutch, already exceeds in territorial extent considerably our own Colony; and mark, it is separated from Australia by a lesser oceanic space than Tasmania from Victoria. And what a marvellous and fascinating land this one of the birds of paradise, with a fauna and a flora largely endemic, and very much unknown or unrecorded yet, and with mineral resources of the greatness of which we can hitherto form no idea. Well may we praise the farseeing statesmen of Australia, who so eagerly insist that Papua, interjacent between Her Majesty's Australian, Indian, and Polynesian possessions, should become an integral part of the great Indo-Australian empire of Britain, and these sentiments are echoed wherever the English language is spoken under British rule. Ten years ago already the British flag was hoisted on the extremest eastern point of New Guinea, when Captain Moresby's extensive and accurate survey established this most eastern portion to be insular, and took formal possession of it for the British Crown.

Geographers and naturalists also in Britain evince a vivid interest in Papuan exploration. Thus, Sir Joseph Hooker, of Kew Gardens, at one time or the other of his life conspicuously active as a geographer himself, while writing to me early this year, insists that New Guinea should be explored from Australia, and urges without any jealousies that the scientific investigation, for which more complex organisations are needed, should be carried on by us here, both the animal and vegetable world of New Guinea, not to speak of other attractions, being of very high interest to Australian investigators, who are bound to elaborate the fauna and flora here in its connection with that of adjoining countries. The British Association, assembled last autumn in Southport, is consulting now with the Royal Geographical Society as to the best means for shedding fuller light on the geographic configuration, the geologic structure, the climatic conditions, the natural and cultural resources, and the character of the autochthones of New Guinea. More especially in a country like that, "the clear, calm illumination of scientific research" should precede colonization, in order that subsequent settlement might be rendered easier, safer, and happier. Settling there on an extensive basis is different to colonization in Australia. There the natives are well-organized, warfaring races, with a rigorous appreciation of ground rights; the country is to a large extent one of the most broken and rugged imaginable; the climate in many places is very insalubrious, and the extent of arable elevations with a healthier air remains unascertained; but the vast masses of extremely lofty ranges are almost sure to treasure much metallic wealth. Perhaps the snow-clad summits of Owen Stanley's Range may ere long be scaled by united and well-sustained efforts of emissaries of the many alpine clubs who seek for laurels now all over the globe. Meanwhile we all hail with delight the determined action of the Australian Federal Convention, which has exercised such a moral influence that British supremacy over Eastern New Guinea may be considered as an established fact. Let the torch of science be carried gradually to all the darkest recesses, not only of New Guinea, but also of all the unexplored islands of Polynesia. At best we here can only do part of the work, and we should welcome any participation in geographic exertions, such as the home country holds out a hope to render, whether by public or private means.

Many a time, when hearing of large legacies bestowed, I could not help reflecting what brilliant and lasting results might be obtained if geography also came in occasionally for a share of the bequest. The interest of a moderate or not altogether large sum, on which no direct heirs have any claims, would be sufficient to keep a small exploring party going, under successive reorganization, for periods almost infinite; and if the testator should happen to be ambitious, there could be no other manner in which his name would become more readily illustrious than by connecting it—as it were historically—for all time with great geographic features of the globe, disclosed through some bestowed of his fortune. Large expeditions, equipped in a costly and bulky manner, are not always those which yield the grandest results; indeed, many of the splendid achievements in the field of geography have been gained by unpretensive but clever and enthusiastic parties, as instanced on various occasions also on our own island-continent. But, alas, the lonely first wanderers through wildernesses seldom carry off any other reward than that of having their name engraved on the imperishable tablet of geographic fame.

How many of those wielding wealth, influence, and power now in all parts of Australia are apt to forget

that they did never share in the more toilsome and perilous exertions for colonization prior to the gold era, with which the second great chapter in the history of Australia commenced; and many a colonist on whom fortune smiled perhaps never contributed directly towards the geographical development of this great southern land of his adoption. Some parties interested in large pastoral estates on rivers in Eastern Australia seem never to reflect—or perhaps even be aware—that streams, on which their herds and flocks depend, were discovered and named by Dr. Leichhardt. Alas! his case is one of the saddest of all sadnesses in the annals of geography; missing longer than Franklin, lost fully as long as La Pérouse, he, as one of the bravest and most meritorious of all Australian explorers, succumbed on some yet unknown spot, though by courage and perseverance that spot would be traceable. Here, then, is a noble work, which the Geographic Society of Australia might take up—a work not needing very extensive means, a work promising perfect success, a work by which the Society would at once establish glory for itself, not only in the cause of geography, but also in that of humanity.

Out of the millions who in the course of a year speak or write about the Murray River, how many ever connect in their thoughts that name with the bold and yet so circumspectly cautious, as also philanthropic explorer, who traced, under the spears of the natives, the whole course of the greatest river of Australia—the river destined to irrigate yet with its limpid and largely alpine ever-flowing waters a vast portion of Victorian territory, and which offers us water carriage along the whole of our northern borders. Who mentions ever now the name of the gallant officer whose dray tracks became largely the main roads of Victoria, but whose memory in less than half a century sank altogether into ungrateful oblivion. Of all the great explorers who successively traversed and mapped portions of Australia from the time of Dampier, whose death-place is not even known, to the last exploits of Giles, one or two only became largely possessed of worldly riches; but what among others for Leichhardt particularly we ought to claim is, to establish the full extent of his discoveries up to his untimely death, and to search for his last resting-place as an historic spot. Well could we have wished that the strenuous efforts made last year by Mr. Winnecke and his small party to unveil Leichhardt's fate had met with success when he carried on exploring work near the boundary line of Queensland and South Australia, and then added as evidence of the necessity of further geographic research, two new important watercourses to those hitherto on record in that region.

One of the proudest and most pleasing recollections which likely a Governor departing from any of these young Colonies can carry with him must be the persuasion to have his name and therewith that of his descendants ever identified with the history of that part of the globe over which he held viceregal sway. Indeed, the Australian chart is to some extent an index of the successive representatives here of the British Throne, through geographic dedications; and while we bid the Marquis of Normanby to-day a last farewell, it may be one of the sources of profound gratification to the late Governor that geographic monuments have arisen for His Excellency in three of these Colonies, additionally graced by some palms to keep fresh his memory also in the living vegetation, whether free or horticultural.

On the origin of this Association, which to-day we locally inaugurate, little need be said on my part. This meeting speaks for itself. Arisen in another Colony, this new Society has gladly been joined by us here. Prevented by illness from taking a leading part in its earliest working, for which I had an honorable call, it still fell to my share to impress on the Geographical Society of Australia at once a federal character. But it is merely the barest act of justice to our sedulous Honorary Secretary when we affirm that to be assembled this evening as a constituted local Association we owe mainly, if not almost solely, to Mr. Macdonald's circumspectness and zeal. And here it devolves on me to express my sense of appreciative gratitude with which I recognize the distinguished position which your kindness has conceded to me among you.

I feel sure you do not expect from me to enter on a discourse of the progress of geography during the last year. It would be encroaching on a field over which Lord Aberdare holds such luminous literary command; indeed, His Lordship, as President of the great Geographic Society of London, has in his annual addresses lucidly traced out during his tenure of office the progress of geographic discoveries all over the world; thus following up the records given by a number of illustrious men, who, since the parent Society more than fifty years ago was founded, mainly through Sir Roderick Murchison's energetic and enlightened efforts, have occupied successively the presidential Chair. "What the practical influence of that first and greatest of Geographic Societies during the semi-secular period of its existence may have been, is as incalculable as inconceivable, but this much we can safely affirm—that it has largely contributed to extend the boundaries of the British empire, to enlarge its commerce, and to aid in the civilization of the world. We cannot have a more splendid example to follow than that set us by the Royal Geographic Society of England, though perhaps humbly only we can imitate its great achievements on a small scale; and while we mainly strive for such work as is more or less directly connected with Australia, we shall not infringe on the operations of any kindred unions elsewhere.

The importance of geography to practical life has become more and more recognized, particularly since the greatly facilitated means for transit have brought countries and nations more and more into contact. The Royal

Geographic Society of England, by awarding annually special prizes, has inspired a higher conception of the importance of that science in the schools of Britain, and is thus leading to an ampler appreciation of one of the most practical of teachings, always resultful in the course of life. Geographic Societies have become numerous during the latter decennia in Europe, America, and elsewhere; even many a comparatively small town has established a Society for Geography, whether in its purely scientific aspect or in additional connection with colonization or commerce; and if at present such Societies are counted perhaps by tens only, it may be foreseen that ere long they will number by hundreds. The keen mercantile competition, the increasing rivalry in technology, the falling short of many kinds of indispensable raw materials for industries, the changes of abodes for the sake of health from one climatic region to another, the search for new rural fields and other practical calls of the day, bring questions connected with geography more and more into the foreground of universal populations. Even the ordinary navigator cannot reach his port of destination without nautical geography; the traveller in new regions becomes almost helpless without the geographic chart; the tourist has in maps his best guides; the sacred duties of Christian missions have become methodically connected with geography, particularly so in one country of Europe. Sound and comprehensive geographic research can immeasurably promote the great strides of railway systems over all inhabitable portions of the globe; the leisurely study of geography can be rendered one of the most entertaining subjects in social and educational life; it tends to wear away national antipathies and prejudices, and aids powerfully to bring man nearer to man—to render us thus worthier of our earthly destination, and in our worldly career more just and happier.

## The Discovery, Physical Geography, and Resources of Kimberley District, Western Australia.

MR. J. A. PANTON, P.M., read the following paper on the Kimberley District:—

As public attention has recently been attracted to a remote corner of Australia named Kimberley, I avail myself of this, our first meeting of the Victoria branch of the Australian Geographical Society, to give a sketch of the discovery, physical geography, resources, and prospects of this new Colony.

The north-west coast of Australia was probably the first portion of this continent discovered by the early navigators, but for centuries afterwards it remained a *terra incognita* until, within the last eighty years, it was explored by De Freycinet, Baudin, King, Wickham, and Stokes.

De Freycinet discovered the coast from La Grange Bay on to Cape Leveque; Baudin, the north and north-east on to Cape Doussejour; King, the Cambridge Gulf and the greater portion of the north-west coast, and the great sound that bears his name; but to Wickham and Stokes we are chiefly indebted for the coast survey as it stands.

As early as 1837 an attempt to penetrate beyond the littoral district was made by Lieutenants Grey and Lushington, but the rugged nature of the country traversed and the inexperience of the explorers, with their unsuitable equipment and cattle (Timor ponies), proved a task more difficult than they had calculated upon, and they had to return to their starting point, after having accomplished a journey of about 80 miles from the coast. Although Stokes in his examination and survey of King's Sound had discovered the Fitzroy River, and found extensive grassy plains on its banks, this north-west country attracted no attention, so long as the south and south-eastern Colonies presented such tempting fields for settlement. In 1855 the Imperial Government sent out a well-equipped expedition under Gregory, with whom were associated Baron von Mueller, botanist; Dr. Wilson, naturalist and geologist; Mr. F. T. Gregory, and Dr. Elsey, surgeon. This expedition explored the Victoria River to its sources in latitude 18 degrees, and having crossed the dividing ridge, followed an inland flowing creek (Sturt's Creek) south by west as far as Termination Lake, in latitude 20 degrees 30 minutes. The result of this exploration was the discovery of Roe Plains and magnificent basaltic pastoral country on the Upper Victoria, and further inland the extensive richly grassed plains along the west bank of Sturt's Creek, which Gregory named the Denison Plains. The official report furnished to the Government, a bare diary of the expedition, with maps, together with Baron von Mueller's report on the flora, were handed over to the Royal Geographical Society, and published in the Transactions in 1857, at a time when our attention was diverted to the gold-producing Colonies of Victoria and New South Wales, and when pastoral interests were at a low ebb. Unfortunately all that the outside world knew of this discovery was an addition to Arrow smith's map of Australia, showing the track of the expedition, with a few descriptive notes.

Even upon that meagre information, in the year 1865, a few enterprising young Victorian settlers determined to establish themselves on the pastures of Sturt's Creek, the Denison Plains. They subscribed

capital, chartered two vessels, shipped some 4,000 sheep, &c., and set sail with a complete equipment to found the new Colony. Unfortunately, they had calculated on reaching their destination from the north-west, and landed at Camden Harbour, where they found themselves at a point from which to penetrate the interior was impossible. Broken, precipitous mountains barred their passage on every side, one of their vessels got upon the rocks, disaster upon disaster followed, so having re-shipped what remained of their sheep, they abandoned the enterprise, and returned to the settlements. Some of the party, however, stayed at Nickol Bay with their stock, and have since prospered as sheep farmers.

The fate of the Camden Harbour expedition deterred others from venturing to the new country, and, for the time, diverted the tide of pioneering into Queensland. Still we had a great man amongst us—one who, eager to add to our geographical knowledge of Australia, was ever drawing attention to the grand field for pastoral settlement presented in the north-west. I refer to our Vice-president, Baron von Mueller. From what he had seen in Gregory's expedition, he became so ardent in his desire to continue the exploration of this territory that he proposed to the Government of Western Australia to lead an expedition on a scientific and practical exploration of the unknown tract between Nickol Bay settlement and the Denison Plains, but his offer was not accepted.

Ernest Giles, when in Perth, resting from his daring exploration across the continent from Port Augusta, proposed to make an exploration of the north-west with camels. The plan met with the approbation of His Excellency Sir William Robinson, who induced his Government to apply to the Legislature for a sum of £1,500 to defray the expenses of the expedition, but local jealousy and interest worked against the project, and the grant was refused.

Shortly afterwards, in 1877, the West Australian Government equipped an expedition under one of their surveyors, Mr. Alexander Forrest, who had already gained experience as an explorer with his brother, who is now the Surveyor-General of the Colony. Mr. Forrest made his start from Roeburn, travelled along the coast lands as far as Beagle Bay, crossed to the Fitzroy River, followed it up to the Leopold Range, and in endeavouring to penetrate that range reached the seaboard. Baffled in every attempt to cross the Leopold Barrier, he was compelled to return to the Fitzroy, and discovering a tributary, the Margaret, which enabled him to make easting, he reached the Ord River, which he followed down to the confluence of the Negri, and then continued in an east by north course until he crossed Gregory's tracks on the Victoria River, at the junction of the Wickham.

Being a thorough bushman and surveyor, he furnished a report—published with a map—containing a most interesting narrative of his journey, a clear and comprehensive description of the physical features and pastoral value of the country, with a fair geological sketch of the line traversed. Copies of this report were sent to our Melbourne Exhibition, and were distributed by the Commission of the Western Australian Court.

The Government being alive to the value of the country discovered, proclaimed it a pastoral district, under the title of Kimberley, and, without loss of time, framed regulations for the occupation of the land, fixing the rent at double that charged in other districts, viz., 10s. per thousand acres pastoral land, instead of 5s. per thousand acres in the central district

Nevertheless, numerous applications were made for leases of pastoral lands, and this year I believe that over 15,000,000 acres are let to Crown tenants. At the same time, I am of opinion that, taking into consideration the expense of occupying country so remote, the rent is much too high, and that *bond fide* settlers who comply with the regulations and stock their runs within (say) three years, ought to be allowed to hold their leases at a nominal rent for five years.

I may here observe that many of the settlers have remarked that Forrest must have been favoured with an exceptionally fine season at the time of his journey, as his glowing description of some tracks of country traversed by his party were not found to be verified when the localities were visited some years afterwards by gentlemen who had taken up lands on his report.

Before quitting the exploration of the Kimberley District, I must not omit to mention an expedition that attempted a settlement at the Glenelg River in the year 1863. A small party of Western Australians chartered a schooner named the "Flying Foam," and took with them a few horses, cattle, and sheep. Cruising round the coast they put in at Doubtful Bay, where they expected to find the mouth of the Glenelg River. They sailed through a passage on the north of this bay, and discovered a large landlocked basin which they named Georgewater. On the north-east of this fine sheet of water they entered the Glenelg River, and sailing up about 60 miles reached the rich basaltic country discovered by Grey and Lushington. They landed their little party with their stock and stores, and explored a portion of the country on the south bank of the river as far as Panter Downs. The natives are not mentioned as having been troublesome, but they were found to be a formidable-looking race, of immense stature and numerous. The little vessel was kept waiting for a few weeks until the settlers should determine on remaining; but although the country was all that could be desired, having abundance of water, rich lands, and suitable pasture, when the hour came for final decision it was resolved to quit, and the settlers, with their few head of stock, were re-embarked and set sail homewards. On their way they

put in to Secure Harbour, which is situated at the south of Collier Bay. From this harbour a narrow gut leads to an inland water, the extent of which is as yet unknown. In their boat they sailed through this channel, and were astonished to find the current running nearly 20 miles per hour. On entering the inland water they found it to be of considerable extent, but were unable to explore it.

Forrest discovered the eastern margin of this basin close under the Leopold Range, a rocky, wooded, precipitous shore, with numerous small streams descending in cascades of crystal water into the sea.

After this little voyage of discovery the "Flying Foam" returned to the settlements.

Mr. Michael Durack and party in 1882 landed on the north shore of the gut in Cambridge Gulf, travelled west about 12 miles, thence south 9 miles to a river flowing into the gulf from the north, which was named the Durack. Following this river up 5 miles, they crossed near where a large creek joined from the west. They then steered on a S.E. course until they reached the river flowing in at the head of the Gulf, which they named the Pentacost. They followed this river in a S.S.E. direction through very rough rocky country for about 13 miles; thence they travelled to south-east shoulder of Mount Cockburn, and again steering in an easterly and then a southerly course, at a point about 13 miles S.E. from Mount Cockburn, they came upon a large river which Durack named the Denham, and which appeared to flow north-north-east. They followed this river up S. by W. for a distance of about 30 miles; then travelling in a south-east course over "low hilly country, covered with stones, and grassy in patches," they struck another large river, which they named the Bow, since named the Fraser by O'Donnell; thence they passed on to the Ord River, which they reached at a point some 6 miles below the junction of the Negri. They followed the Ord up for about 80 miles, and crossing the granite and slate ranges south of Black Peak, they examined the Nicholson Plains, and then made for the settlements on the Lower Fitzroy, following the route discovered by Forrest. Another private exploring party, under O'Donnell, traced the course of the Ord from the junction of the Negri to the eastern arm of Cambridge Gulf, returned by the east of Mount Cockburn in a south-east course to the Ord, below the junction of the Bow; but, strange to say, did not see anything of the river Denham, which Durack had discovered.

O'Donnell then explored the Bow, which he named the Fraser, to its source, and traversed a large extent of fine pastoral country, watered by springs and small streams, including the river Wilson, and what he supposed the head waters of the Margaret and the Fitzroy. He then returned in an easterly course by a tributary of the Ord, until he again reached that river at a point a few miles above Forrest's 152 camp, and thence travelled over the Ord Plains to the Upper Negri in an east-by-north course. O'Donnell was an excellent observer, and his diary was published in the *Argus* some weeks ago. A map of his explorations, compiled by Mr. Wells, a young surveyor who accompanied him, has since been lithographed for the proprietors of the Cambridge Downs.

Kimberley is that portion of Western Australia situated north of lat. 19° 30', and bounded on the east by the Northern Territory of South Australia. It will be observed on reference to the map that its north-west shore outline presents a broken indented character, with numerous islands and shoals extending for miles off the coast, and, as might be expected from such indications, the country inland is rugged and mountainous, and although many beautiful valleys are found amongst the ranges, and near the Glenelg River are some hundreds of miles of rich basaltic downs, it is not likely to become a favourite pastoral locality. In due time it will be occupied by the planter, as such soil is admirably adapted for the cultivation of sugar and other tropical products.

Grey remarks:—"Since I have visited this spot I have traversed large portions of Australia, but have seen no land, no scenery, to equal it. We were upon the confines of a great volcanic district, clothed with tropical vegetation, to which the Isle of France bears a greater resemblance than any other portion of the world which I am acquainted with; the rocks in both places are identical, some of the trees are also the same, and there are several other close and striking points of similarity.

Forrest, as I have already informed you, found his course to the east barred by a bold precipitous range, which he named the Leopold Range, and this mountain wall extends from the seashore near Collier Bay, S.S.E. to the Fitzroy River, and thence E. by S. for a distance of 180 miles. Almost a continuation of the Leopold Range is the Muller Range, stretching E. and W. To the east of this, and guarding the sources of the Ord River, is the Black Peak—named by O'Donnell the Linacre Range—which extends north by east to the Bow or Fraser. West of this is the Howitt Range, supposed to be the highest land in the country explored by O'Donnell. Following down the Ord on its west bank, some 10 miles below the confluence of the Negri, is the Osmand Range, and farther down on the same side is a great range, named after Mr. Carr-Boyd by Mr. O'Donnell. At the head of Cambridge Gulf stands Mount Cockburn—a remarkable, isolated table-land, presenting the appearance of an immense fortification, with numerous frowning bastions. Within this highland region the principal rivers of Kimberley take their source, viz., the Fitzroy, the Leonard, the Margaret, the Ord, and the two large rivers discovered by Durack, the Denham and the Bow. To the north of this the Stephen Range extends north by east, and forms the watershed of the Glenelg, the Roe, and other rivers flowing into the bays of the north-west coast and east into Cambridge Gulf. Grey estimated the altitude of this range at 3,000 ft. A

few isolated rocky ranges are found outside this region, but as yet they are not worthy of mention, except as landmarks.

Now, excising these mountain tracts, we have left what may be designated the pastoral lands of Kimberley, a country of plains, downs, and low ranges, intersected by flowing rivers and creeks, with herbage similar to the finest pastures in Queensland, and having a fair proportion of spinifex (*triodia*), also a point of resemblance to portions of that Colony. Between Beagle Bay and the Fitzroy, patches of rank grass occur in about equal proportion to the more nutritious sorts. From Roebuck Bay inland the country is nearly level, in some places scrubby, but usually thinly wooded, roughly grassed, and watered by natural artesian springs and numerous native wells. Mr. Forrest, who traversed the country on his return route to the De Grey River, informed me that he is of opinion that good water can be obtained anywhere in that district at a depth of 16 ft., and that the pasture ought to be suitable for cattle or sheep.

On the Leonard, the Meda, the May, and the Fitzroy are extensive plains covered with rich grass, and bounding these plains is a wooded upland known by the local name of "Pindan," which is not as yet occupied by the settlers, owing to the difficulty of shepherding in such country, but which, it is thought, will prove excellent pasture when fenced in. Occasional tracts of spinifex are also found in that district. The extreme south zone of the Kimberley south of lat. 18deg. has not yet been explored, but whatever good country may be discovered in that direction must prove suitable for sheep, as I will endeavour to show you when I come to describe portion of it explored by Gregory on Sturt's Creek.

I now come to the Margaret River District, which Forrest and Durack describe as similar in pastures to the Fitzroy. Crossing a low range on east bank of the Margaret Forest, entered upon downs and plains (Nicholson Plains) that are evidently the northwestern limit of the Denison Plains of Gregory.

He reports, 20th July:—"We made an early start this morning, steering E.N.E., through magnificent and well-watered country, little brooks crossing our tracks at intervals of nearly every mile, till, after travelling 14 miles, we came to a larger stream, upon which we camped for the rest of the day. From the summit of a low range, to which Hicks and I walked this afternoon, we found spread out before us the most splendid grassy plain it has ever been my lot to see. As far as the eye could reach to the S.S.E. and S.W. was one vast level expanse of magnificent feeding-ground, and at our feet a running stream that we could trace far into the distance. These plains, which are granitic in formation, comprise, according to my calculation, not less than 1,000,000 of acres; and, judging from the richness of the herbage, would carry, I imagine, no less a number of sheep. This is, in my estimation, the finest part of Western Australia I have seen, and I hope that before long it will be covered with flocks and herds. Lat. 18 deg., in which it is situate, is only 180 miles north of the De Grey, where sheep and cattle thrive well."

Again, on the 28th July, he states:—"We followed the river (Ord) down for 9 miles, E.N.E. This morning we came to a large running stream, which joined the river from the southward, and travelling 4 miles further we camped in splendid feed; indeed, all the country we passed through to-day was very fine, the open plains spreading out as far as the eye could reach. They put me in mind of the great plains to the north of Eucla, on the south coast, the only difference being that this country is as well watered as that is unfortunately the reverse. Being so well watered, and the soil so good, this district will support a very large number of sheep; it apparently does not suffer from the periodical floods which visit the lower levels of the Fitzroy. Scarce a tree is to be seen on these rolling plains, except along the banks of the numerous streams which traverse them in every direction."

The territory named Cambridge Downs, which was explored by O'Donnell, Carr-Boyd, and party, is described as high downs and extensive grassy valleys, watered by numerous creeks. It is intersected by the Howitt Range, and also by a granitic range on the west bank of the Upper Ord. The country to the north-west of this, as seen from the heights, appeared to be open and comparatively level for a considerable distance.

North of the Bow or Fraser, O'Donnell found excellent pasture country on the west of the Carr-Boyd Range, and east of this range grassy level country from 5 to 12 miles in depth along the course of the Ord River, as far as the point where it entered the Northern Territory.

On the west bank of Sturt's Creek Gregory discovered vast richly-grassed plains, which he named the Denison Plains, after Sir William Denison, R.E.

Baron von Mueller, who accompanied Gregory in this expedition, in his diary, hitherto unpublished, says, February 21, 1856:

*"We bore, therefore, away N.W., and reached, after travelling about 20 miles, a creek running E. and W. Sesbania (bean bush) bushes were seen again, also several Riverina plants, the Leichhardtia climber, a minuria. Came to some slightly brackish water, with various samphire plants on the muddy banks and wiry polygonum. The bed of the creek solid, depth 2 ft. to 3 ft. Had a slight rain shower in the afternoon. The chief components of the scrub, several species of Acacia carissa. On rich places near the camp several sorts of good grasses and nutritive salt-bushes, among the latter Euchylæna tomentosa and Rhagodia mutanz abundant; the*

*dwarf kangaroo grass also abundant.*

"February 22.—We had our course over fine broad plains nearly S.W., travelling near a branch of the Samphire Creek, until we reached a deep pool, with black waterhens, grey and spoon-bill ducks, there being also white cockatoos numerous in the neighbourhood. The herbage among the grass in some places very varied. Thunder in the afternoon, with a little rain.

"February 23.—Followed the watercourse S.S.W. over similar broad and extensive plains, almost destitute of trees. Saw several natives in the distance. Camped on some residue of the rain of yesterday in an *eremophila* scrub, having travelled south in the latter part of the stage. Natives crawling about, probably attracted by curiosity to see us and our horses more accurately.

"February 24.—Kept a S.W. course over the continuation of the former plains, which are here bounded on the eastern side by a low scrubby ridge; grass here already more parched, passed over boggy channels. Water in pools less turbid from clay than that of yesterday. Day hot, 105° F. at 2 p.m. Black and white cockatoos repeatedly noticed, the white ones particularly numerous. Among the grasses were several excellent species of *andropogon*, also the rice again, mint, and the *Trichodoema*. Borage also noticed again and wiry *polygonum*.

"Feb. 25.—Went further along the plain S.W. and S. for about 16 miles, until we found again as in the previous day shallow stagnant water in clay beds. The country all around is subject to inundations, as indicated by the frequency of wiry *polygonum*, a species of swamp salt-bush (*Atriplex*); the water in the shallow pools opaque, not brackish, of rather a milky taste. For our exploring purposes we were evidently too late in the season, irrespective of this year having been unfavourable for rain. The grass here dry; the trees consist chiefly of small acacias and of box eucalyptus in this region. A slight ridge covered with scrub to the east. Temperature in shade, 105 deg.

"Feb. 26.—Travelled over the plain again, bounded on the east by low scrubby ridges on a southern course for 16 miles. The ground had been inundated some months ago on the lower places, where the grass still continued green, but in all other places it was much dried up. By turning to the east we came to a little watercourse, with good pools of opaque water, on one of which we encamped, having a native fire not far ahead of us. Day hot, 105 deg. in shade. Sky overcast with clouds. Ducks and water-hens in the lagoons; pigeons also abound.

"Feb. 27.—Following the channel of the watercourse W.S.W. and S. we came to some fine reaches of water, with clucks, pelicans, and waterhens, besides swarms of white cockatoos. The channel between these lake-like reaches of water dry in the present season. Bottom of the creek firm but slippery still from white moist clay which opalizes the water of the lagoons. Here around the waters much of the nutritious *Panicum spinosum* grass. Passed sandstone and also some trap ridges, otherwise the whole area consisting of plains with the vegetation much parched already, the occasional scrubs consisting of brushes of *Acacia*, *Cassia*, *Dodæmia eremophila* chiefly. Temperature in the shade 107 degrees. Wind, however, refreshing. Sky at time cloudy. Dew-fall slight. Mosquitoes far less numerous than farther north. Since yesterday almost none."

Here we have a reliable description of country that squatters can understand and appreciate. It is known that where such herbage and grasses are found, there sheep, horses, and cattle invariably do well, and as this is the only portion of South Kimberley as yet explored, there is every reason to believe that similar country may be found along the same parallel of latitude.

Kimberley is undoubtedly a well-watered district, the principal rivers being the Fitzroy, with its tributary, the Margaret, the Linnard, the May, the Robinson, and other rivers, debouching into King's Sound; the Glenelg, the Prince Regent, the Roe, and other streams flowing into the inlets on the north-west. The Ord, with its large tributaries, flowing into Cambridge Gulf, and Sturt's Creek, with tributaries, no doubt, from Nicholson's Plains.

These rivers are not mere sand channels, like many that present respectable proportions in the map of Australia, but are chiefly flowing streams with fine reaches of deep water, and many of them are capable of being navigated for considerable distances in flood-time. Here I must again quote Grey in his description of the Glenelg:—"There burst upon sight a noble river, running through beautiful country where we saw it, at least three or four miles across, and studded with numerous verdant islands. I have seen many Australian rivers, but none equal to this in magnitude or beauty." On the banks of the Ord, above the junction of the Negri, salt springs, having large deposits of pure salt fit for station use, were observed by Durack, and also by O'Donnell and Carr-Boyd.

## PORTS AND HARBOURS

Approaching from the west, the first harbour of any importance is Roebuck Bay, where a port has recently been discovered, affording good anchorage and shelter inside the point on the north-west of the Bay. It is described by the Surveyor-General in his report recently published, and a town site has been selected and surveyed in advance of settlement on the west shore of the inlet. Some 70 miles further north is Beagle Bay,

which affords good anchorage and shelter in ordinary weather, but is unsafe in the hurricane season. The landing is said to be better than at Roebuck Bay, the soil is good in the vicinity, and there are some fine natural artesian springs within a few miles of the harbour, but its position is too far removed from the chief pasture lands to render it of use to the settlers. Next is the port at Mary Island, far up in the south-east of King's Sound, and opposite to the recently surveyed town site of Derby, where a resident Magistrate is stationed.

The north-west coast is a succession of deep bays and harbours—Secure Harbour, Doubtful Bay, George Water, Hanover Bay, Camden Harbour, &c., &c., but a glance at the chart will show that the approaches to this coast are studded with rocks, shoals, islands, and the rise and fall of the tide being from 37 feet to 40 feet, the currents run from 7 to 20 miles per hour.

On the north-east coast Cambridge Gulf extends for nearly 80 miles inland, and can be navigated as far as the "Gut," where Durack and party landed in 1882. The advantage of this harbour is that the sea outside the gulf is clear of danger to Port Darwin, to the north-east and to Koepang to the west-north-west. The tide rise and fall, according to the Admiralty chart, is 21 feet, spring-tide, so that the currents are not so dangerous as in some of the western harbours, and there are good anchorages, sheltered from all weathers inside the gulf. The east arm has now been explored and is found to extend for many miles inland from Adolphus Island, where the soundings show 7 fathoms water. The Ord River has been traced debouching into this arm, and is supposed to be navigable to a point near Houserook Hill. A large Government survey party is to be employed this season in the survey of East Kimberley, and will trace the Ord to this point, where a suitable site is to be selected for a town, as it is anticipated that Cambridge Gulf will be the outlet of the Upper Ord and Victoria River District.

## **THE CLIMATE AND ITS INFLUENCE ON EUROPEANS.**

Grey expresses the opinion that the climate of the north-west coast is the finest in the world. Dr. Elsley, who accompanied Gregory remarks:—"The climate is much more regular than in extra-tropical parts of Australia. It is remarkable for absence of humidity. There are three seasons—the wet season commencing about December and lasting to February; the spring or cool season, from March to July; and the dry or hot season, from August to November. In the cool season the weather was beautiful, noonday heat seldom above 95 deg., tempered with a delicious south-east breeze for four months. The nights were cool; generally below 50 deg. at sunrise and sometimes below 40 deg. This weather has a most beneficial effect on the health of the party." This, it must be observed, was on the Lower Victoria River. O'Donnell's party on the uplands experienced bitter cold nights in September, having had the water frozen for three nights in succession. It appears to be a climate somewhat similar to Northern Riverina, but blessed with a more regular and bounteous rainfall.

The writer of *Durack's Exploration in N. W. Australia* remarks that "with the exception of one or two slight attacks of diarrhoea from drinking bad water, all the party (six men) enjoyed excellent health, and the writer slept in the open air, using no tent for four months. Another explorer in the north-west was travelling during the summer and autumn, and he spoke highly of the climate during that time, so that it may be concluded that in this respect Kimberley is equal to any other part of Australia, and superior to most other parts within the tropics.

## **SUITABILITY OF CLIMATE AND PASTURE FOR STOCK.**

Very few cattle have as yet been introduced into the district, but many thousands are on their way from Queensland, intended for the Ord pastures. Upwards of 30,000 sheep have been imported into the Fitzroy country, and they appear to thrive well, as all reports of seasonable lambing appear to be favourable. Some of the flocks have suffered from a kind of ophthalmia; but whether this has been caused by the fumes of the ammonia on shipboard or climatic influence is as yet uncertain. On the Delamere Station, Northern Territory, where a few sheep are kept, Mr. Alfred Giles, the superintendent of Dr. Brown's stations, informs me that in this, the fourth year, he cannot see any deterioration in clip or quality of the wool. The pasture being similar to what is known to be the best in Queensland, it is only reasonable to expect that with such a climate the district is equally well suited for sheep-farming. Another good indication is the abundance of game—bustards, ducks, geese, emus, and pigeons being numerous. A pheasant cuckoo, closely resembling the English pheasant, afforded Grey excellent sport on the meadows of the Glenelg. The salsolaceous herbage on Sturt's Creek undoubtedly proves the suitability of that country for horses and sheep.

## **CULTIVATION OF TROPICAL PRODUCTS.**

The soil on the banks of some of the rivers is exceedingly rich, and is supposed to be suitable for the cultivation of every tropical plant. In some parts of the north-west, notably near Hanover Bay, and on the Glenelg River, there are open luxuriantly grassed valleys and river flats having basaltic soil, which ought to attract the sugar-planter, as such soil in Mauritius is worth £35 to £40 per acre. The rich savannahs on the Ord,

Fitzroy, and Meda would grow cotton, which is indigenous to the country, and on the lower river flats rice might be profitably cultivated. Grey planted cocoa-nuts near Hanover Bay, and the young trees were shooting up when he broke up his camp. Indigenous fruits are more numerous and superior to those of Southern Australia, there being two varieties of grapes, four of figs, the native orange, plums, and the nut of the Adamsonia-Boab, or gouty-stem tree. This fruit is said to be a complete cure for scurvy. It is roasted on hot embers, the shell is then broken off, and the pulp mixed with sugar. When half ripe it is used for puddings, the same as rhubarb. When fully ripe the pulp is grated to a powder, boiled with sugar, and used as a jam. Upon the bark being cut, a nutritious white gum exudes, which in taste and appearance resembles macaroni. Steeped in warm water, the bark produces a mucilaginous drink. The kernel or nut is said to be of excellent flavour.

## ROCKS AND MINERALS.

As yet we have a very imperfect knowledge of the geological features of this district. Grey describes tracts of sandstone ranges and basalt country, in which he found obsidian. The sandstone he characterizes as "ancient sandstone" deposited in nearly horizontal strata, probably mesozoic. Forrest mentions sandstone in the Leopold Range and other ranges, and granite on north and north-west of Nicholson Plains. Durack met with ranges of slate with quartz veins west of the gut in Cambridge Gulf, and again between the Denham and the Bow, and on the Upper Ord southeast of black peak ranges of granite and slate with quartz veins. Saunders, a gold prospector from Queensland, is reported to have found traces of gold for many miles along the Upper Ord. O'Donnell observed granite-slate and quartz veins on the Osmond range, west of the Negri junction; and a similar formation on the east bank of the Ord, about 70 miles to the north of that; and again the same formation on the Panton River. South of the Bow or Fraser he observed a singular formation of slabs of lime-stone, pierced with pipe holes—literally paving the plain. A compact slate-coloured limestone forms the range between the Upper Negri and the Ord. The Howitt range O'Donnell describes as a sandstone bluff, facing the east, and having a gentle slope to the west. The Lineacre range appeared to be of the same formation, but presenting an abrupt face to the west. Even from such fragmentary data, I think it is probable that Kimberley may be found to yield gold, antimony, silver, copper, and perhaps tin. Mica, in large blocks, fit for commercial purposes, is said to occur in the rough-grained granite of the Upper Ord.

## TIMBERS.

We know very little of the timbers of this new country. The finest yet discovered is said to be in the valleys of the north-west, on the Glenelg, where trees of gigantic height and size were observed by Grey. Pine suitable for building purposes and spars for vessels was seen on the table-lands in the same locality. Calamis, or rattan, is abundant in the interior of that district; also several species of Acacia yielding good bark, Banksia, and a broad-leaved, umbrageous tree resembling the horse-chestnut. A species of eucalyptus is found in the "Pindan" country, but it is of a stunted character, and as yet not noted of any special value.

O'Donnell remarked that, although there was no lack of timber for fencing and building purposes, the country traversed by him was never heavily timbered, unless upon the borders of some of the watercourses. Bloodwood was seen of good size, some trees about 6 feet in circumference.

## PEARL-SHELL AND BECHE DE MER.

For many years Western Australia has been reaping rich harvests from the pearl-shell fishery, which has been prosecuted on the north-west coast from North-west Cape to King's Sound. Roebuck Bay is during the season a depot for many small vessels engaged in this pursuit, and Cossack, the port of Roeburn, is the head-quarters of the fishery. From my own knowledge of this industry, I feel assured that pearl-shell will be found along the whole of the Kimberley coast. Formerly Malays, from Macassar, were employed as divers, but now the Australian native is preferred. The divers work during the summer months, and at the close of the season are paid off, and return with their employers to the sheep stations, where they rejoin their tribes, or are employed as shepherds, shearers, &c. The *Holothuria*, trepang, or bêche de mer, abounds on the banks and reefs off the coast; turtle, dugong, and even sperm whales are to be found; and now that stores and supplies can be obtained at the new settlement, I have no doubt that vessels properly fitted out will soon be employed in the fishery.

For young men fond of adventure, who would seek profit on the deep sea, where in all the world is there to be found a virgin field to compare with the coast of Kimberley?

Squatters and capitalists in the sister Colonies, with the slight knowledge that they possess of this new land, look with coldness upon settlement in so remote a corner. The reports of the country furnished by Gregory and Forrest they considered mere opinions of explorers, and not to be relied upon as to the suitability of the country

for stock. They wanted opinions and reports of men accustomed to sheep-farming. Now that such opinions have been received, and that the pasture lands of Kimberley are pronounced equal to the best of Australia, the objection urged is "no market for the stock." To this objection I am not now going to reply, and I feel assured that those settlers who are showing their faith in the Kimberley by pouring in sheep and cattle to stock their runs will not deem it necessary to do so. Time will show.

In this paper I have endeavoured to give you a faithful sketch of the geographical position, features, and resources of this new district. It will be seen that we have in Kimberley as good a field for the enterprising pioneer as has yet been offered since the foundation of the Australian Colonies—rich soil on navigable rivers inviting the planter, well-watered pastures awaiting the flocks and herds, and almost inexhaustible pearl-shell beds for the adventurous fisherman. When suitable sites for towns have been selected, settlement will open up new routes for commerce. Steam communication will be established with our Australian ports and with the settlements in the Archipelago, and the geographical position of Kimberley will then be found to be second to none of the Australian Colonies. A glance at the map of Australia will show you that the available country suitable for pastoral settlement, having similar pastures and climate, extends from the north-west of Queensland from Aramac, *via* Winton and the Upper Herbert, across to Sturt's Creek, and along the valley of the Fitzroy to Roebuck Bay. When we see the capitalists of the world eager to invest their money in the construction of main commercial high-ways, am I not justified in concluding that in a few short years Kimberley will become the western terminus of our transcontinental railway system, and may sooner than we expect be ranked the "Pearl of the Antipodes?"

Mr. O'Donnell, the explorer, was introduced to the meeting by Mr. Panton, and answered several questions as to the district under consideration.

## The Utility of, and Necessity for, a Geographical Society.

By A. C. MACDONALD.

As to the utility of and necessity for a Geographical Society in Australia there can, I submit, be no question.

When the establishment of this Society was first mooted, it was objected by some that an Australian Society was unnecessary—that the Royal Geographical Society of England was the proper authority for operations, and was quite sufficient for all that was required—that the amount of country still unexplored was so small as to be of little or no importance.

I think that the following considerations are sufficient answer to these contentions.

It has long been a subject of regret to all who have an interest in the prosperity of our Australian Colonies that, although much has been attempted and much accomplished in the direction of exploring and developing its great resources by individual enterprise, yet, so far, practically nothing has been done in the way of collecting and distributing the results in such a manner that they may be useful and accessible to the world at large.

When I say nothing has been done, I must not forget the praise-worthy efforts made of late by the Press of Victoria and Queensland. This is a step in the right direction, and one of its results, and not the least, has been to intensify the feeling to which I allude—the feeling which has induced several gentlemen to agitate with the view of forming in Victoria a branch of the Society lately so successfully established in Sydney.

The spirit of exploration has reached such a pitch that it requires some organization in order that the fullest benefit may be derived from its labours. There is no doubt that even now many important discoveries have been made which are lost to the public owing to the want of some such organization, and there is always the certain danger that men engaged in what may be termed private exploration are apt, however well they do the work from one point of view, to neglect many matters which, though not perhaps of direct importance from a business standpoint, may be vastly important in the interests of science. This would not be the case were a Society in existence having its members and correspondents spread over the continent, watchful and ready to collect and report any discoveries of scientific or general interest.

There is probably no civilized country, certainly none of such importance, of which less of the geography is generally known, not only to the outside public but to its own inhabitants, than this our own Australia. We have here no wars, no great revolutions, to draw upon us the eyes of the world, but must depend on the more prosaic and matter-of-fact, but still more certain and enduring potency of the innate capabilities of our country. Commercially, through force of their great business, and partly through their Exhibitions, our Colonies are becoming well known—that is to say, people in England and elsewhere are becoming aware that in Australia several large cities are springing up which offer a profitable field for commercial speculation, but they are not yet fully aware that at the back of those cities is a vast extent of country rich in natural products and

capabilities—that in Australia is a *new world* open to receive the inhabitants of the overcrowded countries of the old world, to the mutual benefit of both. A body which will *spread* this information, *show* the *natural resources* of the country, the *vast field* it presents for both *labour* and *capital*—show that Australia does not consist merely of a few large towns kept alive by mining or agricultural or pastoral pursuits, but that it is a new continent possessing all the conditions necessary to a great commercial country—a body, I say, which has these things for its aim needs not to have its *utility* questioned, it will do more to turn the tide of emigration of the right class towards our shores than all the State-aid lectures and emigration agents in the world, with the advantage that the increase of population so derived will be a natural and not a forced one.

These things it will be the aim of the Geographical Society of Australasia to accomplish, by its correspondence and mutual interchange of information with the many kindred Associations throughout the world; but to enable it to do so thoroughly it must have, as we have every reason to hope it will have, the earnest and practical support and co-operation of all the able, scientific, and practical geographers and explorers throughout the continent, the men whose energy and pluck have already done so much in the cause.

Then whilst we are attending to the mote in our neighbour's eye, let us not forget the beam in our own eye. Whilst we are educating other countries, let us not forget ourselves. Mr. La Meslée said in his remarks at the opening meeting in Sydney, that the average Englishman knows more of the geography of Central Africa than of that of Australia. I think we can go further, and say that the average Victorian youth knows more of the geography of Egypt and its surroundings than of that of Western and Central Australia, not to mention the many other places that should interest him. It was only the other day that we heard some of our State School teachers complaining that although they had abundance of information of other countries, they had no reliable and comprehensive text-book of Australian Geography. This should not be. Of course there is yet much to learn, but it should be the aim of this Society to see that all the information now available and that may from time to time be obtained, is collected in such a manner that it may be used in our schools. Then, again, there are important discoveries daily made in other parts of the world with which it is necessary for the education of a people that they should be acquainted. This is only to be thoroughly done through the agency of a body which will collect the information from its many scattered sources and place it in an accessible manner before the public.

I have so far spoken chiefly of discoveries already made and information already obtained, but not yet turned to their fullest advantage. In addition to this there are still large portions of Australasia still unexplored, which offer a wide field for geographical and scientific research.

As to the idea that the unexplored portions of our vast Australasian continent is so small as to be unimportant, a glance at the map will show its fallacy. Besides New Guinea and other large and important islands, a great part of Northern, Western, and Central Australia are still unknown lands. These also should engage a large share of the Society's attention in the endeavour, whilst promoting exploration, to see that it is carried out in a systematic, scientific, and thorough manner.

I think that most men will agree with me that the object of a Geographical Society in this matter should be to promote and assist explorations in every possible way, and to see that they are so carried out as to be in the interest and to the benefit, not of private individuals or syndicates merely, but of the community at large, as unfortunately much of what has already been done has not been.

I do not wish it to be understood from my remarks that I in any way condemn or undervalue private enterprise as a means of developing a country. I am too well aware that it has been and ever will be the grand factor of success in British colonization, and that without it all the Societies in the world would be of no avail; but still, that individual enterprise may be turned to its fullest advantage it requires organization.

It is only natural that if a man or men make discoveries at great expense of money and labour to themselves, they make them for their own use and benefit, irrespective of the public welfare. If a man discovers a gold-field, we do not expect him to publish the information until he secures the choicest pickings for himself. It is true that in this matter a man cannot benefit himself without to some extent benefiting the community in which he dwells; but with us the grand object in view should be, not the amassing of wealth for a fortunate few, but the hastening of that day when Australia shall be not merely a place at the world's end where a man may come and gather wealth with a view of enjoying it elsewhere, but a country complete in itself, and second to none in the world, having a voice and carrying weight in the affairs of nations; the day when smiling homesteads, flocks and herds, towns and cities shall be in places that are now wildernesses; when the railway and telegraph shall have spread their distance-mocking arms over what are now trackless wastes; the day when a man may proudly say "I am an Australian."

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- Bobardt, J., 8 Bligh-street
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